

THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALASIA

BY
DAVID BLAIR



GLASGOW, MELBOURNE & DUNEDIN
M^C GREADY, THOMSON, AND NIVEN

1878

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THE
HISTORY OF AUSTRALASIA

FROM THE FIRST DAWN OF DISCOVERY IN THE SOUTHERN
OCEAN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT
IN THE VARIOUS COLONIES

COMPRISING THE

SETTLEMENT AND HISTORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, VICTORIA,
SOUTH AUSTRALIA, QUEENSLAND, WESTERN AUSTRALIA,
TASMANIA, AND NEW ZEALAND

TOGETHER WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF FIJI AND NEW GUINEA

BY

DAVID BLAIR

Numerous Illustrations and Maps

GLASGOW, MELBOURNE, AND DUNEDIN
M^cGREADY, THOMSON, & NIVEN

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P R E F A C E.

THE present volume is the first complete history of Australasia that has ever been given to the world. In a work intended for popular circulation, and of such extent, there must of necessity be much more of compilation than of original composition. The Compiler has therefore to acknowledge that he has made free use of all the works hitherto published relating to the Southern Colonies, either collectively or separately. In particular he would specify the works of Flinders, the Rev. Julian Woods, Westgarth, M'Combie, the Rev. Dr Lang, Wentworth, the Rev. John West, Bennett, Sidney, Bouwrick, Hareus, Dr Thomson, Colonel Mundy, the journals of the several explorers, the official handbooks of the various colonies, and a large mass of voyages, travels, descriptive sketches, and articles in the English reviews and magazines. As, in most cases, the portions extracted from printed works have been carefully condensed, verified, and sometimes almost re-written, it was not deemed necessary to give specific acknowledgment, or to cumber the pages with footnotes. The work, as it stands, may fairly be accepted as a faithful epitome of all that has ever yet been published respecting the British dominions in the South. To original research, learned disquisition, or brilliancy of narrative, it makes no pretensions whatsoever. But for strict adherence to truth, accuracy as to all historical facts, and painstaking collation of conflicting accounts, it may claim to be considered a standard authority. The work, in short, is a complete Australian library within the covers of a single volume. For obvious reasons, the history has not been extended beyond the introduction of self-government into the various colonies. To narrate the political history of each colony separately would require a series of volumes almost as numerous as those upon which the present work is founded ; whilst an attempt to epitomise that history

would merely be to give a dry catalogue of the legislative measures passed, and lists of the names of successive ministries. Besides, the political history of any one colony has really little or no interest for readers outside that particular colony. The people of New South Wales, for example, are not deeply interested in the politics of South Australia. The colonists of Victoria hardly feel any way concerned in the politics of Queensland. This volume, in fine, is what its title announces—"A History of Australasia." The time has not yet come when the special political history of any one of the Southern Colonies may be so written as to form an instructive and valuable addition to the world's literature.

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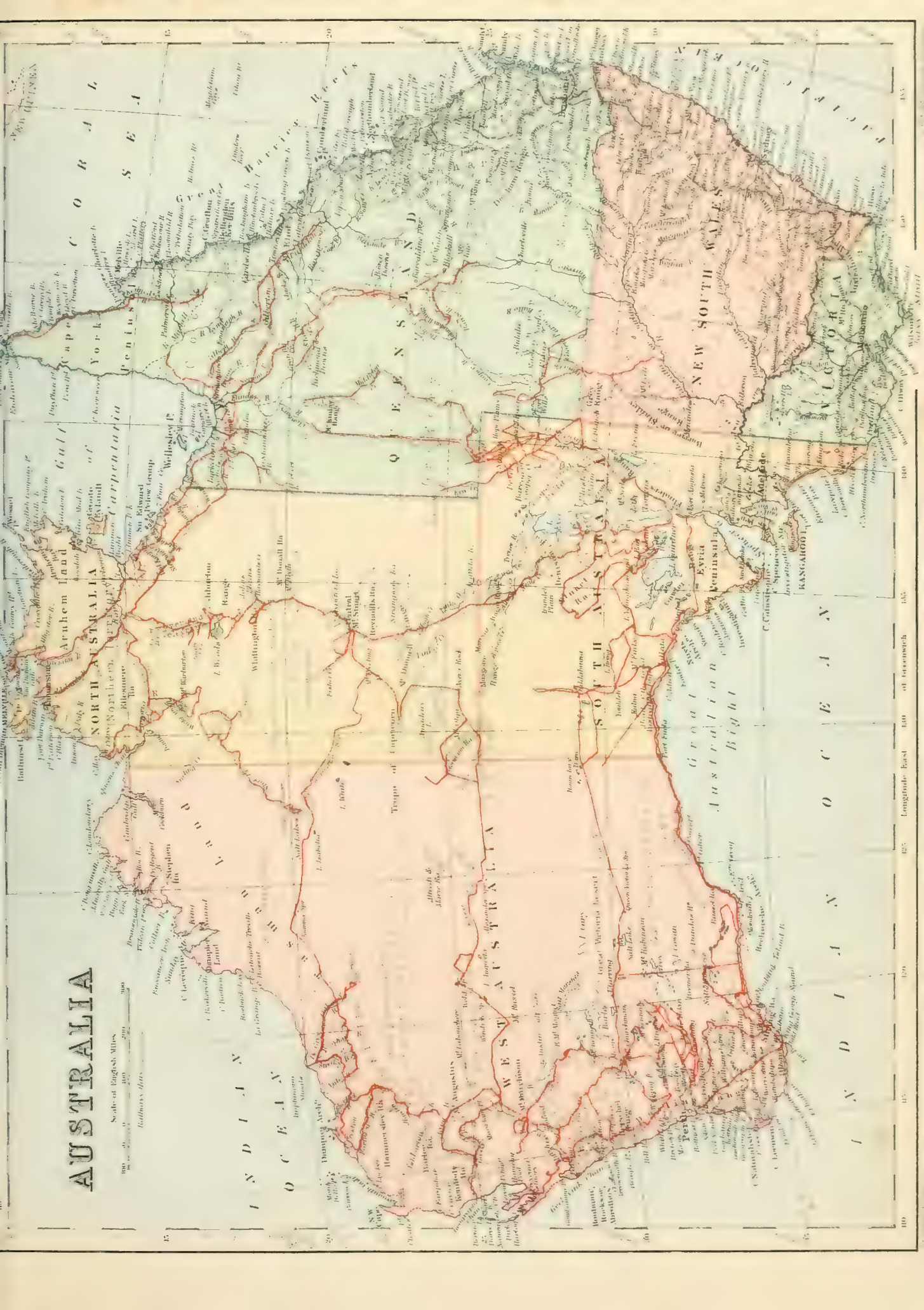
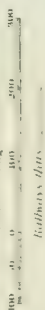
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AUSTRALIA

Scale of English Miles



THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALASIA.

BOOK I.

EARLY NAVIGATORS AND DISCOVERERS IN THE SOUTHERN OCEAN.

INTRODUCTION.

THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALASIA is the history of the discovery of a new world and the rise of a new empire. But it is a history marked by none of those stirring and romantic incidents which signalised the establishment of European power in America. It is a chronicle of peaceful maritime enterprise and tranquil settlement merely. The founders of this new empire were not ambitious warriors or mighty conquerors, but only hardy sailors and adventurous colonists. It is an empire, therefore, not founded in bloodshed. In the case of New Zealand only have there been wars with the native races for the possession of the soil. On the great continent itself, the early records show nothing more than progressive and prosperous sheep-farming, never armed conflict with the aboriginal inhabitants. In this regard Australasia presents a striking and happy contrast to both British and Spanish America, to India, to the Cape Colony, to the West India colonies, and even to Canada. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than War." And no grander victory of Peace has this world ever witnessed than the acquisition of Australasia by the British nation.

Yet it must be granted that a dark shadow rests upon the beginnings of history in these regions. At this distance of time it really seems incredible, in the retrospect, that British statesmen could have been guilty of such acts of infamous impolicy, of such shameful political wickedness, or could have shown such dull insensibility to the interests of the nation and the welfare of the human race, such culpable negligence, such blank short-sightedness, as marked for more than half-a-

century the dealings of the Imperial Government with the new territory placed in its possession. It was a magnificent opportunity lost for England and for the world. Had plain common sense, simple prudence, and humane feelings directed the counsels of the British Cabinet, when first the extent and value of Cook's discoveries in the Southern Ocean were fully realised and verified, the story of British settlement in Australasia would have been advanced full fifty years. What the new world in the South has become in 1877, it would have been in 1827 ; and to-day its development and prosperity would have been threefold what they now are. The early history of Australasia is an indelible stain upon British statesmanship.

Nevertheless the history is not destitute of interest, nor of a moral. The rise and progress of a new British dominion already numbering two millions of loyal subjects of the Crown, and rich almost beyond precedent in natural possessions, cannot but be interesting to the nation and to the world. And the moral it conveys is, that the bounty of Divine Providence is inexhaustible, that the British people are the best colonisers the world ever had, and that good statesmanship is of inestimable value to any nation. So far as the Australasian colonies are concerned, it must be gratefully acknowledged that the imperial rule is now maintained on principles of such perfect equity, of such generous freeness, that there remains not even the shadow of a substantial grievance to be redressed. All is peace, harmony, and mutual affection between the mother country and her children in the South. Whatever the future fortunes of these communities may be, at the present time the sentiment of fervent loyalty to the British Crown is universal amongst the people ; the golden link that binds them to the Throne may be slight in texture, but it is of adamant strength ; and the sincere wish of every Australian's heart is that it may last unbroken for long ages to come.

CHAPTER I.

EARLIEST DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTHERN OCEAN.

IGNORANCE OF THE ANCIENTS RESPECTING A SOUTHERN OCEAN—FIRST GLEAM OF LIGHT FROM ARABIA—"THE SEA OF PITCHY DARKNESS"—MARCO POLO'S DISCOVERIES—BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ AND VASCO DI GAMA—VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA—HIS ADVENTURES AND DISCOVERY OF THE PACIFIC—HE TAKES POSSESSION OF IT FOR SPAIN—NAMES IT THE SOUTH SEA—HIS FATE—MAGALHAENS' ADVENTURES, DISCOVERIES, AND FATE.

THE Great Southern Ocean is comparatively a modern discovery. Its existence seems never to have been imagined by the ancients of the times before Christianity. Nor do they appear to have had any idea that the Asiatic continent was bounded on the east by the sea. Homer figured the world as a circle begirt by the "great strength of ocean;" and this belief formed the basis of the old world's geographical knowledge for a long time afterwards. Even after the earth was discovered to be a globe, the existence of a girdling ocean was fully believed. The progress of discovery at length brought to light the existence of lands in those portions of the globe supposed to be covered by the ocean; but, proceeding with undue haste, it was next imagined that Asia extended eastward in an indefinite expanse. Such was the state of geographical knowledge, even amongst the most learned men of Europe, when the fall of the Roman Empire brought on the Dark Ages; and for centuries not one solitary gleam of light broke in upon the general darkness of mankind touching the world in the South.

The first gleam of light came from the East, where the Arabs pursued the study of geography with the utmost ardour. Their systems again revived the belief in a circumambient ocean, which bound the earth like a zone, and in which the world floated like an egg in a basin. That portion of this belt of waters which was imagined to flow round the north-eastern shores of Asia they called by the name of "The Sea of Pitchy Darkness." The Atlantic had by the Greeks been regarded as a fairy scene, where the Islands of the Blest were placed, in which, under calm skies, surrounded by unruffled seas, and amid groves of the sweetest odour, the favoured of the gods enjoyed everlasting peace and happiness. This fable found no place among the Arabs, who bestowed on that ocean the name of "The Sea of Darkness," and filled their imaginations with appalling pictures of its storms and dangers. Xerif al Edrisi, one of the most eminent of their geographers, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, observes: "No one has been able to verify anything concerning it, on account of its

difficult and perilous navigation, its great obscurity, its profound depth, and frequent tempests; through fear of its mighty fishes and its haughty winds; yet there are many islands in it, some peopled, others uninhabited. There is no mariner who dares to enter into its deep waters; or, if any have done so, they have merely kept along its coasts, fearful of departing from them. The waves of this ocean, although they roll as high as mountains, yet maintain themselves without breaking; for if they broke, it would be impossible for a ship to plough them."

But the mystery of the "Sea of Pitchy Darkness" was at length removed. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the celebrated Venetian traveller, MARCO POLO, succeeded in penetrating across the Asiatic continent, and reached the farthest shores of China. He brought back to Europe the most wonderful tales of Oriental pomp and magnificence, rivalling those of the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments." He spoke, in particular, of a vast sea which bounded China on the east. He drew a picture of it differing widely from the gloom and tempests with which the Arabian geographers had invested it. Experienced pilots and mariners had told him that "it contained no fewer than seven thousand four hundred and forty islands, mostly uninhabited." Of these islands Zipangu, or Japan, was the largest and richest. But he was careful to add that the sea containing these islands was no mere gulf, like the Egean or Adriatic, but a boundless extent of waters.

Thus early was the Asiatic margin of the Southern Ocean made known. More than two centuries elapsed before its opposite boundary was reached, or a European ship launched on its waves.

In 1486 BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ reached the Cape of Good Hope; and eleven years afterwards VASCO DI GAMA doubled the Cape, and conducted a fleet to the rich shores of India.

In the year 1513 the Spaniards at length reached that ocean of which they had heard many vague rumours from the natives of Tierra Firme. The honour of this discovery is due to VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA, a man sprung from a decayed family, and who, first appearing in the New World as a mere soldier of fortune, of dissolute habits, and of desperate hopes, had by courage and intrigue raised himself to the government of a small colony established at Santa Maria in Darien. In one of his forays against the native inhabitants when in this command, he procured a large quantity of gold. While he was dividing the treasure among his followers, much disputing took place in the presence of a young *cacique* (or chief), who, disdaining brawls for what seemed to him so mean an object, struck the scales with his hand and scattered the gold on the ground, exclaiming: "Why should you quarrel for such a trifle? If this gold is indeed so precious in your eyes, that for it you forsake your homes, invade the peaceful lands of strangers, and expose yourselves to such sufferings and perils, I will tell you of a province where you may gratify your wishes to the utmost. Behold those lofty mountains," he said, pointing to the south, "beyond these lies a mighty sea which may be discerned from their summit. It is navigated by people who have vessels not much less than yours, and furnished like them with

sails and oars. All the streams which flow down the southern side of those mountains into that sea abound in gold, and the kings who reign upon its borders eat and drink out of golden vessels. Gold is as plentiful and common among these people of the south as iron is among you Spaniards." From the moment he heard this intelligence, the mind of Vasco Nunez became occupied with this one object, and he steadfastly devoted all his thoughts and actions to the discovery of the southern sea indicated by this chief. Many difficulties, however, retarded the undertaking, and it was not till the 1st of September 1513 that he set forth, accompanied by no more than a hundred and ninety soldiers. After incredible toil in marching through hostile tribes, he at length approached the base of the last ridge he had to climb, and rested there for the night. On the 26th of September, with the first glimmering of light, he commenced the ascent, and by ten o'clock had reached the brow of the mountain from the summit of which he was assured he would see the promised ocean. Here Vasco Nunez made his followers halt, and mounted alone to the bare hill-top. What must have been his emotions when he reached the summit! Below him extended forests, green fields, and winding rivers; and beyond he beheld the South Sea illuminated by the morning sun. At this glorious sight he fell on his knees, and extending his arms towards the ocean, and weeping for joy, returned thanks to Heaven for being the first European who had been permitted to behold these long-sought waters. He then made signs to his companions to ascend, and when they obtained a view of the magnificent scene, a priest who was amongst them began to chant the anthem "*Te Deum laudamus*," all the rest kneeling and joining in the solemn strain. This burst of pious enthusiasm is strangely contrasted with the feelings of avarice to which, even in the moment of exultation, their leader surrendered his mind, when he congratulated them on the prospect of becoming, "by the favour of CHRIST, the richest Spaniards that ever came to the Indies!" After this he caused a tall tree to be felled and formed into a cross, which was erected on the spot whence he first beheld the western deep. He then began to descend from the mountains to the shores of the new-found ocean, and on the 29th of September reached a vast bay named by him San Miguel, from the festival on which it was discovered. Unfurling a banner whereon was painted a figure of the Virgin, with the arms of Castile at her feet, he marched with his drawn sword in his hand and his buckler on his shoulder knee-deep into the rushing tide, and, in a loud voice, took possession of the sea and of all the shores it washed. He concluded the ceremony by cutting with his dagger a cross on a tree that grew in the water, and his followers, dispersing themselves in the forest, expressed their devotion by carving similar marks with their weapons. Vasco Nunez then betook himself to pillage: he exacted from the natives contributions in gold and provisions; and being told of a country to the south where the people possessed abundance of gold and used beasts of burden, the rude figure of a lama traced on the beach suggested to him the camel, and confirmed him in the opinion that he had reached "the gates of the East Indies." From the circumstance of the ocean having been first descried from the Isthmus of Darien, which runs nearly east and west, it

received the name of the SOUTH SEA,—a title which, however accurately applied to the part first seen, is employed with little propriety to designate the whole vast expanse of the Pacific. Tidings of this great discovery were immediately transmitted to Spain, and received with delight and triumph. But instead of rewarding so important a service, the Court despatched a governor to supersede Balboa, who by the perfidy of his successor was publicly executed in 1517! So does the world sometimes reward its greatest benefactors!

The glory of discovering a path to the South Sea, and of overcoming the difficulties which had hitherto impeded the navigation of its waters, is due to FERNANDO DE MAGALHAENS, the great Portuguese navigator. The life of this distinguished mariner was a succession of the wildest and most romantic adventures. An English and incorrect version of his name lives in the well-known STRAITS OF MAGELLAN, which he was the first to explore. It was he who gave the name of the PACIFIC to the Southern Ocean, from the delightful weather he first experienced in its waters. He it was also that discovered the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, which have ever since remained a possession of Spain. He perished in a petty quarrel between two hostile tribes in the islands. His imperishable bequests to the world are the discovery of the communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the opening up of the Southern Ocean to European enterprise, and the demonstration as a certain fact of the spherical form of the earth.

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT SOUTH LAND.

DIM NOTIONS OF THE ANCIENTS OF A GREAT SOUTH LAND—SENECA, THEOPOMPUS, AND MANILIUS—THE CHINESE CLAIM TO THE DISCOVERY—DE GONNEVILLE'S CLAIM—MAGALHAENS' CLAIM—MR MAJOR'S RESEARCHES HAVE ESTABLISHED THE PORTUGUESE CLAIM.

THERE are indications that the ancients had some dim notions of a Great Southern Land. Passages in the writings of Roman authors of about the date of the Christian era seem to indicate as much. Thus, Seneca speaks of the latter days when Oceanus shall relax the bonds of the universe, and a new earth and new orbs shall be discovered. A writer named Theopompus relates a conversation between a demigod and a mortal, the former of whom speaks of lands existing outside the ocean which circumscribes Europe, Asia, and Libya, where men are twice our stature, and where are big animals and mighty beasts. Another writer named Manilius distinctly speaks of a habitable part of the southern hemisphere, which part, he says, lies under our feet. And it is notable that this statement is made in a treatise put forth to prove the spherical form of the earth.

A claim is made on behalf of the Chinese for the discovery of the Australian continent at a very remote period. Marco Polo gives a description of some large island lying to the south-east of Java, the particulars of which, it is presumed, he learned in the Celestial Empire. Mr Marsden, the translator of Marco Polo's "Travels," and after him Mr Major, have shown that the countries referred to were islands in the Indian Archipelago.

The next claim is as easily disposed of. It is made on behalf of BINOT PAULMIER DE GONNEVILLE, who sailed from Honfleur in 1503, on a voyage to the South Seas. It appears he rounded the Cape of Good Hope in safety, and was then overtaken by a storm, which caused him to lose all knowledge of where he was. When a calm returned he steered southward. This course brought him to a land where he remained six months, and then returned to France, bringing with him one of the inhabitants. The ship was plundered by an English corsair on its return, so that the journals were lost; but a declaration was made by De Gonneville and his officers as to the facts of their voyage, and sent to the Admiralty of France. Many years after, the great-grandson of the native brought to Europe on this voyage petitioned the Pope to be allowed to form an expedition for the conversion of the natives of the country of his ancestors.

The account of the voyage, printed with the petition, is the only narrative on the subject now extant. Many have supposed that the country thus visited was Australia; but this view is quite untenable, for a simple reason: De Gonneville describes the inhabitants of his new country as being already far advanced in civilisation; and this could in no degree apply to any portion of Australia.

There is one more claim to be disposed of, before coming to the real discoveries of the continent. It is made in behalf of Magalhaens, as one of the results of his celebrated voyage round the world, made in 1520, in the ship "Vittoria." The assertion was made in 1855 by Aldama Ayula, of Madrid, and he pointed for a confirmation of his views to a magnificently illuminated map, made in 1570 by Vaz Domado, and formerly preserved in the Carthusian monastery of Evora. Dr John Martin has recently examined that map. He states that it contains no land laid down to the south of New Guinea; but that, separated from the rest of the chart by the bordering scale of parallels of latitude, there is a line of coast running from west to east, with a little southing. Supposing that the whole sheet were meant to constitute one map, this could not be Australia, for it lies north-east of New Guinea; neither is there any land known which would at all correspond to it in that position, especially with such large rivers as the chart represents it to have. It is supposed, therefore, to be a marginal map of the coast of the Magellan Straits, and some of the names correspond with that locality. Subsequent chartographers mistook it for a chart of the north coast of New Guinea, and hence, in all subsequent maps, the latter island has upon its north side all the names of Magalhaens' chart.

The researches of Mr Major, of the British Museum, have brought to light some proofs that the Portuguese had discovered the Great Southern Continent prior to 1540. A book published in 1598 states that "the Australis Terra is the most southern of all lands, and is separated from New Guinea by a narrow strait. Its shores are hitherto but little known, since after one voyage and another that route has been deserted, and seldom is the country visited, unless when sailors are driven there by storms. The Australis Terra begins at two or three degrees from the equator, and is ascertained by some to be of so great an extent, that were it thoroughly explored, it would be regarded as a fifth part of the world."

CHAPTER III.

VOYAGE OF DE QUIROS.

PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS—PILOT IN THE SPANISH EXPEDITION OF 1594—HIS PREVIOUS ADVENTURES—SUPERSTITION RESPECTING THE SOUTH SEA—FATE OF THE EARLIEST NAVIGATORS—QUIROS AT PERU—ASSERTS THE EXISTENCE OF A GREAT SOUTHERN CONTINENT—SENT TO SPAIN—OBTAINS ORDERS FOR AN EXPEDITION—SAILS FROM CALLAO—LUIS VAEZ DE TORRES—EXPEDITION—LANDS AT AN ISLAND—TAUMACO—MANICOLO—AUSTRALIA DEL ESPIRITU SANTO—HOSTILITY OF THE NATIVES—QUIROS SAILS FOR MEXICO—HIS APPEALS TO PHILIP THE SECOND—ANOTHER EXPEDITION—DE QUIROS SETS OUT, BUT DIES AT PANAMA—ADVENTURES OF TORRES—NEW HEBRIDES—NEW GUINEA—SIGHTS THE NORTHERN COAST OF THE SOUTHERN CONTINENT—HAD PASSED UNWITTING THROUGH TORRES STRAITS—RETURNS TO MANILLA—HIS ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE—SPANISH CARELESSNESS—TORRES STRAIT NAMED.

PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE QUIROS, a Spaniard by birth, was chief pilot to an expedition fitted out in 1594 by the Viceroy of Peru, at the command of Philip the Second of Spain, to establish a colony in one of the islands of the Solomon Archipelago. He had already given proofs of his abilities as a navigator; for he had taken the vessels of Mendana back to the Philippine Islands after the death of the commander, and on the voyage thither had discovered an island, one of the Caroline group, to which the name of Quirosa, in honour of the discoverer, was given by his shipmates. He had also written an account of Mendana's expedition in a letter to a friend, Don Antonio Merga, who published it in a "History of the Philippines." After the failure of that ill-starred expedition, there was an abatement in that passion for adventure which formerly inflamed the hearts of the Spanish nation, afforded to her chivalrous youth so many harvests of gain, and extended her sceptre over regions of great extent, wealth, and beauty. There had even arisen a superstitious feeling against the discovery of the South Sea, as if it had been an impious intrusion into the secrets of Nature. The untimely fate of all who had been principally concerned in this great event was now recollected. It was told that Vasco Nunez had been beheaded; that Magellan had fallen by the hands of the infidels; that his companion, the astrologer Ruy Falero, had died raving mad; and that the seaman De Lepe, who had first descried the strait from the topmast, had abandoned Christ to follow Mohammed. But the spirit which had glowed so long was not wholly

dead, and we have yet to record the actions of one of the most distinguished navigators whom Spain has produced.

Undaunted by the hardships and failures of Mendana's expedition, the gallant Quiros returned to Peru, eager to engage in fresh adventures, and, as one of his memorials expresses it, "to plough up the waters of the unknown sea, and to seek out the undiscovered lands around the Antarctic Pole—the centre of that horizon." Arguing upon grounds which were received by many learned men as conclusive and unanswerable, he asserted the existence of a vast SOUTHERN CONTINENT, or at least of a mass of islands, the antipodes of the greater part of Europe, Africa, and Asia. The viceroy, to whom he detailed his views, heartily approved of the project; but as the limits of his authority prevented him from furnishing means for its execution, he sent Quiros to Spain with letters of recommendation to the king and his ministers. These were successful. Quiros left the court with "the most honourable schedules that had ever passed the Council of State." He forthwith proceeded to Lima; and, throwing into oblivion all that he had endured for eleven years in the pursuit of his grand object, he began his preparations for the search for the Southern Continent.

Having built two vessels and a *zabra* (a species of launch), the strongest and the best armed that had yet been seen on either sea, Quiros set sail from the port of Callao on the 21st of December 1605. His second in command was LUIS VAEZ DE TORRES. Six grey (or Franciscan) friars accompanied the expedition. On reaching the latitude of 26° S., Quiros deemed it proper to pursue a more northerly track, in opposition to the advice of Torres, who thought that by advancing to 30° S. there was a greater probability of finding the desired continent. The first land was sighted on the 26th of January 1606. It was merely a flat sandy island, apparently without inhabitants. Several islands, and groups of islands, were subsequently discovered. But on the 10th of February the sailor on the topmast gave the joyful intelligence that land was ahead. Torres describes it as "a low island, with a point to the south-east which was covered with palm-trees." A body of about a hundred natives were seen upon the beach, making signs of joy. Upon landing, the voyagers were welcomed with much apparent affection, the natives kissing them upon the forehead. Quiros named the island La Sagitaria: the most eminent geographers now identify it with Otaheite. This opinion is not, however, fully verified.

Setting sail again on the 12th of February, Quiros continued his westward course, discovering many other islands, at some of which he landed. A mutiny broke out in his ship, which the gallant navigator quelled without bloodshed. At length, on the afternoon of the 7th of April, the cry of "Land ahead!" was given forth by the man at the masthead. It was a high black coast, standing boldly out into the sea. Two days were spent in efforts to obtain a safe landing-place. On the 9th the voyagers set their feet on the new territory. It was found to be inhabited, and the natives gave their country the name of TAUMACO. They told Quiros that to the southward there lay many islands, and a large country named MANICOLO. Struck with the idea that this might be the Great Southern Continent of which he was in search, the Spanish voyager set sail again, and

steering southward he discovered, on the 20th April 1606, a vast territory which "seemed to have no end, and was full of great mountains." Quiros, convinced that this must be the long-sought-for Land of Promise, cast anchor in a large bay on the 2d of May, and solemnly named the new region AUSTRALIA DEL ESPIRITU SANTO. He took formal possession of the country in the name of King Philip the Second of Spain, and founded a city which he named LA NUEVA JERUSALEM.

But a formidable obstacle to the acquirement of this delightful land arose before the adventurers. The natives were adverse. They were, moreover, armed with bows and arrows, and of warlike character. A collision took place, in which a chief and several other natives were slain. This unhappy event put an end to all prospects of conciliation. In the meantime the stock of provisions was failing. In less than a month Quiros was obliged to take his departure from Australia del Espiritu Santo; and, complying with the suggestions of his officers, he steered for Mexico, where he arrived in the middle of October.

The subsequent career of this gallant Spanish adventurer was not happy. Still thirsting after discovery and the romance of sea life, he went back to Spain, and for several years was compelled to learn the bitter lesson of dependence on kingly favour, in vainly suing from the implacable Philip the means for prosecuting his researches in new regions. He presented no fewer than fifty memorials. In one of these, after dwelling in glowing language on the beauty and fertility of the Australian territory he had discovered, he concluded thus: "Acquire, sire, since you can, acquire heaven, eternal fame, and that new world with all its promises. And since there is none who solicits of your majesty the rewards for the glad tidings of so great and signal a blessing of God, reserved for your happy time, I, sire, supplicate them, and as such my despatch; for the galleons are ready, and I have many places to go to, and much to provide and to do. If Christoval Colon's (Columbus) conjectures did make him pertinacious, what I have seen, and what I offer, must make me so importunate." These powerful pleadings moved even Philip's heart at last. He gave orders for the fitting out of another expedition under the command of Quiros. But the concession came too late. The dauntless navigator had wasted his forces in suing long at Philip's court. He set out for Lima for the purpose of arranging the expedition, but he died on the journey at Panama. So perished one of the world's greatest men, and one of Spain's most illustrious sons.

The history now returns to the adventures of LUIS VAEZ DE TORRES. When Quiros was leaving the Bay of Saints Philip and James in his Australian land, the ship commanded by Torres, by some unexplained mischance, parted company with its consort. Torres remained at anchor in the bay for a fortnight afterwards. He then set sail and steered along the west side of the territory, which he found to be well watered and possessed of many ports. He found it to be an island, not a continent. It is now generally believed to have been one of the islands belonging to the archipelago of the New Hebrides, and geographers give the name ESPIRITU SANTO to the largest island in that group. For two months Torres threaded his course through the intricate navigation of the region lying to the north-east of the true Australian continent. While sailing west-

wards, and in $11\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south latitude, he descried land which he rightly believed to be the eastern extremity of NEW GUINEA. Still continuing his course, he at length sighted land to the south. The daring navigator, without knowing it, had in reality sailed through the famous strait which now bears his name. He had, therefore, perceived the north-eastern corner of the continent, now called CAPE YORK. Pursuing his devious course, Torres arrived at Manilla in the Philippines in May 1607.

The enterprising voyager had seen the Promised Land from afar off; but he does not seem to have been aware that it was really the Great Southern Continent. His discoveries were not counted of very great interest or importance by the world. Perhaps his stories of his adventures were scouted as fictions. However that may be, it is certain that the Spaniards were in possession of the Philippines for more than a century without making any attempts, from that position of advantage, to discover the vast territory lying to the southward. The record of Torres' voyages was drawn up by his own hand, under the title of "Relation of Luis Vaez de Torres concerning the discoveries of Quiros as his Admiral. Dated, Manilla, 12th of July 1607." This precious document was allowed to lie unnoted amongst the archives at Manilla until the capture of that city by the English in 1762. The papers then fell into the hands of a shrewd Scotchman named Dalrymple, who kept possession of them, translated them, and gave them to the world in an historical work he subsequently published. Dalrymple, zealous for the fame of the great Spanish navigator, gave the name of TORRES to the STRAITS which he was the first European to penetrate.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY DUTCH NAVIGATORS.

THE RISE OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC—ITS MARITIME ENTERPRISE—VOYAGE OF THE “DUYFHEN”—CAUSES OF ITS FAILURE—FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT SOUTHERN LAND—YACHT VOYAGE IN 1617—DIRK HATICH'S VOYAGE—EENDRACHT'S LAND—RELICS OF HATICH'S VOYAGE—ZEACHEN NAMES ARNHEIM LAND—VAN EDELS NAMES VAN EDELS' LAND AND CAPE LEEUWIN—VAN NUYTS NAMES VAN NUYTS' LAND—DE WITT'S LAND NAMED—CAPTAIN PETER CARPENTER—CARSTEN'S EXPEDITION—POOL'S EXPEDITION.

THE story of the glorious struggle for their national freedom, which the founders of the Dutch Republic so long maintained against their Spanish tyrants, has been made familiar to English readers by the brilliant pen of MOTLEY. Before the close of that struggle the Dutch had wrested the supremacy of the seas from the Spaniards. Following the example set them by the English, they had at an early date sent two fleets into the Southern Ocean; but at the beginning of the seventeenth century they rose to the first place amongst the European nations in the domain of navigation and discovery. Their enterprises were fitted out on a large and liberal scale; their commanders were men of unbounded energy and perseverance; and the spirit of the nation was high and undaunted. To the Dutch we are undoubtedly indebted for the first authentic acquaintance with the coast of Australia. Torres, as we have seen, had just sighted, but without recognising, the northern border of the continent. But on the 11th of November 1605—the same year that Quiros and Torres sailed from Peru—a Dutch yacht, named the “Duyfhen,” was despatched from Bantam in Java, to explore the coast of New Guinea. It is certain that this vessel, in returning from the expedition, sailed along what was thought to be the west side of that island, but was in reality the great promontory of the Australian continent lying to the eastward of the Gulf of Carpentaria. At the points on which the voyagers touched they found the land for the most part desert, but occupied in some places by a race of “wild, cruel, black savages, who murdered some of their crew.” Want of provisions compelled the “Duyfhen” to return to Bantam in June 1606. The name of Cape Keer-Weer (or Turn-again), given by the voyagers to the headland in the gulf which marks the farthest limit of their adventure, still commemorates the undertaking. But the voyage of the “Duyfhen,” like the enterprise of Torres, was prosecuted in ignorance of its real nature, so that the discovery was for the time robbed of its greatest interest.

To these early navigators all seemed desolate and barren; for, since the discovery of America, the voyage of Vasco di Gama, and the exploration of the Indian Archipelago, the adventurer continually thirsted for some new El Dorado, where gold was to be found in every stream, where amber was washed up on the beach, where spices perfumed the forests, and pearls were plentiful in the shallow waters near the shore. The wild aspect of the Australian coast consequently offered little temptation to them.

The course of the "Duyfhen" from New Guinea was southward, along the islands on the west side of Torres Strait, to that part of the continent a little to the west and south of Cape York; but all these lands were thought to be connected, and to form the west coast of New Guinea. Thus, without being conscious of it, the commander of the "Duyfhen" made the first authenticated discovery of any part of the Great South Land, about March 1606; its arrival at Bantam dating three months later.

Another expedition was undertaken in a yacht in the year 1617, with little success, and the journals and remarks of the voyage were lost.

In the instructions given to Tasman for his subsequent voyage in 1644 it is stated that, "in the years 1616, 1618, 1619, and 1622, the west coast of this Great Unknown South Land, from 35° to 22° south latitude, was discovered by outward-bound ships; and among them by the ship 'Eendracht.'" The recital gives no further particulars; but from thence, and from a manuscript chart by Essel Gerrits, dated 1627, there seems to be sufficient authority for attributing the first authenticated discovery of any part of the western coasts to DIRK HATICH (commonly, but incorrectly, named Dirk Hartog), who commanded the "Eendracht." He sailed from Holland for the East Indies early in 1616. In latitude 25° S. he fell in with the western coast of the continent, which he named EENDRACHT'S LAND. A small island and adjacent roadstead, lying on the western side of the bay afterwards named Shark's Bay by Dampier, still bears the familiar name of DIRK HARTOG'S ISLAND. In 1697, and again in 1801, there was found on this island a plate of tin, with an inscription, of which the following is a translation: "Anno 1616, the 25th of October, arrived here the ship 'Eendracht' of Amsterdam; the first merchant, Gillis Miebaïs of Luik; Dirk Hartog, of Amsterdam, captain. They sailed from hence for Bantam, the 27th of the same month." On the lower part was cut out with a knife, but hardly distinguishable: "The under merchant, Jan Stins; chief mate, Pieter Dookus of Bill."

Two years afterwards, the land extending from the North-West Cape to the fifteenth parallel of south latitude was discovered by another Dutch captain of the name of ZEACHEN, who also appears to have discovered and surveyed a considerable portion of the northern coast, which he named the LAND OF ARNHEIM. In the year following (1619) Captain JOHN VAN EDELS visited the western coast to the southward of Eendracht's Land, and gave his name to a part of it about the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude. In the year 1622 the South-West Cape was discovered, with the land extending to the northward as far as VAN EDELS' LAND, and was named, probably from the vessel in which the discovery was

effected, LANDT VAN DE LEEUWIN, or the LAND OF LIONS. Five years afterwards a considerable part of the southern coast was discovered by Captain PETER VAN NUYTS, who bequeathed to it his own mellifluous name; and in 1628, the line of coast, intervening between Eendracht's Land and the discoveries of Zeachen, was discovered and surveyed by a vessel belonging to the Dutch East India Company, and named DE WITT'S LAND, in honour of the commodore who then commanded the Dutch East Indian squadron. During the same year, Captain PETER CARPENTER, a naval commander in the service of the same Honourable Company, to whose enlightened intelligence and persevering enterprise geographical science was thus early and deeply indebted, entered and explored the GULF OF CARPENTARIA on the northern coast of the continent.

In January 1623 the yachts "Pera" and "Arnheim," under the command of JAN CARSTENS, were despatched from Amboyna. The commander, with eight of his crew, was treacherously murdered by the natives of New Guinea; but the vessels prosecuted the voyage, and discovered "the great island Arnheim and the Speult." They were then untimely separated; and the "Arnheim" returned to Amboyna. But the "Pera" persisted, and sailed along the south coast of New Guinea to a flat cove situate in 10° south latitude, and ran along the west coast of this land to Cape Keer-Weer; from thence discovered the coast farther southward, as far as 17° , to Staten River. From this place, what more of the land could be discovered seemed to stretch westward. The "Pera" then returned to Amboyna. "In this discovery were found everywhere shallow water and barren coasts; islands altogether thinly peopled by divers cruel, poor, and brutal nations; and of very little use to the Company"—that is, the Dutch East India Company.

In 1636 GERRIT TOMAZ POOL was sent from Bantam on a fresh expedition to the south. He unhappily met the same fate as Carstens at New Guinea. But the expedition was nevertheless continued by PIETER PIETERSEN, the supercargo, and sailed along "the coast of Arnheim or Van Diemen's Land"—by which names the northern part of the continent was then called by the Dutch—for a distance of 120 miles, without seeing any people, but many signs of smoke."

CHAPTER V.

PELSART'S VOYAGE AND SHIPWRECK.

DUTCH EXPEDITION OF 1628—FRANCIS PELSART COMMANDER OF THE "BATAVIA"—SEPARATED FROM THE FLEET IN A STORM—REACHES THE COAST OF NEW HOLLAND—THE SHIP STRIKES ON HOUTMAN'S ABROLHOS—PASSENGERS AND CREW LAND ON THE ROCKS—SUFFERINGS OF THE SHIPWRECKED PEOPLE—PELSART RETURNS TO BATAVIA FOR AID AND SUPPLIES—MUTINY AMONGST THE SAILORS AND MURDEROUS DESIGN—PELSART RETURNS—EXECUTES THE MUTINEERS EXCEPTING TWO, WHO ARE MAROONED—PELSART RETURNS WITH THE SHIPWRECKED PEOPLE TO BATAVIA—SEARCH FOR WATER—DISCOVERS NATIVES—END OF THE VOYAGE—THE TWO MAROONED SEAMEN.

IN 1628 eleven vessels were equipped for another expedition by the Dutch East India Company, and sailed from Texel on the 28th of October. After they had passed the Cape of Good Hope, one of them, the "Batavia," commanded by FRANCIS PELSART, became separated from the others in a storm. While beating about for some time, the crew discovered Australia, but in a most dismal manner. The vessel, like all the Dutch East Indiamen, carried an enormous crew besides passengers, making a living freight of human beings utterly unprovided for in case of accident. The "Batavia" drifted about for many days, the pilots fondly fancying that they were steering for Bantam, but without the slightest idea where they were. One bright moonlight night—the 4th of June 1629—fair and calm, while the ship was going easily along, the master of the vessel called attention to the white appearance of the water beyond them. The steersman merely said it was the moonlight reflection from the waters. But he was wrong. It was foam from breakers, and when the ship got fairly into it she struck heavily. The spot was the Abrolhos, or Rocks, of Houtman, lying off the west coast of the continent. Pelsart, who was ill in bed, immediately ran on deck and upbraided the master, asking where they were. He replied, simply enough, that God only knew that. Meanwhile, they tried the lead, and found forty-eight feet of water ahead and less astern. An old tub of the old school, she must certainly have been, if she could not float in that. However, float she would not; so they commenced throwing the cannon overboard to lighten her. This might have succeeded, but a storm of wind and rain arose (says Pelsart in his quaint journal), and the vessel began to bump most ominously upon the rocks around them. Then they cut away the mainmast, but this only increased their danger, because it became entangled in the rigging, and lay alongside. The journal is worth

quoting at this stage of the proceedings: "They could see no land, except an island which was about the distance of three leagues, and two small islands, or rather rocks, which lay nearer. They immediately sent the master to examine them, who returned about nine in the morning, and reported that the sea at high water did not cover them, but that the coast was so rocky and full of shoals that it would be very difficult to land upon them. They resolved, however, to run the risk, and to send most of their company on shore to pacify the women, children, sick people, and several as were out of their wits with fear." This last statement, though not very clear, shows that the good ship "Batavia" had a very miscellaneous collection of people on board, and gives us a glimpse of what an unpleasant thing a passage in such vessels was, even where one was not shipwrecked. The journalist goes on to say: "About ten o'clock they embarked these (women, children, and sick) in their shallop and skiff; and perceiving that the vessel began to break up, they redoubled their diligence. They likewise endeavoured to get their bread up, but did not take the same care of the water, not reflecting in their fright that they might be much distressed on shore for want of it. But what hindered them most of all was the brutal behaviour of some of the crew, who made themselves drunk with the wine, of which no care was taken. In short, such was the confusion, that they made but three trips that day, carrying over to the island 150 persons, twenty barrels of bread, and some small casks of water. The master returned on board towards evening, and told the captain that it was to no purpose to send more provisions on shore, since the people only wasted those they had already. Upon this the captain went in the shallop to put things in order, and was there informed that there was no water to be found upon the island."

The rest of the story must be stated briefly. Water was found at last on one of the islands, but it was a long time before it was discovered, because the holes in which it was used to fill and empty themselves at the rise and fall of the tide, and were naturally concluded to be salt water. When things were a little in order, Pelsart put a deck to one of the ship's boats, and coasted along towards Batavia. This he reached in safety. Those who were left behind had a sad time of it. Half of them mutinied, and tried to murder the other half, for the sake of getting control of the cargo. They nearly succeeded, but the few survivors, fighting resolutely for their lives, succeeded in escaping to a neighbouring island. Here they were exposed to daily attacks from the mutineers, until Pelsart returned. The narrative tells us, with admirable brevity, that the majority voted for the immediate execution of the mutineers, which was then and there carried into effect. But two of them were spared, and were set ashore or marooned on the mainland.

In proceeding to Batavia, Pelsart was enabled to see a good deal of the western coast. The mainland was about sixteen miles N. by W. from the place where they suffered shipwreck. He reported the shore as low, naked, and exceedingly rocky, being nearly the same height as that near Dover on the English coast. Farther on it presented one continuous rock of red colour, and of an equal height. Pelsart landed above Shark's Bay on the 14th of June, and found

that there was in front of the coast a table of sand one mile in breadth, and none but brackish water to be found on it. Beyond this the country was flat, without vegetation or trees, with nothing in view but ant-hills, and these so large that from a distance they were taken to be the habitations of the natives. Some of the savages were seen carrying clubs, and apparently anxious to surprise and massacre the boat's crew, as they crept towards the seamen, who were seeking for water, on their hands and feet. One of the seamen stood up on an eminence, and the savages perceiving him took to flight. They are described as wild, black, and altogether naked; not covering even those parts which almost all savages conceal. On the 16th savages were again seen in another part of the coast, but they took to flight upon the Dutch sailors approaching them. The voyagers reached Batavia in safety.

When Tasman was sent out in 1642, it was part of his instructions to inquire after the two Dutchmen whom Pelsart had marooned. But no account of them was ever obtained.

CHAPTER VI.

TASMAN'S VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES.

ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY—DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY—GOVERNOR VAN DIEMEN AND ABEL JANSZ TASMAN—TASMAN'S JOURNAL OF HIS FIRST VOYAGE—EXPEDITION OF 1642—DISCOVERY OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—ADVENTURES THERE—TAKES POSSESSION—ESTIMATE OF TASMAN'S DISCOVERIES—NEW ZEALAND DISCOVERED—FATAL AFFRAY AT MURDERERS' BAY—TASMAN LEAVES NEW ZEALAND—TASMAN'S SECOND VOYAGE IN 1644—HIS INSTRUCTIONS—MAPS AND SKETCHES OF HIS DISCOVERIES—ADMIRAL BURNEY'S ESTIMATE OF TASMAN.

IN the opening year of the seventeenth century Queen Elizabeth granted to certain merchants of the city of London a charter to trade to the East Indies, reserving to them all rights and privileges, and constituting them a body corporate. This was the foundation of the long-famous, but now extinct, East India Company. A similar charter was granted by the Dutch Government to certain merchants of Amsterdam in 1602, and thus the great East India Company of the Netherlands was founded. This Company effected various settlements in the Indian Archipelago, the headquarters being at Batavia. The governor-general was instructed from Holland to carry on exploration in the adjoining seas; and from the first discoveries of Dirk Hatichs there were always some Dutch vessels cruising about the unknown waters lying to the southward and eastward of the settlements. But it was not till the year 1642 that any material results were secured by the adventurers.

At that date General Antony Van Diemen was Governor-General of the Netherlands' India; and one of his most trusted captains was a Hollander of obscure birth named Abel Jansz Tasman. An expedition was fitted out by the governor-general for the purpose of exploring the coast of the Australian continent which had been sighted by previous adventurers, and the command of it was given to Tasman. It is a remarkable fact that the only account of this memorable voyage—in the course of which the great islands of Tasmania and New Zealand were discovered—that the world possessed for more than a century after its termination was a curtailed abridgment published at Amsterdam in 1674, and an abstract of a more extended kind included in Valentyn's great Dutch work on the East Indian possessions of the Company at Amsterdam. About 1771, however, a manuscript journal of Tasman's, written by his own hand, was brought to England by an unknown hand, and offered for sale to Sir Joseph Banks. Perceiving the value of this precious document, Sir Joseph

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purchased it, and deposited it amongst the treasures of his magnificent library. He also caused an English translation of it to be made by the Rev. Charles Godfrey Woide, chaplain to the Dutch chapel at St James's Palace. At Sir Joseph Banks's death, his library was bequeathed to the British Museum in London, where, no doubt, Tasman's journal is still to be found. The original document and the translation were lent by Sir Joseph to Flinders, and also to Captain (afterwards Admiral) Burney, who was engaged in compiling a chronological history of the discoveries in the South Sea. The work was published in five volumes quarto in London, between the years 1803 and 1817, and copies of it are to be found in both the Public and Parliamentary Libraries at London. It contains the entire text of Tasman's manuscript, with the exception of some purely nautical details, of no permanent importance. As the Dutch Government was always very jealous of the possession of the records drawn up by its voyagers and discoverers, lest other nations should obtain the benefit of them, it is not easy to account for the means by which this invaluable document found its way from Batavia to England. Doubts have been, therefore, cast upon its genuineness; but in a carefully-written introduction Captain Burney discusses at some length the question of the authenticity of the journal, and proves the point conclusively. In fact, it possesses every mark of originality. In particular, the minutest incidents of the navigation, from leaving Batavia to the arrival at the scene of new discovery, are noted down; details which have absolutely nothing in them to attract curiosity, or to repay the trouble of copying at length. No forger would think of inventing them. Comparing the journal with Valentyn's account, it is found that the latter copies from it almost verbally, but condenses a good deal, and alters the narrative to the third person. The loss to the reader from this alteration may be mentally measured by comparing De Foe's account of Robinson Crusoe's adventures with a dry abstract of them made by a very commonplace hand. The journal commences in the fine old fashion of three centuries ago: "Journal or description by me, Abel Jansz Tasman, of a voyage from Batavia, for making discoveries of the unknown South Land, in the year 1642. May God Almighty be pleased to give His blessing to this voyage! Amen."

The voyagers weighed anchor from Batavia on the 14th of August 1642, and stood out south-eastward to sea; "for which the Lord be praised!" adds the pious commander. On the 27th a council was held, when it was resolved to keep a man constantly at the topmast-head to look out, and that whosoever first discovered land, sands, or banks under water, should receive a reward of three reals and a pot of arrack. On the 24th of November, at four o'clock in the afternoon, land was sighted, bearing E. by N., distant, as conjectured, about ten miles. The land was very high, and towards evening high mountains were seen to the E.S.E., and to the N.E. two smaller mountains. On the morning of the 25th the ships stood in for shore. "As this land," continues the journal, "has not before been known to any European we called it ANTONY VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, in honour of our high magistrate the governor-general, who sent us out to make discoveries. The islands near us we named in honour of the Council of India, as you may see by the little map we made." The voyagers did not land, but

continued cruising along the shore. On the evening of the 28th they came near three small islands, one of which "has the shape of a lion's head and is about three miles from the mainland." The next day at five in the afternoon they came near to a bay which seemed to be a good roadstead, and resolved to make for it; but a storm arose, which obliged them to take in sail and stand out to sea again. To this bay Tasman gave the name of STORM BAY. The anchorage he aimed at is the same as that where Captain Furneaux stopped at in 1773, and which he named ADVENTURE BAY.

On the 2d December, early in the morning, two boats, well armed and under the charge of the first steersman, were sent to a bay a mile to the north-west of the ships to look for fresh water, refreshments, or any other things. Three hours before nightfall the boats returned, bringing greens of a kind that grow at the Cape of Good Hope, and another kind, long and saltish, like sea parsley. These plants were found in great abundance. The seamen had heard voices, and a sound like that of a trumpet or little gong not far off, but saw nobody. Two remarkable tall trees with steps cut in the trunks to allow of climbing up to get birds' nests were remarked. The traces of animals "with claws resembling those of tigers" were seen, and pieces of gum were brought by the men. In coming off again they had seen people at the east corner of the bay, and also some wild ducks. No fish were taken except mussels. "The country was all over furnished with trees, which stood so thin that one might pass through everywhere and distinguish objects at a distance, without bushes or underwood." Many of the trees were marked by fire, and smoke was observed rising in several places. On the following day the ceremony of planting a standard, and taking possession of the new territory in the prince's name, was performed by the carpenter, Francis Jacobsz, who swam through the surf to reach the shore.

To this bay Tasman gave the name, in his chart, of FREDERIK HENDRIK'S BAY. He also marks the South Cape of Storm Bay, with Tasman's Island lying just south of it; and the larger island near it he named MARIA'S ISLAND, "in honour of the excellent lady of the honourable the governor-general."

On the 5th the voyagers quitted Van Diemen's Land, the point last seen being the round mountain, "like a huge, misshapen tower," then about six miles to the westward.

Calculating his latitude and longitude by the new notation (east and west from the meridian of Greenwich), it would appear that the land first seen was Point Hibbs, and that had Tasman run up Storm Bay, he would have reached the present site of Hobart Town. In any case, if instead of sailing out eastward he had continued his course northerly about four degrees, he would have struck the continent some three degrees east of the present site of Melbourne, midway between Wilson's Promontory and Cape Howe, while less than a single degree north from his point of divergence would have brought him into the straits which divide Van Diemen's Land from Terra Australis, and anticipated the discovery of Bass. It is probable, however, that his instructions were so framed as to induce him to sail rather for the south, where it was believed existed islands as rich in spices as those of the Javan Archipelago.

On the 13th of December, in latitude $42^{\circ} 10'$ S., and longitude $178^{\circ} 28'$ E., he discovered a mountainous country which he named STAATEN LAND, in honour of the States-General of Holland. He anchored in "a fine bay," which was really the strait between the Northern and Middle Island of New Zealand. While thus at anchor, a disturbance took place with the natives, who, approaching in their canoes, surrounded the two vessels. Seven canoes full of Maories, in war costume, lay off the "Zeehaan," and five canoes, each containing seventeen men, put off to the "Heemskirk." Tasman describes the natives as of a colour between brown and yellow, their hair twisted on their heads after the fashion of the Japanese, and their bodies covered round the loins with a sort of mat. An affray took place in which the islanders upset the boat of the "Zeehaan," killing three men, and forcing others to swim for their lives. The weather being rough, Tasman thought it prudent to depart without risking further combat; so naming the ill-omened spot MURDERERS' BAY, he sailed to the eastward.

Here, again, the Dutch navigator was on the point of anticipating the discovery of Cook's Straits. He sailed to the north to THREE KINGS' ISLAND, naming a cape to the eastward—on the north-west coast of the present Auckland—CAPE MARIA VAN DIEMEN, in honour of the wife of the governor-general. Being in want of provisions he sailed northwards for the islands of Cocos and Hoorn, discovered by Schouten in 1616, to lay in supplies. On the 19th January 1643 he passed a high island, two or three miles in circumference, to which the name of Pylstaart or Tropic Bird Island was given, from the number of those birds which frequented it. After meeting with many other interesting adventures and discoveries, the expedition arrived at Batavia on the 16th June, after an absence of ten months and one day.

In 1644 a second expedition was fitted out under the command of Tasman. The three vessels composing it were named the "Limmen," the "Zeemeuw," and the "Brak." The instructions given to the commander are still preserved, and are quoted by Flinders in the introduction to his "Voyages." They are of the most business-like and matter-of-fact character imaginable. No ardour for knowledge, no love of discovery for discovery's sake, stirred the mercantile soul of the Company. Tasman was to put up signs of possession on such countries as he might discover, by planting European trees, and carving the arms of the Netherlands and the Company upon posts, stones, and rocks. He was to institute trade with the natives, but to keep them ignorant of the value of the precious metals, showing samples of tin, lead, or pewter, as of more value than gold. He was to bring home specimens of everything likely to be of mercantile value, and to make treaties with the natives which should exclude in trading transactions all other nations but the Dutch. He was to make drawings and descriptions of the bays, rivers, and capes, for which purpose a draughtsman accompanied him, and he was desired to note most carefully the latitude, longitude, and prevailing currents of wind. His sailing directions were as follow: He was to proceed to Amboyna and Banda, thence to Point Ture, on the south coast of New Guinea. From that place he was to continue eastward to 9° south latitude, and endeavour to ascertain if within the great inlet of Speult's River there is not an entrance

into the South Sea. Thence he was to coast along New Guinea to the farthest known spots in 17° south latitude, and follow the coast despite all opposing winds, in order that he might be assured "if this land be divided from the Great South Continent or not." If he found that the Great South Continent was so divided, his instructions were to circumnavigate the island; but if, as the council believed, no opening existed between New Guinea and New Holland, Tasman was to run down to the north coast to south latitude 22° , proceed to Houtman's Abrolhos, fish up a chest of dollars lost in Pelsart's wreck, and pick up the two sailors who had been marooned there for participation in the mutiny which followed upon that occurrence. If the weather did not permit him to go to Houtman's Abrolhos, he was to complete the coast exploration of Arnheim and Van Diemen's Lands, and return by Java and the Straits of Sunda.

There can be no doubt that the cool-headed navigator fulfilled his mission with honour and credit, and brought back numerous drawings and plants. These, together with his charts and plans, were carefully concealed, perhaps eventually destroyed, by the Company. The only fragment of anything which looks like an authentic record is some four paragraphs of a journal published in 1705 by Witsen, and purporting to have been written by Tasman. Better evidence of Tasman's fortune are the maps of 1648-60. In the same year (1648) in which the map of Australia was inscribed on the floor of the Stadthouse in Amsterdam, Turquet published at Paris a mappemonde, which is evidently based upon observations similar to those which Tasman was directed to make. So in the edition of Jansen's atlas in 1650, in the atlas of Klencke, of Amsterdam, and in the sixteenth chart of Thevenot's "*Relation de Divers Voyages Curieux*" (1663), distinct reference is made to discoveries which it is most reasonable to suppose were made by Tasman. In one of the early maps of Van Keulen a portion of Tasman's track, with soundings, is given, and in the British Museum is a chart which is regarded as an absolute copy of Tasman's own. If this be so, it is tolerably clear that Tasman missed the discovery that New Guinea and New Holland were separated by sea, and that taking the alternative his instructions afforded him, he sounded down the Gulf of Carpentaria, gave the names to VAN DIEMEN'S GULF and CAPE VAN DIEMEN, and continued sounding all the way to De Witt's Land, and then returned in a direct line north-west for Java.

Admiral Burney's summing-up of Tasman's character and ability as a navigator deserves quotation. He says: "It must be allowed that Abel Jansz Tasman was both a great and a fortunate discoverer, and that his success is in part only to be attributed to fortune. The track in which he sailed and the careful reckoning kept by him, which so nearly assign the true situation to each of his discoveries, show him to have been an enterprising and an able navigator. And it is to be esteemed no small addition to his important discoveries, and indeed no slight evidence of his merit, that he explored a large portion of unknown sea in a high latitude, and thereby restricted the limits of a supposed Southern Continent, more than any other navigator between the time of Magalhaens and the time of Captain Cook." It may be added that the small degree of celebrity enjoyed by Tasman in his own country is a standing reproach to the Dutch nation.

CHAPTER VII.

DAMPIER'S FIRST VOYAGE.

THE BUCCANEERS—DAMPIER'S BIRTH AND EDUCATION—JOINS THE BUCCANEERS—GAINS COMMAND OF THE "CYGNET"—MAKES A CRUISE TO NEW HOLLAND—HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTINENT—ITS INHABITANTS—THEIR HABITS—THEIR BARBARISM OF MANNERS—THEIR LANGUAGE—INTERCOURSE WITH THEM—DAMPIER QUILTS NEW HOLLAND AND SAILS FOR EUROPE.

THE discoveries of Columbus and the conquests of Cortez and Pizarro gave a new world to Spain. But the haughty and jealous Spaniards would not be satisfied with anything less than absolute and exclusive possession of their splendid prize. Their claim to it as their own private property was founded, they said, on divine right, and ratified by a bull of Christ's vicar on earth. Naturally, this arrogant assumption was disputed by other nations, and a host of enterprising adventurers started up to test its validity by process of war at sea. The Spaniards dealt with such adventurers, whenever they could lay hands on them, as interlopers and pirates; and the most shocking cruelties were inflicted, without mercy and without discrimination, on all the prisoners they captured. "No peace beyond the Line" became the motto of all sea-rovers. War to the death with Spain was the motive that stirred thousands of gallant hearts. A league of mutual defence and fierce aggression sprung up amongst the adventurers. This was the origin of that terrible confraternity which, under the various names of freebooters and buccaneers, performed such heroic deeds of daring, and perpetrated such enormous crimes, in the Spanish Main, during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their history forms one of the most thrilling episodes in the world's naval annals.

It was from this brotherhood that WILLIAM DAMPIER sprung—the "Prince of Voyagers" as he has been not unjustly styled. Born some time about the year 1652, at East Coker, near Yeovil—a market-town in Somersetshire in England—of English yeomen stock, he received a fair education; but, his parents dying, he was taken from school and bound apprentice to a shipmaster of Weymouth. A voyage to France and one to Newfoundland, made before he was twenty years of age, excited in his breast the ambition and the ardour of a great adventurer. He possessed every element of character fitting him for such a vocation: firm self-reliance, dauntless courage, restless activity, eager curiosity, the love of change, and of peril. After many strange experiences of sea life, William

Dampier, at the age of twenty-seven, joined the buccaneers of America, and from that time forward his life was one wild romance.

In 1683, Dampier with some bold confederates seized a Danish vessel, which they re-named "*The Bachelors' Delight*," and set off to circumnavigate the globe. After meeting with many wild adventures, their leader gained the command of a vessel named the "*Cygnet*," in which he sailed for the Philippines, and when there resolved on making a cruise to New Holland. The incidents of this cruise must be given in the lively and spirited narrative of the navigator himself:

"The 4th of January 1688, we fell in with the land of New Holland in latitude $16^{\circ} 50'$, having made our course due south from the shoal that we passed by the 31st of December. We ran in close by it, and finding no convenient anchoring, because it lies open to the north-west, we ran along shore to the eastward, steering N.E. by E., for so the land lies. We steered thus about twelve leagues, and then came to a point of land, whence the land trends east and southerly for ten or twelve leagues, but how afterwards I know not. About three leagues to the eastward of this point, there is a pretty deep bay, with abundance of islands in it, and a very good place to anchor in, or to haul ashore. About a league to the eastward of that point we anchored, January the 5th, 1688, two miles from the shore, in twenty-nine fathoms, good hard sand, and clean ground.

"New Holland is a very large tract of land. It is not yet determined whether it is an island or a main continent; but I am certain that it joins neither to Asia, Africa, nor America. This part of it that we saw is all low even land, with sandy banks against the sea; only the points are rocky, and so are some of the islands in this bay. The land is of a dry sandy soil, destitute of water, except you make wells; yet producing divers sorts of trees; but the woods are not thick, nor the trees very big. Most of the trees that we saw are dragon-trees, as we supposed; and these too are the largest trees of any there. They are about the bigness of our large apple-trees, and about the same height, and the rind is blackish, and somewhat rough. The leaves are of a dark colour; the gum distils out of the knots or cracks that are in the bodies of the trees. We compared it with some gum-dragon, or dragon's blood, that was aboard, and it was of the same colour and taste. The other sorts of trees were not known by any of us. There was pretty long grass growing under the trees; but it was very thin. We saw no trees that bore fruit or berries. We saw no sort of animal, nor any track of beast, but once, and that seemed to be the tread of a beast as big as a great mastiff dog. Here are a few small land birds, but none bigger than a blackbird, and but few sea-fowls. Neither is the sea very plentifully stored with fish, unless you reckon the manatee [or sea-cow] and turtle as such. Of these creatures there is plenty; but they are extraordinary shy, though the inhabitants cannot trouble them much, having neither boats nor arrows.

"The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa [Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope], though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these, who have no houses and skin garments, sheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth, ostrich eggs, etc., as the Hodmadods have; and setting aside their human shape, they differ but little

from brutes. They are tall, straight-bodied, and thin, with small long limbs. They have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows. Their eyelids are always half-closed, to keep the flies out of their eyes, they being so troublesome here, that no fanning will keep them from coming to one's face; and without the assistance of both hands to keep them off, they will creep into one's nostrils, and mouth too, if the lips are not shut very close. So that from their infancy, being thus annoyed with these insects, they do never open their eyes as other people, and therefore they cannot see far, unless they hold up their heads, as if they were looking at somewhat over them. They have great bottle noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths. The fore teeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young; whether they draw them out, I know not; neither have they any beards. They are long-visaged, and of a very unpleasing aspect, having no one graceful feature in their faces. Their hair is black, short and curled, like that of the negroes, and not long and lank like the common Indians. The colour of their skins, both of their faces and the rest of their body, is coal black, like that of the negroes of Guinea. They have no sort of clothes, but the piece of the rind of a tree, tied like a girdle about their waists, and a handful of long grass, or three or four green boughs, full of leaves, thrust under their girdle to cover their nakedness.

“They have no houses, but lie in the open air, without any covering, the earth being their bed, and the heaven their canopy. Whether they cohabit one man to one woman, or promiscuously, I know not; but they do live in companies, twenty or thirty men, women, and children together. Their only food is a small sort of fish, which they get by making wears [weirs] of stone across little coves, or branches of the sea; every tide bringing in the small fish, and there leaving them for a prey to these people, who constantly attend there, to search for them at low water. This small fry I take to be the top of their fishery: they have no instrument to catch great fish, should they come; and such seldom stay to be left behind at low water; nor could we catch any fish with our hook and lines all the while we lay there. In other places at low water they seek for cockles, mussels, periwinkles. Of these shell-fish there are fewer still; so that their chief dependence is upon what the sea leaves in their wears, which, be it much or little, they gather up, and march to the places of their abode. There the old people, that are not able to stir abroad by reason of their age, and the tender infants, wait their return; and what Providence has bestowed on them they presently broil on the coals, and eat it in common. Sometimes they get as many fish as make them a plentiful banquet; and at other times they scarce get every one a taste: but be it little or much that they get, every one has his part, as well the young and tender as the old and feeble, who are not able to go abroad, and the strong and lusty. When they have eaten, they lie down till the next low water, and then all that are able march out, be it night or day, rain or shine, it is all one: they must attend the wears, or else they must fast. For the earth affords them no food at all. There is neither herb, root, pulse, nor any sort of grain, for them to eat, that we saw; nor any sort of bird or beast that they can catch, having no instruments wherewithal to do so.

“I did not perceive that they did worship anything. These poor creatures have a sort of weapon to defend their wears, or fight with their enemies if they have any that will interfere with their poor fishery. They did at first endeavour with their weapons to frighten us, who lying ashore deterred them from one of their fishing-places. Some of them had wooden swords, others had a sort of lances. The sword is a piece of wood, shaped somewhat like a cutlass. The lance is a long straight pole, sharp at one end, and hardened afterwards by heat. I saw no iron, nor any other sort of metal: therefore it is probable they use stone hatchets, as some Indians in America do. How they get their fire I know not; but probably, as Indians do, out of wood. I have seen the Indians of Buenos Ayres do it, and have myself tried the experiment. They take a flat piece of wood, that is pretty soft, and make a small dent in one side of it: then they take another hard round stick, about the bigness of one's little finger, and sharpening it at one end like a pencil, they put that sharp end in the hole or dent of the flat soft piece; then rubbing or twirling the hard piece between the palms of their hands, they drill the soft piece till it smokes and at last takes fire.

“These people speak somewhat through their throat; but we could not understand one word that they said. We anchored, as I said before, January the 5th, and seeing men walking on the shore, we presently sent a canoe to get some acquaintance with them; for we were in hopes to get some provisions from them. But the inhabitants, seeing our boat coming, ran away and hid themselves. We searched afterwards three days, in hopes to find their houses, but found none; yet we saw many places where they had made fires. At last, being out of hopes to find their habitations, we searched no further; but left a great many toys ashore, in such places where we thought that they would come. In all our search we found no water, but old wells on the sandy bays. At last we went over to the islands, and there we found a great many of the natives; I do believe there were forty on one island, men, women, and children. The men, at our first coming ashore, threatened us with their lances and swords; but they were frightened by firing one gun, which we fired purposely to scare them. The island was so small, that they could not hide themselves; but they were much disordered at our landing, especially the women and children; for we went directly to their camp. The lustiest of the women, snatching up their infants, ran away howling, and the little children ran after squeaking and bawling; but the men stood still. Some of the women, and such people as could not go from us, lay still by a fire, making a doleful noise, as if we had been coming to devour them. But when they saw we did not intend to harm them, they were pretty quiet; and the rest, that fled from us at our first coming, returned again. This their place of dwelling was only a fire, with a few boughs before it, set up on the side the wind was off. After we had been here a little while, the men began to be familiar, and we clothed some of them, designing to have had some service of them for it; for we found some wells of water here, and intended to carry two or three barrels of it aboard. But it being somewhat troublesome to carry to the canoes, we thought to have made these men to have carried it for us, and

therefore we gave them some clothes ; to one an old pair of breeches, to another a ragged shirt, to a third a jacket that was scarce worth owning ; which yet would have been very acceptable at some places where we had been, and so we thought they might have been with these people. We put them on them, thinking that this finery would have brought them to work heartily for us ; and our water being filled in long small barrels, about six gallons in each, which were made purposely to carry water in, we brought these our new servants to the wells, and put a barrel on each of their shoulders for them to carry to the canoe. But all the signs we could make were to no purpose, for they stood like statues, without motion, but grinned like so many monkeys, staring one upon another ; for these poor creatures seem not accustomed to carry burthens ; and I believe that one of our ship-boys of ten years old would carry as much as one of them. So we were forced to carry our water ourselves ; and they very fairly put the clothes off again, and laid them down, as if clothes were only to work in. I did not perceive that they had any great liking to them at first ; neither did they seem to admire [wonder at] anything that we had.

“ At another time, our canoe being among these islands seeking for game, espied a drove of these men swimming from one island to another ; for they have no boats, canoes, or bark-logs. They took up four of them, and brought them aboard ; two of them were middle-aged, the other two were young men about eighteen or twenty years old. To these we gave boiled rice, and with it turtle and manatee boiled. They did greedily devour what we gave them, but took no notice of the ship, or anything in it ; and when they were set on land again, they ran away as fast as they could. At our first coming, before we were acquainted with them, or they with us, a company of them who lived on the main came just against our ship, and, standing on a pretty high bank, threatened us with their swords and lances, by shaking them at us : at last the captain ordered the drum to be beaten, which was done of a sudden with much vigour, purposely to scare the poor creatures. They hearing the noise, ran away as fast as they could drive, and when they ran away in haste, they would cry, “ Gurry, Gurry,” speaking deep in the throat. Those inhabitants also that live on the main would always run away from us ; yet we took several of them : for, as I have already observed, they had such bad eyes that they could not see us till we came close to them. We did always give them victuals, and let them go again ; but the islanders, after our first time of being among them, did not stir for us.”

Dampier quitted the coast of New Holland on the 12th of March 1688, and directing his course northward passed Sumatra, and reached the Nicobar Islands in May. Here he quitted the expedition ; and subsequently sailed for England, where he arrived, after passing through many perils and adventures, on the 16th of September 1691.

CHAPTER VIII.

DAMPIER'S SECOND VOYAGE.

EXPEDITION OF 1699—DAMPIER COMMANDS THE “ROEBUCK”—STRIKES ON THE ABROLHOS SHOAL—SHARK'S BAY NAMED—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY—THE KANGAROO FIRST SEEN—DAMPIER LEAVES THE BAY—ANCHORS AT ROSEMARY ISLAND—SAILS, AND AGAIN SIGHTS LAND—SEES SOME NATIVES—ENCOUNTER WITH THEM—THE CHIEF OF THE TRIBE—THE GIANT ANT-HILLS—NATIVE DOGS—DAMPIER LEAVES THE COAST OF NEW HOLLAND—HIS SUBSEQUENT SHIPWRECK—ARRIVES IN ENGLAND—IS PILOT IN WOODES ROGERS'S EXPEDITION IN 1708—ALEXANDER SELKIRK—DAMPIER AGAIN RETURNS TO ENGLAND—HIS ABILITIES AS A NAVIGATOR AND DISCOVERER—TESTIMONIES OF EMINENT SEAMEN—OBSCURE CONCLUSION OF DAMPIER'S LIFE.

IN the year 1699 an English expedition for the discovery of unknown lands was projected by King William III. The command of it was entrusted by the Earl of Pembroke, then at the head of the Admiralty, to Dampier, whose great qualifications as a navigator were now fully recognised. The countries which he was more particularly to examine were New Holland and New Guinea.

The vessel in which he sailed was named the “Roebuck,” old and crazy before she left the port. She carried twelve guns and a crew of fifty men and boys, with provisions for twenty months, besides the equipments necessary to the accomplishment of a voyage undertaken for the future promotion of traffic, though the immediate object was discovery. He left the Downs on the 14th of January 1699, and made a favourable voyage until, on the 4th of July, the coast of New Holland was neared. On the night of the 1st of August the ship struck bottom on the northern part of the Abrolhos shoal, in latitude about $27^{\circ} 40'$ S. Next morning the voyagers descried the mainland at the distance of six leagues, but were unable to find a safe harbour, and owing to foul weather were compelled to stand off till the 5th, when they again approached. Next morning they ran into an opening, keeping a boat sounding before the ship, and moored two miles from the shore in the harbour named Dirk Hatichs' Reede—so denominated from the first discoverer, who in 1616 had cast anchor there. To this place the navigator gave the name of SHARK'S BAY, and he lays down the mouth of the inlet in latitude 25° S.

“The land here is of moderate height,” writes Dampier, “and from the sea appears level, though it is found to be gently undulating. On the open coast the

shore is bluff; but in the bay the country is low, and the soil sandy, producing a species of samphire. Farther in the mould is reddish, a sort of sand, producing some grass, plants, and shrubs. Of trees or shrubs here are divers sorts, but none above ten feet high. Some of the trees were sweet-scented, and reddish within the bark like sassafras, but redder. The blossoms of the different sorts of trees were of several colours, but mostly blue, and smelt very sweet and fragrant. There were also beautiful and fragrant flowers growing on the ground, unlike any I had ever seen elsewhere." There were eagles, but no other large birds; though of the small winged songsters there was great variety. Besides the ordinary sea-fowl there were many strange kinds, quite new to the voyager. Among the animals which he observed was "a sort of racoon, different from that of the West Indies, chiefly as to the legs, for these have very short fore-legs; but go jumping upon them [the hind legs!] as the others do, and like them are very good meat." This (it is remarked by Flinders) "appears to be a description of the small kangaroo, since found upon the islands which form the road; and if so, this account is probably the first ever made of that singular animal." Of the iguanas of this country Dampier gives a striking description. They were inferior as food to those with which he had been familiar in the Atlantic and South Sea, and when opened their smell was very offensive. Nothing can be more loathsome and disgusting than the picture he gives of this large species of lizard, which is the *Scincus tropicurus* of naturalists. In this bay, besides abundance of sharks, large green turtle were found, which furnished welcome refreshments to the seamen. The fish were skate, rays, and other flat kinds, with mussels, oysters, and smaller varieties. The shore was lined with strange and beautiful shells.

They had anchored at three different places to search for water; and on the 11th, to accomplish this purpose as well as to prosecute discovery, they stood farther into the bay, but, after several abortive attempts, again bore out to sea, having previously scrubbed the ship. Sea-snakes were seen of different kinds—one sort yellow with brown spots, about four feet in length and of the thickness of a man's wrist, with a flat tail; another kind smaller, shorter, and round, spotted black and yellow.

On the 14th of August they sailed out of this bay or bight, and plied off and on towards the north, keeping about six or seven leagues from the shore, and frequently sounding. On the 15th they were in latitude $24^{\circ} 41'$ S.; on the 16th in $23^{\circ} 22'$, "jogging on northward," seeing in their progress many small dolphins and whales, with abundance of scuttle-fish, shells, and water-serpents. On the afternoon of the 18th, off a shoal in $22^{\circ} 22'$, of which they kept clear, numerous whales were seen on all sides of the ship. "The noise which they made by blowing and dashing of the sea with their tails, making it all of a breach and foam, was very dreadful to us, like the breach of the waves in very shoal water."

On the 18th they were carried out of sight of land, which was recovered on the 21st, visible only from the mast-head, bearing S.E. by E. and appearing at the distance of nine leagues like a bluff promontory. Around this

place was an archipelago of islands, of considerable height, which Dampier believed to be a range stretching from E.N.E. to W.S.W. for about twenty leagues, or probably as far as Shark's Bay. Next day he ran in among them, having a boat sounding ahead. The water was of very unequal depth, and the arid appearance of the shores and rusty colour of the rocks made him despair of finding water, though still hoping that he might either discover a new channel leading through to the mainland of New Holland or find some sort of rich mineral or ambergris, for which this was a favourable latitude, he was unwilling to turn back. The island near which he anchored he named ROSEMARY, as a plant similar to it, though destitute of smell, grew here in abundance. Two kinds of beans were found; the one growing on bushes, the other on a shrub that ran along the ground. Cormorants and gulls were also seen, and a kind of white parrot, which flew in large flocks.

They left this place on the 23d. and for some time coasted along with the land breeze, having had, since leaving Shark's Bay, fine weather, which still continued. Water-snakes, whales, noddies, and boobies were seen. On the 27th they lost sight of land, which was recovered on the 30th in latitude 18° 21' S., smoke being observed at several places on the shore. At night there was a well-marked eclipse of the moon.

Early next day an armed party landed in search of water, carrying with them pickaxes and shovels. Three tall natives were seen on the beach, but they speedily retreated. The boat lying at anchor a little way from the shore was, in order to prevent seizure, left in care of two sailors, while the rest followed the savages, who were soon joined by eight or ten more. They stood on an eminence, from which, however, they again fled on the approach of the English.

From this height the party descried a savannah studded with what they at first thought were huts, but discovered to be only rocks scattered up and down. They returned to the place at which they had landed and began to dig, but were menaced by another body of the inhabitants, who vociferated with angry gestures, as if ordering the strangers to be gone. One of them at length venturing to approach, the rest followed at a cautious distance; and Dampier went forward to meet them, making signs of peace and friendship. The leader, however, fled, while the others kept aloof; but as want of water made it absolutely necessary to establish a communication with these people, an attempt was made to catch some of them, and a nimble young man who was with the commander tried to run them down. As soon as he overtook them they faced about and attacked him; and Dampier, who was himself assailed, was compelled to fire his musket in defence of the seaman, who, though armed with a cutlass, was unable to beat back so many lances. The first shot, intended only to scare them, was, after a momentary alarm, treated with indifference or contempt. They tossed up their arms, exclaiming *Poooh, poooh, poooh!* and, pressing closer upon the sailor, the captain could no longer withhold fire. One native fell—his friends paused in alarm—and the Englishman escaped. "I returned back," says the voyager, "with my men, designing to attempt the natives no further, being very sorry for

what had happened." The seaman was wounded in the cheek by a lance. Among the savages there was one who, from his appearance and dignity of demeanour, was imagined to be a chief—an impression produced by something distinct from either height of stature or personal beauty; for, it is remarked, he was neither so tall nor well-made as some of the others, but "a brisk young man," active and courageous. He was the only one of the group that was painted. A circle drawn with some sort of white pigment surrounded each of his eyes, and a white streak reached from the forehead to the tip of the nose. His breast and part of his arms were also stained, "not for beauty or ornament, but that he seemed thereby to design the looking more terrible, this his painting adding very much to his natural deformity." Dampier imagined this party to belong to the same nation with those he had seen when the "Cygnet" touched on this coast. "They were the same blinking creatures, with the most unpleasant looks and worst features of any people I had ever seen." He did not get near enough to discover if this tribe, like the former, also wanted the two fore-teeth. Near the fireplaces quantities of shells were found of the kinds on which the other island tribe lived, and their lances were similar in shape. The general features of the country were the same as those already described—low, with chains of sand-hills, the land round the shore extremely dry, though bearing many shrubs with beautiful blossoms of various colours and of delicate fragrance. Farther on, there was mixed woodland and savannah. The plains are described as studded with "detached rocks resembling hay-cocks, some red and others white, and appearing at a distance like the hovels of the Hottentots near the Cape of Good Hope." These were, no doubt, the giant ant-hills seen by Pelsart. Some animals resembling wolves, and lean as skeletons, were also observed. These were probably native dogs, or *dingoes*.

Water having been at last obtained, Dampier left these sterile coasts on the 5th September, and shaped his course for New Guinea. After passing through many adventures and making several important discoveries, he went to Timor, from whence he intended to run down once more to the coast of New Holland. But although he obtained soundings at forty fathoms, he did not sight the land. Unhappily he fell sick, and as his officers were indifferent or incompetent, the voyage was not prosecuted. The crew, moreover, were suffering from scurvy, and the ship was greatly in want of repairs. Under these circumstances Dampier ordered the officers to sail for Java. Subsequently the old craft was wrecked on Ascension Island, and the navigator lost his collection of curious shells gathered on the coast of New Holland, together with many valuable books and papers. The shipwrecked crew lived for five weeks on the island, and were at length rescued by some English vessels that had observed their signals.

When he arrived in England, Dampier published an account of his voyage to New Holland, which he dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, his patron. But his signal services to England and to the world were allowed to go entirely unrewarded. The rest of his life, however, was by no means passed in idleness. He passed through a variety of wild and romantic adventures. He was pilot in

Woodes Rogers's expedition in 1708, when Alexander Selkirk, the prototype of De Foe's immortal Robinson Crusoe, was rescued from the island of Juan Fernandez, after a solitary exile of four years. The expedition returned to England in October 1711, bringing with it a treasure of booty in money and merchandise valued at £150,000. But at this point Dampier's name disappears from history.

Dampier was not only a navigator of distinguished eminence, but a man of strong natural genius; and it implies something of a reproach upon England, that talents that have gained their possessor a European reputation, should have been less appreciated in his own country than by foreign nations. By French and Dutch discoverers, as well as learned men, he has been uniformly regarded with the warmest admiration. They delight to style him the "eminent," the "exact," the "skilful," the "incomparable." Humboldt has borne testimony to his merits, placing this buccaneer seaman above those men of science who afterwards went over the same ground; Malte-Brun terms him "the learned Dampier;" and the author of the "Voyages to Australia" inquires, "*Mais où trouve-t-on des navigateurs comparables à Dampier?*" ("Where shall we find navigators comparable to Dampier?") The acuteness, accuracy, and clearness of his nautical delineations, as well as his descriptions and general remarks, have made his voyages be followed by foreign navigators as the safest guides; and his rapidity and power of observation are fully as remarkable as his accuracy. For example, his hasty glance at the places where he touched in New Holland has left to subsequent voyagers little else but the labour of verifying his descriptions. In no instance has his veracity been questioned, even by those the most disposed to cavil at facts which, being remote from their own limited experience, appear extraordinary or impossible. Other writers, combining into one the relation of many different travellers, have no doubt added to his descriptions; but there is no detached account of the countries he visited more full of interest and exact information than the volumes of this experienced seaman.

The succession of brilliant discoveries which illustrated the early part of the reign of George III. cast, for a time, the adventures of Dampier, and of every previous navigator, into the shade; but they are again rising into popularity. Compared with the more systematic voyages of our own days, his long solitary rambles are like the enterprises of the single knightly combatant, which, though they bear no proportion to the magnitude and splendour of a regular engagement, yet from their individuality often command a more intense and powerful interest.

By Pinkerton he is styled "the Cook of a former age." Admiral Burney says of him, that "it is not easy to name another voyager or traveller who has given more useful information to the world, or to whom the merchant and mariner are so much indebted." In fine, his early life amongst the buccaneers left out of view, Dampier takes high rank amongst the world's greatest benefactors in the line of maritime discovery. He was a man of great natural genius, of a brilliant imagination in the projection of grand enterprises, and of undaunted daring in their execution. He was, moreover, disinterested; his sole ambition

was the acquisition of knowledge, and his strongest passion was the love of adventure. Yet his latter days were passed in obscurity so deep, that no one is now able to tell how the evening of his days was spent, or when he died, or where he was buried. Had he expired on some small island of the Pacific, or perished in the element on which so great a portion of his life was passed, some imperfect record might have remained to satisfy our natural desire to know the incidents which marked the last hours of the veteran navigator. But it was his fate to sink unheeded amidst the conflicting waves and tides of society; and no memorial or tradition remains of his death, in whose remarkable life the adventures of Alexander Selkirk, and of the buccaneer commanders of the Southern Ocean, appear but as episodes. The shame is his country's; but Australians will always continue to cherish proud and grateful memories of WILLIAM DAMPIER.

CHAPTER IX.

NAVIGATORS FROM DAMPIER TO COOK.

THE EXPEDITION OF VLAMING—ITS BLANK RESULTS—RETURNS TO BATAVIA—THE THREE DUTCH VESSELS OF 1705—THE “ZEEWYK”—SUMMARY OF DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTH SEA BEFORE COOK’S TIME—MAINLY DUE TO THE DUTCH—MERCENARY MOTIVES OF THE NAVIGATORS—TASMAN’S VOYAGES THE GREAT EXCEPTION—THE GREAT SOUTH LAND TILL THEN PRACTICALLY UNDISCOVERED—MISTAKEN IDEAS CONCERNING ITS EXTENT AND CAPABILITIES—ROMANTIC NOTION OF ITS VAST WEALTH AND SPLENDOUR.

FROM the time of Dampier to that of Cook but little was effected in the way of exploring the coasts of New Holland, and that little was due to the Dutch. A ship called the “*Ridderschap*,” outward bound from Holland, had left the Cape of Good Hope in 1684 or 1685, and had never been heard of afterwards. It was supposed that she might have been wrecked on the Great South Land; and in 1696 an expedition destined for India, and commanded by WILLEM DE VLAMING, was ordered to make a search for any remains of the ship or crew that might still exist.

On the 28th of December the three ships of the expedition, the “*Geeliruk*,” “*Nyptang*,” and “*Wezel*,” reached the western coasts of New Holland, and next day anchored under the island of Rottenest, lying in latitude $31^{\circ} 50'$. A fragment of driftwood from a wreck was picked up next day. On the 5th of January 1697, Vlaming went on shore on the mainland, accompanied by eighty-eight armed men, and proceeded inland. Nothing was at first seen but gum-trees and cockatoos, but after a three hours’ march a small lake was reached, upon the beach of which footprints were observed. The smoke of a native encampment was also seen in the distance, and three deserted *mia-mias* were found, but no natives. Another exploration on the 6th was equally unsuccessful, but some black swans were taken, two of which were carried alive to Batavia. The ships left Rottenest Island on the 13th, and sailed away northward. On the 16th a landing was again effected, but nothing was found. On the 23d, when near Houtman’s Abrolhos, some natives were descried walking on the shore. On the 3d February a boat landed on these rocks, and found Dirk Hartog’s tin-plate, with the inscription commemorating his arrival and departure. Cruising about for a time, the ships discovered the NORTH-WEST CAPE, and an opening which the commander called the WILHEM’S RIVER. On the 21st February Vlaming,

considering that he had made all proper search for the relics of the "Ridderschap," sailed for Batavia.

The next expedition of which we have any particulars is that of three Dutch vessels which sailed from Batavia in 1705, to examine the shores of New Holland. In April of that year they explored the north-west coast, which at that time was called Van Diemen's Land. They were occupied until the 12th of July exploring and naming the various points on the coast. They found two deep indentations in the land which they considered straits, and then came to the remarkable conclusion that the Great South Land was only a chain of islands. They had several communications with the natives. With the exception of a vessel named the "Zeewyk," which was wrecked upon the Houtman's Abrolhos, in June 1727, no other ship visited this coast, or rather no record of any such visit exists, until we come to the time of Captain Cook. The "Zeewyk" was wrecked on an island named GUN ISLAND by Captain Stokes, in latitude $28^{\circ} 53' 10''$. The crew were enabled to build a sloop from the fragments of the wreck, and thus reached Batavia in safety. Captain Stokes, in 1839, found a gun upon this island, besides many relics dated about the period of the ship's loss. At the same time a part of Captain Pelsart's vessel, the "Batavia," was found, with a coin dated 1620, and several fragments of iron so corroded as to be quite unrecognisable.

Thus far we have traced the course of Australasian navigation and discovery, up till the time of Captain Cook. It is not to be denied that to the Dutch, more than to any other nation, are we indebted for the first knowledge of this region.

The other navigators, more intent on the acquisition of Spanish gold than on the search for unknown regions, almost invariably pursued one common and well-frequented path. On entering the Pacific, they stood for Juan Fernandez, in order to recover their health or replace their stores; they then coasted the American continent to California; after which they either retraced their way to the Atlantic by Cape Horn or the Straits, or more usually crossed the South Sea in the track of the Manilla galleon. Such was the route of Drake, Cavendish, Van Noort, Spilbergen, the Nassau fleet, the English buccaneers, Dampier, Rogers, Clipperton, Shelvocke, and Anson.

The only adventurer into a high southern latitude was Tasman. Entering the Pacific from the Indian Ocean, he, as we have seen, advanced to about 44° , and discovered Van Diemen's Land. Thence pursuing nearly the same parallel, he stood eastward, till he encountered New Zealand, and sailing along its western shores bore northward till he got into the track of Schouten, having discovered in his passage the Tonga Islands on the confines of the tropic.

From this recapitulation it will be seen that, of the Southern Pacific, there still remained altogether unknown the great space bounded on the north by the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude, and by the meridians of longitude 85° W. and 170° E. No vessel had yet attempted to traverse this wide extent, and consequently with respect to it there prevailed the utmost uncertainty and ignorance. A learned geographer writes in 1771: "So far as to absolute experience, we continue ignorant whether the southern hemisphere be an immense mass of water, or whether it contains another continent and countries worthy of our search."

The portion of the Northern Pacific which remained unexplored was perhaps still more extensive.

Such were the mighty tracts concerning which nothing had been ascertained. There were, besides, several spacious regions, of which certain navigators had indeed announced the existence, but who stopped short before the extent was brought to light. Of New Holland only the western side was known; the northern limit (the strait discovered by Torres in 1606) had passed into oblivion, and this great country was generally represented as joining New Guinea; on the south there was no certainty whether it extended to Van Diemen's Land, or where its termination should be fixed; to the east it was involved in utter darkness; one point only was clear, that it did not stretch beyond longitude 170° , being nearly the meridian of Tasman's track. The limits of New Zealand were still more indefinite. Only its western shores had been visited, and for all that was then known it might have extended eastward to within 15° of Chili. Mr Dalrymple remarks in 1771 that it is "still a question if Staat's Land (or New Zealand) be part of a continent or only islands, though it is most probably the former, as Tasman supposes it to be." In short, the great problem of geography, the existence of a vast SOUTHERN CONTINENT, was still unsolved. The discoveries of succeeding years had no doubt much circumscribed the bounds assigned to it in the sixteenth century. Yet, within the unvisited bosom of the Pacific Ocean there still remained ample space for a country exceeding Europe in dimensions, and surpassing the widest empire ever seen in either hemisphere, even when at its highest elevation. Nor with the believers in this land was its extent its only merit. Its fancied splendour and fertility were to cast into the shade all that had been told of Mexico and Peru; for here was to be found the original fountain of their civilisation, the parent country of the first Incas! And to the nation that should discover it there was promised an accession of wealth and power greater than had flowed to Spain from the conquests of Cortes and Pizarro. In fine, Australasia was awaiting its Columbus until the appearance of Cook!

BOOK II.

COOK'S DISCOVERIES.

CHAPTER I.

COOK'S EARLY LIFE.

LINE OF ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISH NAVIGATORS—COOK THE COLUMBUS OF THE SOUTHERN OCEAN—HIS BIRTH AND EDUCATION—SELF-EDUCATION—THE COOK FAMILY—IS APPRENTICED TO A DRAPER—HIS PASSION FOR THE SEA—TAKES SERVICE WITH A SHIPPING FIRM—THE ENGLISH COAL TRADE—COOK ENTERS THE BRITISH NAVY—SIR HUGH PALLISER—COOK PROMOTED—EMPLOYED IN THE WAR IN CANADA—HIS ACHIEVEMENT THERE—APPOINTED A MASTER IN THE NAVY—MARINE SURVEYOR OF NEWFOUNDLAND—RETURNS TO ENGLAND—MARRIES—RESUMES HIS LABOURS IN NEWFOUNDLAND—RETURNS AGAIN TO ENGLAND.

THE illustrious line of famous English navigators was continued down from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into the eighteenth century by men of the stamp of Anson, Byron, and Cook, true successors of the Drakes, Raleighs, Cavendishes, and Dampiers of an earlier age. Adventurers in the highest and noblest sense of that word, these distinguished men, by their achievements in maritime discovery, have added new territories to the world's possessions, and thrown an unfading lustre around the English name. But none of them takes precedence of Cook. On the splendid roll of modern discoverers his name stands first. He was one of the world's greatest men. His genius in his special department was of the highest order. A born leader of men, he possessed every requisite for command. A fitting title for him would be that given by Cromwell to Robert Blake, "Admiral and General at Sea;" although, unlike the great admiral of the Commonwealth, his victories were all "victories of peace, not less renowned than war." A still truer designation, however, would be, the Columbus of the Southern Ocean. What the immortal Genoese navigator accomplished in the northern hemisphere for Spain and Europe, Cook accomplished in the southern hemisphere for England and mankind.

James Cook was born at the little agricultural village of Marton-in-Cleveland, situated between Gisborough and Stockton-on-Tees, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, on the north-east coast of England. The date of his birth is variously given by his biographers, but the correct date appears to be the 27th of October 1728. It was not an event that made a great stir in the world; for the parents

of James Cook were not wealthy, and they had nine children; in fact, they were what English writers, with a touch of traditionary servility, term "humble" persons. The New Testament principle holds, differently, that the blessing goes with the poor and humble, rather than with the wealthy and the proud. The elder Cook, also named James, first held the position of day-labourer, and afterwards that of bailiff, or under-steward, on the farm of Airy Holme, near Great Ayton, the property of Thomas Scottowe, Esq., situated at the foot of a famous hill named Roseberry Topping. Both parents were noted in the neighbourhood for the homely virtues of steady industry, integrity, and temperance. The short and simple annals of the Cook household are soon told. James and a sister, alone of all the children, survived into mature life. The daughter married a fisherman at Redcar, a seaside village not far from Marton, and her home became the abode of the old man in the latter part of his life, which was extended to the long term of nearly eighty-five years. He thus outlived his illustrious son, and had the satisfaction of hearing in his old days of the wonderful discoveries made by him, and of the high honours paid him by the learned and the noble in rank. At the dame school of the village, kept by an ancient lady named Walker, James Cook learned his letters. As he grew up in years, his services were required to assist in earning bread for the household; and he was obliged to work with his father on his employer's farm, so that it was only at leisure times he could snatch an hour to learn the elementary branches of reading, writing, and arithmetic. His father's employer was generous enough to pay a neighbouring schoolmaster the fees for this slender tuition, and it was all that young Cook ever received in the way of what is called education. But, in truth, the real education any man receives is that which he gives himself. Afterwards, when the youth became a seaman, he taught himself drawing, practical navigation, and marine surveying. During the long nights of a Canadian winter, when he was more than thirty years of age, he mastered, by silent study, Euclid and as much of mathematics and astronomy as was needful in his profession, without any other assistance than what a few books and his own industry afforded him. To "scorn delights and live laborious days;" to make large and frequent inroads on the boundless domain of knowledge; and to keep the fire of the mind aglow with the eager desire to learn still more: these are the prerogatives of genius, the invariable marks of greatness of character, and they were all possessed by James Cook. He had from the first nature's patent of nobility.

The great change in Cook's life took place when he was thirteen years old. His father bound him apprentice to a draper (whose name has not been preserved), in the fishing town of Staiths, about ten miles north of Whitby. But standing behind a counter, selling tapes and pins and needles, did not suit the boy's disposition. The constant sight of the blue ocean, the sharp odour of its brine, its magnificent monotony, fascinated his spirit, as they have fascinated the spirit of many a brave lad before and since. The very soul of Robinson Crusoe was in the boy. He became restless and discontented. His inner ear heard in the roll of the dashing waves a summons, as clearly conveyed as that chimed from the London bells to Dick Whittington, to go forth to seek adventures on the bound-

less deep. Then came disagreements with his master. Young Cook would not run away to sea, but he avowed his overmastering passion for a sailor's life, and his utter dislike for the drapery business. His master, noting the resolute bent of the apprentice's mind, and discovering in him marks of decision of character and steadiness of application singular in a lad of his years, agreed to give him up his indentures. Young Cook was set free to follow his own high impulses, and to carve out a career for himself. There was then in Whitby a firm of Quaker brothers, John and Henry Walker, who owned two vessels in the coal trade. To them Cook offered his services, and he was bound apprentice for seven years. His first vessel was the "Freelove," a small coaster. At this point the training of the great seaman commenced. He was in all respects a good and faithful servant, diligent, punctual, and self-governing. His employers noted the good conduct of the lad, his genius for the sailor life, and his eager anxiety to acquire skill in his new profession. He never lost an opportunity of mastering the practical part of navigation, and the service in which he was engaged offered him an excellent school for learning it. The coal trade of England is carried on, for most part, along an extremely irregular and dangerous coast, where unceasing diligence is demanded on the part of the seaman. Cook had found at length the vocation that suited his disposition. In storm and calm, by night and day, through the sharp blasts of winter and the balmy breezes of summer, he was always found at his post. Thus were developed in the youthful sailor those grand qualities of steady attention, cool resolution, undaunted firmness, and unwearied perseverance, which distinguished the great navigator of after-times. The worthy Quakers perceived that they had a treasure in their apprentice. When his term upon the "Freelove" was completed, they transferred him to the "Three Brothers," with the rank of mate. To give him enlarged opportunities of extending his knowledge of seamanship, they employed him in rigging and fitting out the vessel, in which he made two coal voyages, and afterwards, when she was taken into the service of the English Government as a transport, he voyaged in her to Middleburgh, Dublin, Liverpool, and Deptford, where she was paid off. Cook remained in the service of the Messrs Walker till he was twenty-five years old. He then told his employers that he had a mind to try his fortunes in the British Navy. The good Quakers, knowing what a skilful and trustworthy seaman he had now become, tried hard to persuade him to stay with them. They even offered him the command of one of their vessels. Cook, however, respectfully declined the offer. "I had remarked," said Mr John Walker afterwards, "that he had always an ambition to go into the navy." With much good feeling, and great reluctance, on both sides, Cook parted from his kind friends; and it is pleasant to add that he kept up a friendly correspondence with the good Quaker brothers to the last year of his life. Up till this time, he had borne the character of a steady, hard-working, faithful sailor, much bent on self-improvement, but not remarkable in any way for brilliant abilities. But, all the same, his active mind was busily engaged in storing up that knowledge of practical navigation, and in carefully cultivating in himself those admirable qualities, which subsequently raised him to the highest rank amongst the world's navigators.

Some short time seems to have elapsed before Cook carried out his intention of enlisting in the navy. Early in 1755 a naval war broke out between England and France, and as seamen were very much wanted for the king's service, the press-gangs were set to work to obtain them. Cook happened to be in a vessel on the Thames when a press-gang came on board; and at first he felt unwilling to act upon compulsion, even in a case where he had made up his mind to volunteer. But on second thoughts he announced his intention of joining the navy. He was sent to Wapping, where the "Eagle" man-of-war, carrying sixty guns, was then lying, and in that vessel he took service as an able seaman. It was commanded by Captain Hamer, who, however, was very soon replaced by Sir Hugh Palliser, an experienced officer and brave sailor, afterwards an admiral. The contention which arose between Sir Hugh and his superior officer, Admiral Keppel, twenty-three years later, forms one of the striking incidents of the naval history of those times. The grounds of the quarrel were some alleged disobedience of orders on the part of Sir Hugh in the great battle between the English and French fleets, off Ushant, in 1778. But a court-martial acquitted him of any neglect of duty or other offence.

Possessed of the good quality in a commander of a quick perception of merit in a subordinate, Sir Hugh Palliser speedily singled out Cook as a seaman of superior qualifications, worthy of promotion. Letters of recommendation also came to him on Cook's behalf from friends in Yorkshire; amongst them one from Mr Osbaldestone, then Member of Parliament for Scarborough, and one from his old friends, the Messrs Walker. These letters were of considerable service to Cook, and he always spoke of them with gratitude. In a few months he was rated quartermaster by his captain, who also obtained for him a warrant as master of the "Mercury" frigate. This warrant bears date the 15th of May 1759. Two other commissions, for the ships "Grampus" and "Garland," had been previously obtained in a similar way, but unforeseen circumstances prevented their taking effect. Still, as one of Cook's biographers observes, "these quick and successive appointments show that his interest was strong, and that the intention to serve him was real and effectual."

The opportunity for showing the fine genius that lay hidden under the plain exterior of the still youthful sailor had come at length. The "Mercury" was ordered to Quebec, in North America, where a British fleet, commanded by Sir Charles Saunders, was co-operating with the famous General Wolfe in besieging the place. A combined attack on the fortified position at Montmorency and Beauport had been concerted; but it was necessary, in the first place, that accurate soundings should be taken of the river St Lawrence between the Isle of Orleans and the north shore, where the French army lay. This difficult and dangerous service could only be performed at night. At the recommendation of Sir Hugh Palliser, Cook was selected to undertake it. Great courage, coolness, and unusual skill were required for the task. For several nights Cook carried on his operations unperceived; but one night the French sentinels caught sight of him. The alarm was given. A large number of canoes filled with Indians were despatched to surround and cut him off. He instantly made for the British

encampments; but was so closely pursued that the savages entered the stern of his barge as he leaped from the bows, just within the protection of the British sentinels. The Indians carried off the barge in triumph. But the work was done. Cook, who up till that time had hardly ever handled a pencil, was able to furnish the admiral with as correct a draught of the channel and soundings as could have been made after the English had taken possession of Quebec. Not long afterwards he was employed to make a survey of the whole river below Quebec; and his chart was executed with such skill and exactness, that it was immediately published by order of the Admiralty. He was also entrusted during the siege with other services of the highest importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack on Montmorency, conducted the embarkation to the heights of Abraham, examined the passage, and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river. These proofs of large capacity and invincible perseverance attracted the special attention of Cook's commander, Lord Colville, admiral of the fleet, who, on the 22d of September 1759, appointed him master of his own ship, the "Northumberland." In that vessel he remained on the Halifax station during the whole of the long Canadian winter. There it was that he turned his enforced leisure to account, by mastering the elements of geometry, mathematics, and astronomy. In September 1760 he accompanied Lord Colville to Newfoundland, which colony he aided in recapturing from the French. He was appointed to survey the harbour and heights of Placentia, and by his skill and diligence in the performance of the work won high praise from the governor, Captain Graves.

At the close of 1760 he returned to England. During his stay there he made the acquaintance of the lady who became his wife. On the 21st of December 1762, he was married to Miss Elizabeth Batts, at Barking, in Essex. This lady was a woman of an amiable disposition and a generous heart. She made an excellent wife to Cook. She bore him five sons and one daughter; and although the heart of the tender mother was rent by many a sore bereavement, she survived her illustrious husband for the long period of fifty-six years. Early in 1763, when but a few months married, Cook was again appointed marine surveyor of Newfoundland, which post he held for upwards of four years, returning to England sometimes to spend the winter there. The manner in which he fulfilled his commission won him the highest approbation of the governor, his old friend Sir Hugh Palliser, who had succeeded Captain Graves. Cook explored the interior of the country more fully than had hitherto been done, making many valuable additions to geography, and compiling charts of rare value for their accuracy. He observed an eclipse of the sun on the 5th of August 1766, and from the observations taken computed the longitude of the island of Newfoundland. Notes of the observations were published in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Great Britain. At the close of 1767 he returned to England, and did not again resume his duties as marine surveyor of the North American colony. At this point closes the first great period in the career of the navigator.

CHAPTER II.

COOK'S FIRST SCIENTIFIC APPOINTMENT.

TRANSIT OF VENUS IN 1769—EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTHERN OCEAN TO OBSERVE IT—COOK APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND—HIS PRUDENT SELECTION OF VESSELS FOR THE EXPEDITION—THE “ENDEAVOUR”—ITS STAFF OF OFFICERS—COOK'S INSTRUCTIONS.

An event now occurred which gave a new direction and a higher object to the genius of Cook.

The famous astronomer Kepler had foretold, in a work published at Leipsic, in Germany, in 1629, that the planet Venus would cross the sun's disc in the year 1769; and the astronomers of Europe were extremely desirous of verifying this prediction. These transits, although now familiar facts in astronomical science, were then looked upon as very rare and remarkable phenomena. The practical value to science of observing them carefully whenever they occur may here be briefly explained: The sun's *parallax* is the angle which the earth's semi-diameter subtends at the sun. By taking observations of the passage of a planet across the sun's disc simultaneously at the opposite sides of the globe, this angle can be measured, and thus the distance of the earth from the sun may be calculated. Now, the parallax of Venus being four times as great as that of the sun, occasions very sensible differences between the times in which she seems to be passing over the sun's disc at different parts of the earth. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance, and quite practicable, to determine it with extreme accuracy, and thence the sun's parallax and distance from the earth. By applying Kepler's third law—namely, that the squares of the periodical times of the planets are proportional to the cubes of their mean distances—the distances of all the other planets from the sun may be determined. So that from the observation of a single transit of Venus can be calculated the diameter of the planetary orbs, and the extent of the entire solar system.

The scientific world of Europe was roused to enthusiasm upon the approach of Kepler's long-predicted phenomenon, “by far the noblest spectacle in the whole range of astronomy,” as it was designated. Preparations were made for observing it in all quarters of the globe. Persons of the highest rank in society interested themselves in the impending triumph of science. The Royal Society of England addressed a memorial to the king on the subject, praying for the aid of the Government in ships and money, to send out observers. The petition was granted. The Secretary to the Admiralty, Sir Philip Stephens, informed the

society that a barque would be provided to sail to the South Seas. A fitting commander for the expedition was required. Sir Philip Stephens at once named James Cook as the best man within the whole range of his acquaintance for that responsible office. With a discrimination that does him the highest honour, he had early appreciated the talents of the great sailor. He appealed to Cook's old commander, Sir Hugh Palliser, for a confirmation of his high estimate, and the confirmation was readily given, and warmly urged. Fortunately for science, and for humanity, the recommendation proved successful. Cook was appointed to command the expedition, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in the Royal Navy by a commission dated the 25th of May 1768.

It is to the immortal honour of Great Britain that she can boast of being the first country in the world that has undertaken voyages of discovery with the sole object of enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge. The voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese in the fifteenth century were undertaken mainly, if not exclusively, for the sake of anticipated advantages to commerce and the acquirement of wealth. The motives of the great discoverers themselves took, doubtless, a far larger and nobler range; but the national motive in the expeditions was, undeniably, material gain. The spirit of trade overshadowed the spirit of discovery. But a glorious revival of the spirit of discovery had taken place in Great Britain about the date of Cook's first expedition. A new and loftier ambition than any which trade can know was stirring the rich soul of the nation. That grand and mighty motive has borne harvests of blessings for mankind in the intervening hundred years. To extend the limits of science; "to follow knowledge like a sinking star beyond the utmost bounds of human thought;" to spread civilisation; to shed the glorious light of Christianity over the dark places of the earth, "the habitations of horrid cruelty;" to raise the downfallen, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke; "to proclaim deliverance to the captives, the opening of the prison-house to those that are bound, and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord"—such is the high and holy mission to the fulfilment of which England has bent her energies. And of that mission James Cook was one of the earliest and most zealous apostles.

The choice of a vessel for the expedition was left to Sir Hugh Palliser, and he at once took Cook into council. A great number of ships were examined and rejected. Many volunteer recommendations were offered as to the size and sailing qualities of the vessel that ought to be chosen. Some persons were for having a huge East-Indiaman, or a heavy barque of forty guns; others suggested a frigate, or a large three-decked ship, capable of carrying several hundreds of a crew. But the practised eye and clear judgment of Cook set all such recommendations aside, as David did the suggestion to wear Saul's armour in his fight with the giant. He saw that a vessel, to be at all suitable for purposes of discovery, must be of moderate size, strong build, light draught of water, large interior capacity, of a construction that would bear to take the ground, and of such a size that she might, if necessary, be laid on shore for repair with safety and convenience. In fact, the very ship for his purpose would be one of the old stout-timbered colliers with which he was so well acquainted. He accordingly

chose a barque built for the coal trade, of 370 tons burthen. In this wise decision Cook was following the great example of Columbus. Of the three ships with which the heroic Genoese sailor first crossed the Atlantic, only one was full-decked, the other two being only caravels or light barques, not a whit superior to the coasting vessels of the present day. "It was not," says Washington Irving, his biographer, "for want of large vessels in the Spanish ports, that those of Columbus were of so small a size. He considered them best adapted to voyages of discovery, as they required but little depth of water, and therefore could more easily and safely coast unknown shores, and explore bays and rivers. He had some purposely constructed of a very small size for the service."

The name of Cook's vessel was the "Endeavour." She was victualled for an eighteen months' voyage; she had on board ten carriage and twelve swivel guns; with abundance of ammunition, and all manner of stores. No reasonable expense or trouble was spared in making ample provision for the voyagers. Her complement consisted of forty-one able seamen, twelve marines, and nine servants, making in all, with the commander and officers, eighty-five persons, and including the following officers: Zachary Hicks, lieutenant; John Gore; Robert Molineaux, master; Charles Clerke, mate; John Gathray, boatswain; Stephen Forward, gunner; John Satterley, carpenter; William B. Munkhouse, surgeon; Richard Orton, clerk. The scientific staff consisted of Mr Charles Green, assistant to the Astronomer-Royal at Greenwich; Dr Solander, a learned Swede, well skilled in botany, and one of the librarians of the British Museum; with two draughtsmen for the departments of natural history and landscape. Sir Joseph Banks was at that time president of the Royal Society of London, and being a man of wealth and leisure, he resolved upon joining the expedition. He made arrangements on a most extensive scale, procuring large supplies of such articles as were likely to be useful or acceptable in the countries he was to visit. He engaged a secretary and four servants, two of whom were negroes. The place fixed upon as the best for taking the observations was the island of Otaheite, now called Tahiti. Cook's instructions were to the effect that, after completing his astronomical observations at that island, he was to prosecute a voyage of discovery in the Pacific Ocean, to sail as far south as 40° of latitude; and if no land was found, he was then to steer to the westward, between the fortieth and thirty-fifth parallels of latitude, until he encountered New Zealand; and having explored that country, he was to return to England by such route as he might think proper.

CHAPTER III.

COOK'S FIRST EXPEDITION.

THE EXPEDITION SAILS—CROSSES THE LINE—REACHES OTAHEITE—OBSERVATION OF THE TRANSIT OF VENUS—COOK LEAVES OTAHEITE—REACHES NEW ZEALAND—APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY—ENCOUNTERS WITH THE NATIVES—COOK TAKES SOME PRISONERS—HIS APOLOGY FOR USING FORCE—RELEASES THE PRISONERS—LEAVES POVERTY BAY—ENCOUNTERS WITH NATIVES AT CAPE KIDNAPPERS—EXPLORES THE COAST NORTHWARD—DISCOVERS COOK'S STRAITS—TAKES POSSESSION OF NEW ZEALAND—COMPLETES CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF NORTHERN ISLAND—ALSO OF SOUTHERN ISLAND—NATIVE ACCOUNT OF THEIR IMPRESSIONS OF THE VOYAGERS.

As the adventures and discoveries of Cook, during his first and subsequent voyages, excepting in so far as they are directly connected with Australasia, do not come within the scope of the present history, the reader must be referred for a full account of them to the well-known volumes containing the complete narrative.

The expedition sailed from Plymouth Sound, on the south-west coast of England, on the 26th of August 1768. The voyagers crossed the Line on the 25th October, and three months later they doubled Cape Horn and were in the Pacific Ocean. Sailing westward with a fair wind and pleasant weather, they reached the island of Otaheite (now called Tahiti) on the 10th of April 1769. Having set up their observatory and made all needful preparations, the celestial phenomenon of the transit of Venus over the sun's disc—the great object of the expedition—was observed under the most favourable circumstances. From the observations taken, the latitude and longitude of the observing station were calculated, and found to be as follows: latitude— $17^{\circ} 29' 15''$ S.; longitude— $149^{\circ} 32' 20''$ W. of Greenwich. Cook's notes of the observations, written by his own hand, are still preserved in the archives of the Royal Society of London. Numerous similar observations of the phenomenon were taken in other parts of the world, and from a comparison of the whole number the sun's parallax was calculated to be $8.575''$, which gives the mean distance of the sun from the earth at 95,158,440 English miles. But in the year 1876 the transit of Venus was once more carefully observed by astronomers in all parts of the world; and the calculations founded on the observations gave the parallax at a little less, and the mean distance of the sun about 91,500,000 miles.

The voyagers left Otaheite on the 13th of July 1769, taking with them Tupia,

a native, who had been first minister to the queen and also high priest of the island. They next visited and named the Society Islands. On the 5th of October, a change in the colour of the sea, the weeds floating on its surface, and the birds which flew around the ship, gave signs of approaching land. Cook's memorable account of his first catching sight of New Zealand, now one of the noblest of Great Britain's colonial possessions, must be given in his own words :

"On the 7th it fell calm, we therefore approached the land slowly, and in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up, we were still distant seven or eight leagues. It appeared still larger as it was more distinctly seen, with four or five ranges of hills, rising one over the other, and a chain of mountains above all which appeared to be an enormous height. This land became the subject of much eager conversation; but the general opinion seemed to be that we had found the *TERRA AUSTRALIS INCOGNITA*.* About five o'clock, we saw the opening of a bay, which seemed to run pretty far inland, upon which we hauled our wind and stood in for it: we also saw smoke ascending from different places on shore. When night came on, however, we kept plying off and on till daylight, when we found ourselves to the leeward of the bay, the wind being at north: we could now perceive that the hills were clothed with wood, and that some of the trees in the valleys were very large. By noon we fetched in with the south-west point; but not being able to weather it, tacked and stood off: at this time we saw several canoes standing across the bay, which, in a little time, made to shore, without seeming to take the least notice of the ship; we also saw some houses, which appeared to be small, but neat; and near one of them a considerable number of the people collected together, who were sitting upon the beach, and who, we thought, were the same that we had seen in the canoes. Upon a small peninsula, at the north-east head, we could plainly perceive a pretty high and regular paling, which enclosed the whole top of a hill; this was also the subject of much speculation, some supposing it to be a park of deer, others an enclosure for oxen and sheep. About four o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored on the north-west side of the bay, before the entrance of a small river, in ten fathom water, with a fine sandy bottom, and at about half-a-league from the shore. The sides of the bay are white cliffs of a great height; the middle is low land, with hills gradually rising behind, one towering above another, and terminating in the chain of mountains which appeared to be far inland.

"In the evening I went on shore, accompanied by Mr Banks and Dr Solander, with the pinnace and yawl, and a party of men. We landed abreast of the ship, on the east side of the river, which was here about forty yards broad; but seeing some natives on the west side whom I wished to speak with, and finding the river not fordable, I ordered the yawl in to carry us over, and left the pinnace at the entrance. When we came near the place where the people were assembled, they all ran away; however, we landed, and leaving four boys to take care of the yawl, we walked up to some huts which were about two or three hundred yards from the water-side. When we had got some distance from the boat, four men, armed with long lances, rushed out of the woods, and running up

* Or, "Great Southern Unknown Land."

to attack the boat, would certainly have cut her off, if the people in the pinnace had not discovered them, and called the boys to drop down the stream: the boys instantly obeyed, but being closely pursued by the Indians, the cockswain of the pinnace, who had the charge of the boats, fired a musket over their heads; at this they stopped and looked round them, but in a few minutes renewed the pursuit, brandishing their lances in a threatening manner: the cockswain then fired a second musket over their heads, but of this they took no notice; and one of them lifting up his spear to dart it at the boat, another piece was fired, which shot him dead. When he fell, the other three stood motionless for some minutes, as if petrified with astonishment; as soon as they recovered, they went back, dragging after them the dead body, which, however, they soon left, that it might not encumber their flight. At the report of the first musket, we drew together, having straggled to a little distance from each other, and made the best of our way back to the boat; and crossing the river, we soon saw the Indian lying dead upon the ground. Upon examining the body, we found that he had been shot through the heart: he was a man of the middle size and stature; his complexion was brown, but not very dark, and one side of his face was tattooed in spiral lines of a very regular figure: he was covered with a fine cloth, of a manufacture altogether new to us, and it was tied on exactly according to the representation in Valentyn's '*Account of Abel Tasman's Voyage*' (vol. iii., part 2, p. 50): his hair also was tied in a knot on the top of his head, but had no feather in it. We returned immediately to the ship, where we could hear the people on shore talking with great earnestness, and in a very loud tone, probably about what had happened, and what should be done."

On the morning of the next day (the 9th), Cook again rowed to the beach, and found about fifty of the natives waiting his landing. They started from the ground, and brandished long pikes and short stone weapons; nor did they desist from defiance, although addressed by Tupia in the Otaheitan tongue, until they saw the effect of a musket in striking the water at a distance. As soon as the marines were brought up, the English approached the savages, when their interpreter again spoke to them, "and it was with great pleasure," says Cook, "that we perceived he was perfectly understood." They expressed their willingness to trade for provisions and water, and desired the strangers to cross the river which flowed between; but they would not lay down their arms, and Tupia saw good reason for advising his friends to be prepared for hostility. The islanders being in turn invited over, first one, then two, and soon after, twenty or thirty, almost all armed, swam across. They attempted to seize the weapons of the discoverers, and though assured of death if they persisted, one of them snatched a hanger, with which he ran off, waving it round his head in exultation. The rest now grew more insolent, and others were observed coming from the opposite bank to their assistance. It was judged necessary to take some measures to repress them, and Mr Banks accordingly fired at the thief, who was wounded, but still retreated, though more slowly, flourishing the cutlass as before. Mr Munkhouse took a more fatal aim, and the savage dropped; upon which the main body, who had previously retired a little, began to advance; three pieces, loaded

only with small shot, were therefore discharged, when they again fell back and went slowly up the country, some of them evidently wounded.

Cook, intent on establishing an amicable intercourse with these intractable barbarians, determined to make some of them prisoners, and to treat them with kindness, in the hope of inspiring general confidence. Two canoes were soon after observed coming in from sea, and boats were despatched to intercept them; but they endeavoured to escape, regardless of the fair promises shouted after them by Tupia. A musket was then fired over their heads, in the hope that it would either make them surrender or leap into the water; but they stripped for the combat, and assailed their pursuers so vigorously with stones and other missiles, that the English were obliged to fire. Their discharge killed four men, while the rest of the crew, consisting of three boys, one of whom offered a stout resistance; were made captives.

It is but justice to the memory of a great and good man to give Cook's own defence of these apparently harsh proceedings: "I am conscious that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people, and it is impossible that, upon a calm review, I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises; or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger; but the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could not otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and goodwill of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect; and I was now prompted, by my desire to avoid further hostilities, to get some of them on board, as the only method left of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal; and though in the contest, which I had not the least reason to expect, our victory might have been complete without so great an expense of life; yet in such situations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect."

On being brought into the boat, the prisoners, who had squatted down in expectation of death, were clothed and amply fed. They soon became quite cheerful, and asked questions with every appearance of pleasure and curiosity; but when night came on, their spirits failed them, and they sighed often and loudly. When pacified in some measure by Tupia, they began to sing a slow mournful song to an air much resembling a psalm tune. Daylight, however, and another copious meal roused them to cheerfulness; they were dressed and decorated, and fell into transports of joy, when assured that they would be restored to their friends. Being at first unwillingly put on shore on a point of coast which they said belonged to their enemies, who would certainly kill and eat them, they had soon after to seek protection in the boat. When landed a second time, they waded into the water, and earnestly requested to be again taken on board; but the sailors had positive orders to leave them, and they were in a short time seen to join some of their associates. "After it was dark," adds Cook, "loud voices

were heard on shore in the bottom of the bay as usual, of which we could never learn the meaning."

The next morning the voyagers weighed anchor and left this "unfortunate and inhospitable place," to which Cook gave the name of POVERTY BAY, because nothing but wood could be obtained there. It is a small bay on the eastern coast of the North Island, in latitude $38^{\circ} 42' S.$

At the time they sailed they were abreast of a point from which the land trends S.S.W., and this point, on account of its figure, Cook named CAPE TABLE. A small island in sight to the southward was named the Island of PORTLAND, from its very great resemblance to Portland in the English Channel. Having a desire to explore the bay stretching southwards from this point, Cook steered for the land. Several fishing-boats came off to the ship, offering fish for sale; and all would have gone well, but that a large canoe with two-and-twenty armed men on board, came boldly up alongside. Offers were made by the voyagers to barter with the natives in the canoe some English cloth and baize for skins; but the natives were carrying off both articles, and had actually seized Tayeto, the little son of Tupia, and were rowing fast away, when Cook ordered the marines to fire over their heads, in order to frighten them. One man, however, was struck, and fell; and little Tayeto leaped from the canoe into the water, and swam to the ship. He was picked up greatly terrified. "To the cape off which this unhappy transaction happened," writes Cook, "I gave the name of CAPE KIDNAPPERS. It lies in latitude $39^{\circ} 41' S.$, and is rendered remarkable by two white rocks like haystacks, and the high white cliffs on each side. It lies S.W. by W., distant thirteen leagues from the Isle of Portland, and between them is the bay of which it is the south point, and which, in honour of Sir Edward Hawke, the first Lord of the Admiralty, I called HAWKE'S BAY."

Sailing southward along the shore, a high bluff head with cliffs of a yellow tint was reached, to which was given the name of CAPE TURNAGAIN. Finding no suitable harbour, and perceiving that the country manifestly altered for the worse, Cook changed his course to the northward, and in two days passed the spot where he first made the coast. He gave the name of GABLE-END FORELAND to a remarkable headland, from its likeness to the gable-end of a house: it is also remarkable for a rock which rises at a little distance. He next landed at a bay called by the natives TOLAGO BAY, where he was well received. On the 30th of October he hauled round a small island lying eastward one mile from the N.E. point of the land; from this place he found the land trend away N.W. by W. and W.N.W. as far as he could see. This point, being the easternmost land on the whole coast, he named EAST CAPE, and the island EAST ISLAND. In the evening of the same day he passed a bay which, as it was first discovered by Lieutenant Hicks, he called HICKS' BAY. As he sailed along the land, he observed increasing signs of cultivation and fertility. The next day a number of skiffs came off crowded with warriors, who flourished their arms and uttered loud shouts of defiance, frequently repeating, "*Haromai, haromai, harre uta a patoo-patoo oge!*" or, "Come to us, come on shore, we will kill you all with our stone hatchets!" In the flotilla was a canoe, by far the largest which had yet been seen,

having no fewer than sixteen paddles on each side, and containing in all about sixty men. It was making directly for the ship, when a gun, loaded with grape, was fired ahead of it; this caused the rowers to stop, and a round shot, which was fired over them, falling into the water, filled them with such terror that they seized their paddles and made towards the shore so precipitately that they seemed scarcely to allow themselves time to breathe. From this occurrence the place was named CAPE RUNAWAY.

On the 1st of November Cook landed in a large opening or inlet with the object of observing the transit of the planet Mercury over the sun's disc. The observation was taken on the 9th successfully, and the latitude was calculated to be $36^{\circ} 48'$ S. The appropriate name given to the place was MERCURY BAY. On the 26th a remarkable point was passed, to which the name CAPE BRETT was given; and three days afterwards Cook anchored in a large creek which he named the BAY OF ISLANDS "from the great number of islands which line its shores, and from several harbours, equally safe and commodious, where there is room and depth for any number of shipping." Here he remained till the 6th of December; and passing, on the third day, a harbour on which he bestowed the appellation of DOUBTLESS BAY, he was informed by the natives that at the distance of three days' rowing in their canoes, the land would take a short turn to the southward, and from thence extend no more to the west. On the 17th Cook, after encountering much adverse weather, made the northern extremity of the island, which he named NORTH CAPE. At this very time the French voyager Surville was on the eastern coast, not far from where Cook was beating about; but the two voyagers did not meet. On the 24th the Three Kings Islands of Tasman were sighted; and on the 30th Cape Maria Van Diemen, the north-western point of the country. Two remarkable circumstances are recorded by Cook as occurring whilst he sailed round this extremity of New Zealand: the first was that, in latitude 35° S., in the midst of summer, he encountered a gale of wind such as, for strength and continuance, he had scarcely ever experienced before. The second was, that five weeks were spent in getting fifty leagues to the westward, and in three weeks only ten leagues were made. Happily, during the storm his ship was far from land; otherwise it is highly probable that the great navigator would never have returned to England to relate his adventures.

From Cape Maria the coast was found to stretch nearly S.E. by S., and to present everywhere a barren shore consisting of banks of white sand. In proceeding along it, Cook sailed in the track of Tasman, though in an opposite direction. On the 10th January 1770, he came in sight of a lofty mountain in latitude $39^{\circ} 16'$ S. which, in honour of the earl of that name, he designated MOUNT EGMONT. In appearance it resembled the Peak of Teneriffe; and its summit, when occasionally seen towering above the clouds which almost constantly enveloped it, was observed to be covered with snow. The country at its base was level, of a pleasant appearance, and thickly clothed with wood and verdure. On doubling a cape which received the same title, he found himself in a large bay or opening, the southern end of which he could not distinguish. He sailed into it as far as latitude $40^{\circ} 27'$ S. In this position, besides the continu-

ance of the same coast, there appeared an island towards the south with several inlets, in one of which he resolved to careen the ship and take in a stock of wood and water. On the 15th, accordingly, he anchored in a convenient harbour, about four cannon-shot from a fortified village, the inhabitants of which came off in canoes, and, after surveying the ship, made signs of defiance and began the assault by a shower of stones. Tupia having expostulated with them, an old man came on board in spite of his countrymen's remonstrances. He was kindly received, and dismissed with presents; and on rejoining his companions, they immediately commenced dancing in token of peace. The Otaheitan was sufficiently understood by them, and it was learned that they had never before seen or heard of such a vessel as the "Endeavour," from which it was concluded that no recollection was preserved of the visit of Tasman in 1642, though this must have been near the place which he termed MURDERER'S BAY.

During his stay here, Cook, having ascended one of the neighbouring hills, beheld to his surprise the sea on each side of the island communicating by a passage or strait, on the south side of which his ship now lay. He soon after learned, what he had never before suspected, that the country was divided into two islands, the southern of which was called by the natives TAVAI POENAMMOO, and the northern EAHEINOMAUWE.

It was here that Cook resolved upon performing the ceremony of formally taking possession of New Zealand.

"The carpenter having prepared two posts to be left as memorials of our having visited this place, I ordered them to be inscribed with the ship's name, and the year and month: one of them I set up at the watering-place, hoisting the union flag upon the top of it; and the other I carried over to the island that lies nearest to the sea, called by the natives Motuara. I went first to the village (or *hippah*) accompanied by Mr Munkhouse and Tupia, where I met with our old man, and told him and several others, by means of Tupia, that we were come to set up a mark upon the island, in order to show to any other ship which should happen to come thither, that we had been there before. To this they readily consented, and promised that they never would pull it down: I then gave something to every one present; and to the old man I gave a silver three-pence, dated 1736, and some spike-nails, with the king's broad-arrow cut deep upon them—things which I thought most likely to remain long among them: I then took the post to the highest part of the island, and after fixing it firmly in the ground, I hoisted upon it the union flag, and honoured this inlet with the name of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND; at the same time taking formal possession of this and the adjacent country in the name and for the use of his Majesty King George III. We then drank a bottle of wine to her Majesty's health, and gave the bottle to the old man who attended us up the hill, and who was mightily delighted with his present."

Whilst staying in the sound the voyagers were much delighted with the wild melody of the forest birds: "The ship lay at the distance of somewhat less than a quarter of a mile from the shore, and in the morning we were awakened by the singing of the birds: the number was incredible, and they seemed to strain their

throats in emulation of each other. This wild melody was infinitely superior to any that we had ever heard of the same kind ; it seemed to be like small bells, most exquisitely tuned, and perhaps the distance, and the water between, might be no small advantage to the sound. Upon inquiry, we were informed that the birds here always began to sing about two hours after midnight, and continuing their music till sunrise, were, like our nightingales, silent the rest of the day."

He left the sound on the 6th February, and soon found himself rapidly borne through the channel to which, in honour of its discoverer, geographers have un-animously given the name of COOK'S STRAITS.

To the two capes which mark its eastern outlet Cook gave the names of PALLISER and CAMPBELL, in honour of his old commander and a brother officer in the navy. Then, as there were still some doubts as to whether Eaheinomauwe was really an island, he doubled Cape Palliser and stood to the northward. On the 9th he came in sight of Cape Turnagain (to which the natives gave the name of Tapolo-polo), and thus completed the circumnavigation of the Northern Island.

THE SOUTHERN ISLAND.—Resuming his course to the south-east, Cook ran quickly along the shore of Tavai Poenammoo, and on the 9th March reached its farthest extremity, which he named CAPE SOUTH. But the subsequent discovery of Stewart proved that Cook had mistaken the island now called STEWART'S ISLAND for a part of the mainland, which is divided from it by FOVEAUX STRAIT. A sail of three days brought him to Cape West, from which, along a coast trending towards the north-east, he proceeded so rapidly that on the 26th he reached a small island at the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound. The circumnavigation of New Zealand was thus completed.

The account which the natives themselves gave of their impressions on Cook's arrival is recorded by Mr Polack, who had it from the mouths of their children in 1836: "They took the ship at first for a gigantic bird, and were struck with the beauty and size of its wings, as they supposed the sails to be. But on seeing a smaller bird, unfledged, descending into the water, and a number of parti-coloured beings, apparently in human shape, the bird was regarded as a household of divinities. Nothing could exceed their astonishment. The sudden death of their chief (it proved to be their great fighting general) was regarded as a thunderbolt of these new gods, and the noise made by the muskets was represented as thunder. To revenge themselves was the dearest wish of the tribe, but how to accomplish it with divinities who could kill them at a distance was difficult to determine. Many of them observed that they felt themselves ill by being only looked upon by these *autuas* (gods), and it was therefore agreed that, as the new-comers could bewitch with a look, the sooner their society was dismissed the better for the general welfare."

CHAPTER IV.

COOK'S DISCOVERY OF EASTERN AUSTRALIA.

COOK THE FIRST TO PROVE NEW ZEALAND INSULAR—SEARCH FOR A GREAT SOUTHERN CONTINENT—COOK LEAVES NEW ZEALAND—SIGHTS THE AUSTRALIAN CONTINENT—POINT HICKS—NATIVES SEEN—BOTANY BAY—APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY—PORT JACKSON—VOYAGE ALONG THE COAST NORTHWARD—PERILOUS POSITION AND PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE—CAPE TRIBULATION—KANGAROOS FIRST SEEN—CAPE FLATTERY—MORE PERILS AND PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE—COOK NAMES AND TAKES POSSESSION OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

THE circumnavigation of New Zealand was the first grand achievement of the expedition. When Tasman discovered the country, he supposed it to be a part of a great continent extending all the way to the South Pole, and the same opinion was held by Juan Fernandez, by Hermite, the commander of a Dutch squadron, and by other navigators. Cook's discoveries had completely disproved the supposition; but the question whether such a continent did not actually exist was still undetermined. To solve the problem, Cook was desirous of returning to Europe by way of Cape Horn; but to effect this, it would have been necessary to keep in a high southern latitude in the very depth of winter, an undertaking for which the vessel was insufficient. The same objection was urged against proceeding directly to the Cape of Good Hope, "and it was therefore resolved," says the navigator, "that we should return by the East Indies; and that, with this view, we should, upon leaving the coast, steer westward till we should fall in with the east coast of New Holland, and then follow the direction of that coast to the northward, till we should arrive at its northern extremity; but if that should be impracticable, it was further resolved that we should endeavour to fall in with the land or islands said to have been discovered by Quiros."

With this view, at dawn on the 31st of March, Cook put to sea with a fresh gale, and took his departure from a point which he named CAPE FAREWELL. His course, which lay almost due west between the latitudes of 38' and 40°, was nearly coincident with that of Tasman from Van Diemen's Land to New Zealand. At six o'clock in the morning of the 18th of April land was sighted, extending from N.E. to W., at the distance of five or six leagues. Making all the sail they could, the voyagers bore away along the shore N.E. for the easternmost land in sight. To the southernmost point in view the name of POINT HICKS was given, in honour of Lieutenant Hicks, who was the first to discover it. CAPE GEORGE, LONG NOSE, and RED POINT were successively passed and named.

A little after passing the latter spot, natives were perceived for the first time. They were armed with spears, waddies, and boomerangs, which Cook describes as "long pikes, and wooden weapons shaped somewhat like a scimitar, about two feet and a half long." Some opposition having been shown by some of the natives to the landing of a party from the ship, a musket was fired, which had the effect of completely scaring them away.

The next day a landing was effected, and whilst Banks was gathering plants near the watering-place, Cook, with Solander and Munkhouse, went to the head of the bay, in order to examine the country and to attempt to make friendly communications with the natives. They met eleven or a dozen small canoes with each a man in it, who all made into the shoal water at their approach. "We went up the country for some distance," continues Cook; "and found the face of it nearly the same with that which has been described already, but the soil was much richer; for, instead of sand, I found a deep black mould, which I thought very fit for the production of grain of any kind. In the woods we found a tree which bore fruit that in colour and shape resembled a cherry: the juice had an agreeable tartness, though but little flavour. We found also interspersed some of the finest meadows in the world: some places, however, were rocky, but these were comparatively few; the stone is sandy, and might be used with advantage for building.

"The great quantity of plants which Mr Banks and Dr Solander collected in this place, induced me to give it the name of BOTANY BAY.

"All the inhabitants that we saw were stark naked: they did not appear to be numerous, nor to live in societies, but, like other animals, were scattered about along the coast, and in the woods. Of their manner of life, however, we could know but little, as we were never able to form the least connection with them. After the first contest at our landing, they would never come near enough to parley; nor did they touch a single article of all that we had left at their huts and the places they frequented, on purpose for them to take away.

"During my stay in this harbour I caused the English colours to be displayed on shore every day, and the ship's name and the date of the year to be inscribed upon one of the trees near the watering-place."

The voyagers found the country stocked with wood, of which only two kinds were thought worthy the appellation of timber. Shrubs, palms, mangroves, and a variety of plants—most of them wholly unknown to the naturalists—were in great abundance. Birds of splendid plumage flitted through the forest in flocks. Marks of some strange unknown quadrupeds were also noted; these were, of course, the kangaroos. It was a new world they had lit upon, and to all appearance an earthly paradise. At daybreak, on Sunday the 6th of May 1770, they set sail from Botany Bay, and steered along the shore N.N.E., until they came abreast of a bay or harbour, in which there appeared to be good anchorage, and to which the name of PORT JACKSON was given. But the voyagers did not attempt an entrance to the magnificent panorama of landscape and sea scenery on which now stands the populous and wealthy capital of New South Wales.

Continuing their northward route, they passed a cape which Cook named

SMOKY CAPE, now known as PORT MACQUARRIE. They next passed and named in succession, POINT LOOK-OUT, MORETON'S BAY, DOUBLE ISLAND POINT, INDIAN HEAD, SANDY CAPE, HERVEY'S BAY—so named in honour of Captain Hervey—BUSTARD BAY, CAPE CAPRICORN, CAPE MANIFOLD, KEPPEL BAY, CAPE TOWNSHEND, THIRSTY SOUND (because it afforded no fresh water), CAPE PALMERSTON, CAPE CONWAY, REPULSE BAY, WHITSUNDAY'S PASSAGE, CAPE GLOUCESTER, CAPE GRAFTON, and TRINITY BAY (discovered on Trinity Sunday).

They had now navigated the very difficult and dangerous eastern coast of Australia for a distance of 1300 miles, without any serious accident, when they encountered one of the most alarming perils of the sea. They had a fine breeze and a clear moonlight night, and the gentlemen had left the deck and gone tranquilly to bed, when suddenly the water shoaled, and before precautions could be taken, the ship struck on some coral rocks and remained immovable, except by the heaving of the surge that beat her against the crags of the rocks upon which she lay. "In a few moments," writes Cook, "everybody was upon deck, with countenances which sufficiently expressed the horrors of our situation." His narrative of what followed is given in an extremely graphic style, but its length precludes it from being quoted fully.

Boats were immediately hoisted out, when it was found that the vessel had been lifted over the ledge of a rock, and lay in a kind of basin within it. The crew attempted to get her off, but in vain, and she beat so violently against the rock, that the men could hardly keep their footing. The moon now shone brightly, and they could see that the planks which formed the sheathing of the ship were floating off, and the false keel following. The water then rushed in with such force, that though all the pumps were manned, the leak could scarcely be kept under; the guns on deck, ballast, casks, and other articles, were thrown overboard, and the crew were thus employed in lightening the ship till daybreak; while, so impressed were the men with their danger, that not an oath was uttered, the wicked habit of swearing being subdued by the dread of incurring guilt when death seemed to be so near. As the day broke, land was discovered about eight leagues distant, without an island between to which the crew might be conveyed in the boat in case of the ship's foundering. Happily she still held together, the wind fell to a dead calm, and preparation was made for heaving her off the rock, but the tide falling short, she did not float, though lightened of nearly fifty tons. The crew then threw overboard everything else that could be spared, when the water poured in so rapidly that she could scarcely be kept afloat by the constant working of two pumps. They could now only hope to get the ship off by the midnight tide, which began to rise at five o'clock. She righted at nine, but so much water had been admitted by the leak, notwithstanding a third pump had been added, that she was expected to sink as soon as the water bore her off the rock. Soon after ten o'clock she was heaved into deep water, when, to the surprise of all, the leakage did not increase, and though at this time there were 3 ft. 9 in. of water in the hold, the men at the pumps gained so considerably upon the leak, that by eight o'clock in the morning the ship was out of danger, and in the evening anchored at about seven leagues from the shore. It was not

till five days after, on the 17th of June, that a safe harbour was found upon the coast. The "Endeavour" was then hauled ashore for repairs, when it was ascertained that, but for a providential circumstance, the ship must have sunk the moment she was got off the reef. "One of the holes," writes Cook, "which was big enough to have sunk us if we had had eight pumps instead of four, and had been able to keep them incessantly going, was in a great measure plugged up by the fragment of the rock which, after having made the wound, was left sticking in it; so that the water, which at first gained upon our pumps, was what came in at the interstices between the stone and the edges of the hole that received it." To the place where the disaster occurred Cook gave the name of CAPE TRIBULATION. The cove in which the vessel was refitted is situated at the mouth of a small stream, which Cook named ENDEAVOUR RIVER. Banks and Solander found here abundant employment, almost every plant and animal being new to them. On the 22d a shooting party first saw the kangaroo, hitherto unknown to European naturalists. Cook described it as resembling a greyhound of a light mouse-colour, with a long tail, and which he should have mistaken for a wild dog had not its extraordinary manner of leaping instead of running convinced him of the contrary: it bounded like a deer, and the print of its foot resembled that of a goat. Banks chased four kangaroos with a greyhound, which they soon outstripped; and a young kangaroo was shot, and being cooked was found excellent eating. Banks likewise caught a female opossum with two young ones. Among the other animals seen here were goats, wolves, pole-cats, a spotted civet, and several serpents; the only tame animals being native dogs. A sailor also saw a large black bat, which he said was "like the devil, for it was as large as a one-gallon keg, and very like it: for it had horns and wings; yet crept so slowly through the grass that, if he had not been *afear'd*, he might have touched it." The supply of turtle and fish taken in the harbour was excellent. Among the vegetables were wild beans, the tops of cocoas and cabbage palms. The ship being repaired, the navigators sailed from this harbour on the 5th of August, with the intention of pursuing a north-east course; but for nearly a week they struggled amidst shoals and breakers to reach the open sea through the dangers of coral rocks. On the 10th, between a headland and three small islands, they thought they had discovered a clear opening; but this not being the case, the headland was named CAPE FLATTERY. In a few days, however, they gained the deep sea, having been nearly three months entangled within the reefs. They next steered northward, flattering themselves that the danger was over, when at daybreak of the 16th the wind abated, and the depth of the sea was so great that they could not reach the ground with an anchor; while the ship drifted fast towards the reefs which nearly lined the coast, and on which the angry waves of the Southern Ocean broke with a tremendous surf. The "Endeavour" was now driven towards the breakers, and her destruction seemed inevitable, when a narrow opening was descried at no great distance, through which the ship was steered so rapidly as to avoid striking either side of the channel. To this passage was given the name of PROVIDENTIAL CHANNEL. To two islands in the vicinity the names of LIZARD and EAGLE ISLANDS were given.

On the 21st August Cook made CAPE YORK, the most northerly point of the land ; and here he resolved to follow the coast in order to determine whether New Holland and New Guinea were separate islands. This he found to be the case, and having given to the channel which divides them the name of ENDEAVOUR STRAITS (known more commonly as Torres Straits, from its first explorer), he resolved upon performing the ceremony of taking possession of New South Wales.

“As I was now about to quit the eastern coast of New Holland, which I had coasted from latitude 38° to this place, and which I am confident no European had ever seen before, I once more hoisted English colours, and though I had already taken possession of several particular parts, I now took possession of the whole eastern coast, from latitude 38° to this place, latitude $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S., in right of his Majesty King George III., by the name of NEW SOUTH WALES, with all the bays, harbours, rivers, and islands situated upon it. We then fired three volleys of small arms, which were answered by the same number from the ship. Having performed this ceremony upon the island, we called it POSSESSION ISLAND.”

Sunday 7 at 9 AM spoke a Brig from Liverpool bound to Cork & some time after another from London bound to the Lynaides * * * We learned from this report that no acco. had been received in England from us & that the loggers were hit that we were lost. * * * * *

July 17th th Friday 12. Winds at 11 AM a fresh Gale with which we ran briskly up Channel at 1 PM at 3 PM passed the Bill of Portland & at 4 PM passed Beachy head at the distance of 4 or 5 Miles, at 10 Duengeney, at the distance of 2 Miles & at Noon we were abreast of Dover. Saturday 13th At 3 PM in the PM Anchored in the Downs & soon after Standes in order to repair to London

Samuel Cook

CHAPTER V.

COOK'S RETURN VOYAGE.

COOK LEAVES AUSTRALIA—DISASTROUS VOYAGE—EXPEDITION ARRIVES IN ENGLAND—
RESULTS OF COOK'S ACHIEVEMENTS—INTEREST FELT IN ENGLAND—LINNÆUS—
COOK RECEIVED WITH HONOUR AND PROMOTED—ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE
PUBLISHED—REFLECTIONS ON THE NEW DISCOVERIES—COOK'S LETTER TO THE
LORDS OF THE ADMIRALTY.

THE "Endeavour" left the coast of Australia on the 23d of August 1770, and after a narrow escape from striking on some shoals, reached New Guinea on the 3d September. The homeward voyage by the Cape of Good Hope was very disastrous, no less than thirty-one of the ship's company having died in the course of a few weeks, including Tupia the Otaheitan and his son Tayeto. On the 14th of April Cook left the Cape, and on the 12th June 1771, the good ship "Endeavour" came to an anchor in the Downs, and the voyagers landed at Deal on the coast of Kent in England.

Thus was completed this long and glorious voyage of nearly three years, so memorable in the annals of maritime adventure. In the course of it the globe was circumnavigated, many new lands were explored, immense additions were made to geographical and general science, and two magnificent countries—one of them a continent nearly as large as Europe—were added to the British Empire.

The return of the great navigator and his brave fellow-explorers excited the most intense interest amongst all classes of persons in England, and indeed in most countries of Europe. The great botanist Linnæus wrote from Upsala in Sweden his congratulations. "If I were not bound fast here by sixty-four years of age and a worn-out body," he said, "I would this very day set out for London to see my dear Solander, that great hero of botany. Moses was not permitted to enter Palestine, but only to view it from a distance; so I conceive an idea in my mind of the acquisitions and treasures of those who have visited every part of the globe." The stories which the voyagers had to tell of their adventures, their perilous escapes, their strange experiences amongst the wild inhabitants—or, as they were called, the Indians—of the vast Southern Ocean, were listened to with eager ears. Cook was the hero of the hour. All ranks and conditions of men vied with each other in doing him honour. He was presented to the king at St James's Palace, when he presented a journal of his voyage, with illustrative maps and charts. He was raised, by royal commission

dated the 29th of August 1771, to the rank of Commander in the Royal Navy. Banks and his scientific companions were objects of general curiosity to all classes. Their conversation was eagerly sought by the learned and the noble. The young king himself took much delight in listening to the adventures of the discoverers, and examining the specimens of arts and manufactures which they had gathered in the strange new lands they had explored. The account of the voyage, drawn up from the journals and papers of Cook and his companions, was prepared for publication by Dr John Hawkesworth, a learned author of the day. Most of the curiosities and specimens brought home were deposited in the British Museum.

With the exception of Columbus, no navigator had ever made more important original discoveries than Cook. It is impossible, while reading the narrative of this first voyage, to fail being struck with the evidences of a Divine providential guidance throughout it. The wonderful protection of the ship in circumstances of the extremest peril on several occasions; the preservation of the life of the great navigator from the hostility of savage tribes, and from the ravages of the pestilence that carried off so many of his companions; the astonishing interpositions occurring just at the critical moment of imminent danger; the amazing energy and firmness displayed by Cook under the most trying circumstances; and the safe accomplishment of the purpose of founding a new empire in the far south, whence civilisation, enlightenment, and Christianity should radiate outwards on the savage races inhabiting the numberless surrounding ocean-islands: all bespeak the working of that Omnipotent Divine Power, whose bright designs and sovereign will ever make for the best and highest interests of mankind.

The letter in which Cook announced to the Lords of the Admiralty the completion of his commission is a model of simple and manly modesty of style. The original is preserved in the records of the Admiralty at Whitehall, and runs as follows:

“‘ENDEAVOUR’ BARQUE, DOWNS, 12th July 1771.

“SIR,—It is with pleasure I have to request that you will be pleased to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty with the arrival of H.M. barque under my command at this place, where I shall leave her to wait until further orders, and in obedience to their Lordships’ orders immediately, and with this letter, repair to their office in order to lay before them a full account of the proceedings of the whole voyage.

“I make no doubt but that you have received my letters and journal forwarded from Batavia in Dutch ships in October last, and likewise my letter of the 10th of May, together with some of the officers’ journals, which I put on board his Majesty’s ship ‘Portland,’ since which time nothing material hath happened, excepting the death of Lieut. Hicks. The vacancy made on this occasion I filled up by appointing Mr Charles Clerke, a young man well worthy of it, and as such, must beg leave to recommend him to their Lordships. This, as well as all other appointments made in the barque vacant by the death of former officers, agreeable to the enclosed list, will, I hope, meet their Lordships’ approbation.

“You will herewith receive my journals containing an account of the proceedings of the whole voyage, together with all the charts, plans, and drawings I have made of the respective places we touched at, which you will be pleased to lay before their Lordships. I flatter myself that the latter will be

found sufficient to convey a tolerable knowledge of the places they are intended to illustrate, and that the discoveries we have made, though not great, will apologise for the length of the voyage.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES COOK.

"Philip Stephens, Esq."

(*Captain's letters, C. vol. 22. Records of the Admiralty, Whitehall.*)

LIST of OFFICERS appointed to his Majesty's barque the "Endeavour," by Lieutenant James Cook, Commander, in the room of others, deceased.

1770, Nov. 6, William Perry, surgeon, in the room of Wm. B. Munkhouse, dd. 5th Nov. 1770, at Batavia.

1771, Feb. 5, Samuel Evans, boatswain, in the room of John Gathrey, dd. 4th Feb. 1771.

„ Feb. 13, George Nowell, carpenter, in the room of John Satterley, dd. 12th Feb.

„ April 16, Richard Pickersgill, master, in the room of Robt. Molineux, dd. 15th April.

„ May 26th, John Gore, 2d lieut., in the room of Zachariah Hicks, dd. 25th May.

„ „ Charles Clerke, 3d lieut., in the room of John Gore, appointed 2d lieut.

} At Sea.

JAMES COOK.

CHAPTER VI.

COOK'S SECOND EXPEDITION.

SEARCH FOR A GREAT SOUTHERN CONTINENT—COOK'S SECOND EXPEDITION—HIS INSTRUCTIONS—THE EXPEDITION SAILS—REACHES THE SOUTHERN ICE-FIELDS—ABANDONS FURTHER RESEARCH—THE SOUTH POLAR BARRIER—THE TWO VESSELS SEPARATED—COOK SAILS FOR NEW ZEALAND—REACHES DUSKY BAY—PICKERS-GILL HARBOUR—A LANDING MADE TO TAKE OBSERVATIONS—A DELIGHTFUL COUNTRY—WATER-SPOUTS—COOK REACHES QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND—MEETS FURNEAUX THERE—FURNEAUX'S ADVENTURES.

ALTHOUGH Cook, in his first voyage, by sailing round New Zealand and exploring part of New Holland, had proved that these countries were distinct islands, and did not form a portion of the great *Terra Australis Incognita*, as had been supposed, yet many well-informed persons still believed in the existence of a vast southern continent. To set this question completely at rest, it was resolved to despatch another expedition from England. The king was favourable to the design, as was also the Earl of Sandwich, then at the head of the Admiralty; and Cook was at once named as the fittest person to be entrusted with the expedition.

Two vessels which, like the “*Endeavour*,” had been built at Whitby for coal-trade, were accordingly fitted out for the voyage—the “*Resolution*,” 462 tons burthen, of which Cook had the command, and the “*Adventure*,” 336 tons, under Captain Furneaux, who had sailed as second lieutenant under Wallis. The “*Resolution*” had 112, and the “*Adventure*” 81 officers and men. The ships were amply stored and provided for a long and difficult voyage, particularly with articles to prevent the scurvy and to preserve the health of the crews. Among the stores were clothing adapted for a cold climate, implements for fishing, articles to serve as presents, and money. The advancement of science was equally provided for: Messrs Wales and Bayley undertook the astronomical observations; and Banks and Solander having declined accompanying the expedition, John Reinhold Forster and his son were engaged as naturalists, with a competent artist, Mr Hodges, as draughtsman. The expenses of the expedition were to be defrayed by a grant from Parliament of £4000, as “an encouragement for the more effectually prosecuting the discoveries towards the South Pole.” Cook's instructions were to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, then to set sail southward in quest of Cape de la Circoncision, reported to have been visited by a French officer named Bouvet in 1738, in latitude 54° 20' S., and between 9° and 11° of east longitude. Cook was to ascertain whether this point belonged to an island,

or formed part of the long-sought-for Southern Continent. But should he not find the cape, he was to sail southward in search of the supposed continent, and thence eastward with the same object. He was likewise to visit the unexplored portion of the southern hemisphere, keeping in high latitudes, and proceeding as near as possible to the pole, until he had circumnavigated the globe.

The ships sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of July 1772, and made the Cape of Good Hope on the 29th of October, where they remained till the 22d of November. Previously to sailing, Cook was induced by Mr Forster to receive on board an assistant-naturalist, Dr Sparmann, a native of Sweden, and a disciple of the celebrated Linnæus.

The navigators left the Cape on the 22d, and directed their course to the south. They met with several ice-islands, some of which were two miles in circuit and upwards of fifty feet in height, over which the sea broke with terrific fury. Their course was stopped at length by an endless field of ice. Cook hoped by steering, first east and then southward, to get behind this field, but in doing so he observed no sign of land. On the 17th of December he crossed the antarctic circle in the longitude of $39^{\circ} 35'$; but he found it was hopeless to persist any longer in that course, as the ice extended from east to west, without any appearance of an opening. He then sailed to the north-east in search of the lands said to have been discovered in that direction by Bouvet; but though the ships kept some miles apart, in order to extend the search, neither gained sight of land.

The design of seeking further for the doubtful Southern Continent was therefore abandoned. But to Cook must be given the credit of having penetrated further to the South Pole than any previous navigator. Since his time, however, further explorations have been prosecuted in that direction. Weddell, in 1823, sailed 214 geographical miles beyond Cook's highest point; and the memorable expedition of Sir James Clark Ross, in 1841, led to the discovery, in latitude $78^{\circ} 4'$, of the great South Polar Barrier, extending 450 miles in length with a perpendicular face of ice 180 feet above the sea-level. On the 8th of February 1773, in thick and hazy weather, the two vessels unintentionally separated; the rendezvous appointed in case of this accident was Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, and thither Cook directed his course. In the course of the voyage thither, the splendid phenomenon of the Aurora Australis, or Southern Lights, was several times seen. At length, after having been 117 days at sea, during which time the "Resolution" had sailed 3660 leagues, without having once come within sight of land, Cook saw again the shores of New Zealand on the 25th of March, and on the following day came to anchor in DUSKY BAY. Here the voyagers were strangers; Cook having in his first voyage only discovered and named the bay.

Notwithstanding the length and hardships of his voyage, there was no sickness in the ship; for great attention had been paid to the health of the men by enforcing cleanliness, by keeping the ship dry and well-ventilated, and by the judicious use of diet to keep off scurvy. On the 28th, a more convenient harbour was found, to which the name of PICKERSGILL HARBOUR was given, from its

having been discovered by Lieutenant Pickersgill. Thither the ship was removed, and as fish, fowl, and fresh water were abundant in the bay, the voyagers hoped to enjoy what, after their numerous perils and privations, might be called the luxuries of life. They first cleared a place in the woods; then set up the observatory, the forge to repair their iron-work, and tents for the sail-maker and cooper to work in. They landed the casks to fill with water, and began to brew beer from the branches or leaves of the spruce fir. The change from their late wearisome life on the icy seas was delightful. As they explored the country in search of provisions, and to collect plants, they found the climate mild and the soil fertile, whilst the woods, now just assuming their autumnal tints, re-echoed the songs of numerous birds. The stay of the voyagers at Dusky Bay exceeded six weeks; during which time they had several interviews with parties of natives, and a chief and his daughter ventured on board the ship, where they made presents to Cook, the astronomer, and the draughtsmen. This custom of making presents first had not been hitherto observed in New Zealand. Of the articles given by the voyagers in return, the chief most prized hatchets and spike-nails.

Having surveyed Dusky Bay, on the 11th of May, the navigators sailed along the shore towards Queen Charlotte's Sound, where they expected to join the "Adventure." Nothing remarkable occurred till the afternoon of the 17th, when the sky became suddenly darkened with clouds, and several water-spouts were seen, one of which passed within fifty yards of the ship. Their first appearance was indicated by the violent agitation and rising up of the water, which was joined by a column or tube from the clouds above; this increased considerably in size, and then decreased, soon after which the sea calmed, the tube was drawn up gradually to the clouds and disappeared.

On the 18th, at daybreak, Cook reached Queen Charlotte's Sound, and found the "Adventure" in the harbour. It appeared that Captain Furneaux, having lost sight of the "Resolution" in a thick fog, fired half-hour signal guns without success, and cruised near the spot for three days, according to agreement, when he followed a more northerly course along the southern and eastern shores of Van Diemen's Land; and from examination of them, he reported that there was no strait between this land and New Holland, but a very deep bay. On the 19th of March he stood away for New Zealand, which he reached on April 7th, since which date, till Cook's arrival, the voyagers of the "Adventure" had held friendly intercourse with the natives. In this they were joined by Cook, who, before the two vessels left the sound, put on shore a ewe and ram and two goats. A garden was also dug, and several seeds and vegetables adapted to the climate were sown in it. Cook next intended to visit Van Diemen's Land, to ascertain whether or not it made a part of New Holland, as Captain Furneaux had reported, but at length he considered the point settled by the judgment of his colleague. The report of Captain Furneaux proved to have been over-estimated for its accuracy by Cook, for, twenty-five years after, in 1798, Flinders and Bass discovered the channel named Bass's Straits which separates Van Diemen's Land from Australia.

CHAPTER VII.

COOK'S EXPLORATION OF THE PACIFIC.

COOK SAILS AGAIN TO EXAMINE THE SOUTHERN OCEAN—REACHES OTAHEITE—THE SOCIETY ISLANDS—THE SHIPS PART COMPANY—COOK AGAIN ANCHORS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND—CANNIBALISM OF THE NATIVES—COOK LEAVES NEW ZEALAND—ANTIPODES OF LONDON—ICEBERGS—THE ICE REGION—THE CRUISE IN THE PACIFIC—NEW HEBRIDES DISCOVERED AND NAMED—NEW CALEDONIA DISCOVERED AND NAMED—BOTANY ISLAND—NORFOLK ISLAND DISCOVERED AND NAMED—THE SURVIVORS OF THE "BOUNTY"—RETURN TO QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND—FURNEAUX'S ADVENTURES AMONGST THE NEW ZEALAND NATIVES—COOK LEAVES NEW ZEALAND—CROSSES THE PACIFIC—REACHES ENGLAND—COOK'S CONCLUDING REMARKS ON HIS EXPEDITION.

ALTHOUGH the winter had now set in, Cook determined not to lose his time in utter inactivity. His ships being sound, and their crews healthy, on June 7th he proceeded with the intention of examining the Southern Ocean within the latitude of 46° , then refreshing at some of the islands between the tropics, and returning in the summer to his researches in a higher latitude. He sailed eastward till July 17th, when seeing no land, he steered north-eastward and was then convinced by the great sea which rolled from the south that no land of any extent could lie near him in that direction, which circumstance, with the sickly state of the "Adventure's" crew, induced him to direct his course to Otaheite.

After a short stay there, and a cruise amongst the Society Islands, as the period of the year for prosecuting his researches in the high southern latitudes had come round again, Cook directed his course to New Zealand, which he descried on the 21st of October. The ships encountered a succession of severe gales and bad weather, during which the "Adventure" was again lost sight of and not rejoined during the voyage. At length, on the 3d of November, the "Resolution" again anchored in Queen Charlotte's Sound. While here, indubitable proofs presented themselves that cannibalism was common among the natives. They seemed as much addicted to theft as formerly. On one occasion a chief undertook to protect Cook from the thieving natives, but was himself detected in stealing the navigator's pocket handkerchief, at which he laughed with such address that it was scarcely possible to be angry with him.

After waiting in the sound for three weeks in hopes of the "Adventure" rejoining him, Cook left New Zealand on the 26th of November. The ship's

company was in good health and high spirits. On the 6th of December they crossed the antipodes of London, and were thus at that point of the globe which was most distant from their home. On the 12th the first ice-island was seen, from which time till the 26th the dangers of icebergs and loose ice continued to increase. Fortunately the voyagers had continual daylight and clear weather: had it been foggy, nothing less than a miracle could have saved them from being dashed to pieces. On the 26th they crossed the antarctic circle for the third time, and on the 30th reached $71^{\circ} 19'$ of southern latitude.

Here the ice extended east and west far out of sight, and from the mast-head ninety-seven ice-hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside, many of them very large and looking like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer or northern edge of this immense field was composed of loose or broken ice closely packed together, so that it was not possible for anything to enter it. This was about a mile broad, within which was solid ice in one continued compact body. Cook therefore considered it would be a dangerous enterprise to attempt to proceed any farther south, adding, "it was indeed my opinion, as well as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or perhaps joined some land to which it had been fixed from the earliest time, and that it is here (that is, to the south of this parallel) where all the ice we find scattered up and down to the north is first formed, and afterwards broken off by gales of wind or other causes, and brought to the north by currents which we always found to set in that direction in the high latitudes. As we drew near this ice, some penguins were heard but not seen, and but few other birds or any other thing that could induce us to think that any land was near." Yet Cook thought there must be some land to the south behind this point, though, if such were the case, it must be inaccessible from the ice. Therefore, as he could not proceed one inch farther to the south, he tacked and stood back to the north.

The cruise in the Pacific occupied several months, and in the course of it many romantic incidents occurred and many important discoveries were made. Amongst other islands visited and named were the NEW HEBRIDES group. Cook sailed from thence south-westward on the 1st of September 1774, and three days after sighted an extensive coast beset with reefs, on which the sea broke with great violence. A passage through this dangerous barrier having been discovered, the "Resolution" came to anchor on the 5th, and immediately afterwards the ship was surrounded by a great number of natives in sixteen or eighteen canoes. They were of a peaceable and friendly disposition, and offered no opposition to the landing of a boat's crew. The country seemed to Cook generally to resemble New Holland, being mostly rocky and barren on the high ground, but having fertile spots on the plains and slopes. The inhabitants were a strong, active, and handsome race, excelling the people of Tanna: their language was of the same mixed character; they had not before seen Europeans; and they were strictly honest. To this island Cook gave the name of NEW CALEDONIA. Though he could not fully explore it, he ascertained it to be from north to south about two hundred miles, and from east to west thirty miles.

This is the largest island in the South Pacific Ocean, except New Zealand. In sailing round it, some small islands were discovered, one of which was named the ISLE OF PINES, from there being found on it a great abundance of spruce pines, fit for spars—a discovery of great importance, as, excepting New Zealand, there was not an island in this sea where a mast or yard could be found. To a smaller island, on which a party landed, and found many new trees, shrubs, and plants, was given the name of BOTANY ISLAND.

It is a fact much to be regretted that the British Government never took possession of New Caledonia; its vicinity to the continent rendering it of very great value for colonising purposes. In 1853 the French seized upon it, and at once converted it into a penal settlement, which character it still retains (1878). There can be no question that the existence of a large foreign criminal establishment within three or four days' sail of the Australian colonies is a serious evil for the latter; and already some of the bad effects inevitably resulting from its proximity have been experienced, in the escape to these colonies of French prisoners from New Caledonia.

On the 1st of October the voyagers again lost sight of land and steered southward for nine days, when they discovered an island to which Cook gave the name of NORFOLK ISLAND, in honour of the noble family of Howard, Duke of Norfolk. It was somewhat lofty, and about five leagues in circuit. In fertility it much resembled New Zealand, the flax-plant of that country being here very luxuriant; but the chief produce were noble pines, the trunks of which, breast-high, two men could scarcely clasp. The island was uninhabited, and the navigators were probably the first persons that ever set foot on its shores. Some years later a party of British settlers fixed here, but they abandoned it, on account of its dangerous coast. In 1825 the British Government fixed upon this island as the place for a penal settlement, to which the worst class of offenders might be sent from New South Wales. The experiment proved a failure, as it was bound to do, and thirty years afterwards, in 1855, the penal establishment on the island was broken up. It may safely be affirmed that the records of Norfolk Island during that period of thirty years exceed in horror any chronicle of crime and suffering ever written in this world. Humanity shudders at the recollection, and hastily drops all mention of the subject. In 1856 the descendants of the mutineers of the "Bounty," who had become too numerous for the small island (Pitcairn's) they inhabited, petitioned the British Government to grant them the much more productive Norfolk Island, then deserted. The petition was granted, and this interesting little community was accordingly transferred thither. Four years after two families, numbering in all seventeen persons, returned to Pitcairn's Island, leaving 202 souls as the total population. The new Norfolk Islanders are an exceedingly cheerful and virtuous race of people. They retain all their primitive simplicity of disposition, are very hospitable, and passionately fond of music and dancing. The men are engaged in whaling and herding cattle, or in cultivating their gardens and plantations. The women attend to the children, manage the dairies, and take part occasionally in the labours of the field. At present (1878) the total population of the island is about 500 souls.

Sailing away from Norfolk Island, the voyagers, on the 17th of October, descried the "everlasting snows" of Mount Egmont, in New Zealand, and next day anchored in Queen Charlotte's Sound, for the third time during this voyage. From not finding the bottle with a memorandum, which Cook, on his last visit, had left for Captain Furneaux, and from other circumstances, especially from timber having been cut there with axes and saws, it was plain that the "Adventure" had been there. The natives, of whom only a few appeared, and those in a state of great fear, gave information from which it was inferred that some calamity had befallen the crew. The mystery was subsequently cleared up by a letter from Furneaux, which Cook found awaiting him at the Cape of Good Hope on his homeward voyage.

It will be remembered that Cook, on his approaching New Zealand for the second time in the course of this voyage, in October 1773, lost sight of the "Adventure," and did not again join company with that ship. From the letter it appeared that Furneaux, being blown off the coast, was beaten about by violent storms till the 6th of November, when he put into Tolaga Bay, for water and wood; and sailed from thence for Queen Charlotte's Sound, the appointed rendezvous for the ships in case of separation, which he reached on the 30th. The "Resolution" not being there, Furneaux and his companions began to doubt her safety; but on landing, they observed cut on an old stump of a tree these words: "Look underneath." They dug accordingly, and found a bottle, corked and sealed, containing a letter from Cook, stating his arrival there on the 3d of November, and his departure on the 26th, and that he intended passing a few days in the entrance to the straits to look out for the "Adventure."

The "Adventure" was now got ready for sea with all speed, and on the 17th December, Furneaux sent a midshipman, with nine men, in a large cutter, to gather wild greens for the ship's company, with orders to return that evening. As they did not return by the next morning, and the ship was now ready for sea, the second lieutenant, Mr Burney, set out in search of the cutter, in the launch, manned with the boat's crew and ten marines. They proceeded, firing guns into all the coves by way of signals, and landed at a settlement to search the houses, but could not find any trace of the missing voyagers. Persevering in the search, they saw on the beach adjoining Grass Cove, a large double canoe, just hauled up, with two men and a dog. On seeing the launch the men ran off into the woods, when Burney and his companions landed, and on searching the canoe, found in it the shoes of a midshipman; and subsequently was picked up a hand, tattooed "T. H.," which was immediately known to have belonged to Thomas Hill, one of the fore-castle men of the "Adventure." Around Grass Cove, the natives had collected in great numbers, shouting and inviting the English to land. From the number of the savages, and the suspicion excited by finding the shoes and hand, the lieutenant would not trust himself ashore, but fired among the people until they retired. He then landed with the marines, and soon ascertained the melancholy fate of the missing boat's crew. "On the beach," he says, "were two bundles of celery, which had been gathered for loading the cutter; a broken oar was stuck upright in the ground, to which the natives had tied their canoes,

a proof that the attack had been made here. I then searched all along at the back of the beach, to see if the cutter was there. We found no boat, but instead of her, such a shocking scene of carnage and barbarity as can never be mentioned nor thought of but with horror." The savages had not only butchered the whole crew, ten in number, but feasted on the remains of the victims of their ferocity, and left parts of them strewn along the beach.

After this lamentable occurrence, the "Adventure" was detained in the sound ten days; but no more natives were seen. At length Captain Furneaux, despairing of meeting with Cook, got to sea on the 23d of December, and being favoured with a strong easterly current and westerly winds, in about a month doubled Cape Horn, and arrived at Spithead on the 14th of July 1774.

To return to Cook. He took his departure from New Zealand on the 10th of November 1774, and steering S. by E., ran directly across the Pacific. "I have now done with the Southern Pacific Ocean," he writes, "and flatter myself that none will think that I have left it unexplored, or that more could have been done in one voyage, towards obtaining that end, than has been done in this." He reached the Cape of Good Hope on 19th March 1775, where he got Furneaux's letter. On the 30th of July the "Resolution" anchored at Spithead, after an absence from England of three years and eighteen days. Cook landed at Portsmouth next day, and set out for London, to report his arrival to the Admiralty. Through all the hardships and privations of the voyage, and all the severe changes of climate, only four men had been lost of the ship's company, and only one of these died from sickness.

Cook's concluding remarks on this famous voyage are well deserving of quotation :

"It does not become me to say how far the principal objects of our voyage have been attained. Though it has not abounded with remarkable events, nor been diversified by sudden transitions of fortune; though my relation of it has been more employed in tracing our course by sea, than in recording our operations on shore; this perhaps is a circumstance from which the curious reader may infer, that the purposes for which we were sent into the southern hemisphere were diligently and effectually pursued. Had we found out a continent there, we might have been better enabled to gratify curiosity; but we hope our not having found it, after all our persevering searches, will leave less room for future speculation about unknown worlds remaining to be explored. But whatever may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health amongst a numerous ship's company, for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about a southern continent shall have ceased to engage the attention and to divide the judgment of philosophers."

CHAPTER VIII.

COOK'S SECOND RETURN TO ENGLAND.

VASTNESS AND GRANDEUR OF COOK'S DISCOVERIES—HIS RECEPTION IN ENGLAND—HONOURS PAID HIM—SIR JOHN PRINGLE'S EULOGIUM—COOK'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE PUBLISHED—HIS MODEST ESTIMATE OF HIS OWN ACHIEVEMENTS—TRUE GREATNESS.

THE design of the voyage now completed was in vastness and grandeur without a parallel in the history of maritime enterprise; and never, perhaps, had any expedition been conducted with greater skill, perseverance, or success. Cook was received with every mark of approbation and honour. He was raised to the rank of post-captain, by a commission dated the 9th of August; and three days thereafter he was named Captain in Greenwich Hospital, an appointment which afforded him the means of spending the rest of his days in honourable and easy retirement. In February 1776 he was unanimously elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and on the 7th of March, the evening of his admission, a communication was read in which he detailed the means he had employed to preserve the health of his crew in their long and perilous navigation. For this most valuable and important essay, the council awarded to him the Copley medal; and on the occasion of its delivery the president, Sir John Pringle, delivered a discourse highly encomiastic of the great discoverer. He observed:

“What inquiries can be so useful as that which has for its object the saving of the lives of men? and where shall we find one more successful than that before us? Here are no vain boastings of the empiric, nor ingenious and delusive theories of the dogmatist; but a concise, and artless, and an unconceited relation of the means by which, under Divine favour, Captain Cook, with a company of 118 men, performed a voyage of three years and eighteen days, throughout all the climates from 52° N. to 71° S. latitude, with the loss of only one man by sickness. I would now inquire of the most conversant with the bills of mortality whether in the most healthy climate and the best conditions of life, they have ever found so small a number of deaths within that space of time? How great and how agreeable, then, must our surprise be, after perusing the histories of long navigations in former days, when so many perished by marine diseases, to find the air acquitted of all malignity, and, in fine, that a voyage round the world may be undertaken with less danger, perhaps, to health than a common tour in Europe? If Rome decreed the civic crown to him who saved the life of a single citizen, what wreaths are due to that man who having himself saved

many, perpetuates in your *Transactions* the means by which Britain may now, on the most distant voyages, save numbers of her intrepid mariners, who, braving every danger, have so liberally contributed to the fame, to the opulence, and to the maritime empire of their country ! ”

The account of his first voyage, along with the narrative of the expeditions of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, had been prepared for publication by Dr Hawkesworth. The manner in which that gentleman executed the charge entrusted to him gave little satisfaction, and on this occasion it was deemed more advisable that the history of the enterprise should be written by him who had so ably conducted it. In submitting his work to the public, Cook considered it necessary to plead, in excuse for any inaccuracies of composition or deficiencies in the elegance of style which might be observed in his narrative, “ that it was the production of a man who had not had the advantage of much school education, but who had been constantly at sea since his youth ; and though, with the assistance of a few good friends, he had passed through all the stations belonging to a seaman from an apprentice boy in the coal trade to a post-captain in the Royal Navy, he had had no opportunity of cultivating letters.” But, in truth, the “ Voyage towards the South Pole ” stands in no need of such an apology. The sentiments and reflections are in every instance just, manly, and sagacious ; the descriptions are clear and graphic ; and the style is free from affectation, plain, flowing, and expressive. Cook was great in everything he undertook.

CHAPTER IX.

COOK'S THIRD EXPEDITION.

A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC OCEANS—A THIRD EXPEDITION PLANNED—COOK ACCEPTS THE COMMAND—SAILS IN THE “RESOLUTION”—HIS INSTRUCTIONS—ISLAND OF DESOLATION—DREARY VOYAGE—REACHES VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—THE NATIVES—SAILS FOR NEW ZEALAND—STORY OF THE MURDER OF FURNEAUX'S BOAT'S CREW—NATIVE RECOLLECTIONS—COOK LEAVES NEW ZEALAND—TWO NATIVE YOUTHS—COOK REACHES THE SANDWICH ISLANDS—ENCOUNTER WITH THE NATIVES—HIS DEATH—REFLECTIONS ON COOK'S CAREER AND ACHIEVEMENTS.

Cook's second expedition had completely set at rest the question as to the existence of a Great Southern Continent. But one important problem in nautical geography still remained to be solved: it was the existence of a practicable communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, or what is more generally known as the North-West Passage. If such a communication could be discovered, it would very much shorten the passage between the continents of Asia and America. Many eminent geographers were led to believe in its existence by the appearance of the coast on the east side of North America, the deep and extensive bays there seeming to promise a communication with the Pacific. An expedition had actually been sent from England to explore, with this view, the region around the North Pole, whilst Cook's second expedition was in progress; but it was not successful. Hopes were still cherished, however, that a channel might be discovered on the northern verge of the American continent; and another expedition was planned, the command of which was offered to Cook. He was invited to a consultation with the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Hugh Palliser, and other experienced officers. In the course of the discussion, the importance of the design, the advantages which it would confer on science and navigation, and the fair field which it opened for honour and distinction, were so strongly represented, that the great discoverer, becoming exceedingly animated, started to his feet, and declared that he himself would take the command of the expedition. His active and enterprising spirit scorned the inglorious ease of “the fine retreat” in Greenwich Hospital. The limits of the old world were too narrow for his active mind. He longed, like Columbus, to give new worlds to the human race. His offer was joyfully accepted by the Lords of the Admiralty, and he was accordingly reappointed to the “Resolution”

on the 9th of February 1776. The "Discovery," a vessel of 300 tons burthen, fitted out exactly as the "Adventure" had been in the previous voyage, and commanded by Captain Clerke, was placed under Cook's orders as a companion and aid in the voyage.

The instructions for conducting this expedition were dated on the 6th of July 1776. The equipment of the expedition was similar to that of the second voyage, except that Mr Anderson, who had been the surgeon of the "Resolution," was now appointed naturalist. Cook's main instructions were to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, and to commence his researches on the north-west coast of America, in the latitude of 65° ; "very carefully to search for, and to explore, such rivers or inlets as may appear to be of considerable extent, and pointing towards Hudson's or Baffin's Bays; and if there should appear to be a certainty, or even a probability, of a water-passage into the afore-mentioned bays, to use his utmost endeavours to pass through." Should he fail in this, he was to winter in Kamtschatka, and in the spring to renew the search for a north-east passage into the Atlantic Ocean. By an Act of Parliament, for these services Cook would be entitled to a premium of £20,000.

On the 12th of July 1776, the "Resolution" sailed from Plymouth. The "Discovery," not being ready, was delayed for a few days; but the two ships joined at the Cape of Good Hope, on the 10th of November.

They put to sea on the 3d of December, and proceeded south-east, according to their instructions, in search of the alleged discoveries of Kerguelen, the French navigator, in 1772. Ten days later they reached Kerguelen's Land, which they found to be a small and sterile island, and not, as represented by the discoverer, a large and fertile continent. Since Cook's visit it is set down in English maps as the Island of Desolation.

On the 30th of December the voyagers quitted this dreary coast, and fell in with winds from the north, and so heavy a fog that the ships ran above three hundred leagues in the dark, and it was requisite to fire guns continually to prevent the separation of the vessels. At length, on the 24th of January 1777, they descried the coast of Van Diemen's Land, and on the 26th they anchored in ADVENTURE BAY, named by Captain Furneaux on his visit here. Fodder was first cut for the cattle by the crew, wood and water were obtained by some, while a party caught fish, and others surveyed the bay. The natives approached without fear, though none of them had any weapons except one, who carried a pointed stick about two feet long, which he used as a lance. They wore neither clothes nor ornaments, but there were seen punctures or ridges raised on their bodies in straight lines and curves. They were of the common stature, but rather slender; their skin was black, as was their hair, which was woolly; they had not, however, the thick lips or flat noses of the negro race, for their features were tolerably even. On a musket being fired they ran instantly into the woods. Next day, however, were seen more natives, who wore round their necks folds of fur-cord, and had slips of kangaroo skin tied round their ankles. The women carried their children on their backs in kangaroo skins. Cook gave to each of the natives a string of beads and a medal, with which they were pleased; but

they did not value iron nor iron tools, or know the use of fish-hooks. Neither canoe nor other vessel was seen. The dwellings were little sheds or hovels, built of sticks, or covered with bark, and the trunks of large trees burned hollow.

On the 30th of January the ships left Van Diemen's Land, and steered eastward till the 10th of February, when they descried New Zealand; and on the 12th anchored once more in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Several canoes filled with natives soon came alongside the ships; but they would not venture aboard, although they recognised Cook, and the cause of their timidity was soon explained. Judging Cook to be acquainted with the horrible affair of the murder of the ten men of Furneaux's crews, they feared he had come to punish them. The captain, however, assured them he had no intention of revenge, and at length succeeded in convincing them of his friendly disposition; when they answered Cook's inquiries respecting the sad fate of their former companions.

It appeared that the voyagers, having landed, left their boat in charge of Captain Furneaux's black servant, while the party sat down to dinner at about two hundred yards' distance, surrounded by the natives; during the meal, some of the savages snatched up a portion of the bread and fish, for which the voyagers beat them; and nearly at the same moment a native attempted to steal some articles from the boat, for which the black servant struck him severely with a stick. His cries being heard by his countrymen, they imagined him to be mortally wounded; and, exasperated by some of their own party having been beaten, they immediately began the attack upon the voyagers. Two of the savages were shot dead by the only two muskets that were fired; for, before the English could re-load, the natives, armed with their stone weapons, rushed upon them, and, overpowering them by numbers, slew every one of them. A chief named Kahoorá confessed that he had killed the commander of the party, as he said, because one of the two muskets fired was levelled at him, from which he escaped behind the boat. Kahoorá was more feared than beloved by his countrymen, who, not satisfied by telling Cook he was a bad man, importuned the captain to kill him, and were much surprised at not being listened to; for, according to their notions of justice, this ought to have been done. "But," observes Cook, "if I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole race; for the people of each hamlet, by turns, applied to me to destroy the other."

The natives who related these particulars to Cook, showed him the very spot where the slaughter took place; and by pointing to the place of the sun, signified that it happened late in the afternoon. They also marked the place of landing, but Cook could not ascertain what became of the boat. Some said she was broken to pieces and burned; others stated that she was carried, they knew not whither, by a party of strangers. More than fifty years afterwards, Mr Augustus Earle, a resident in New Zealand, met with an old native who told him that he did not remember Cook, but well recollected Furneaux, and was one of the party that cut off and massacred his boat's crew. Mr Earle had reason,

from some other information he received, to credit this story of the New Zealander.

Before leaving the sound, Cook gave to one chief two goats, and to another two pigs. He learned that the poultry which he had formerly left here had increased; that the garden vegetables, though neglected, had flourished; and that some of them, as the potato, were greatly improved by the richness of the soil.

On the 25th of February the ships left Queen Charlotte's Sound and stood for the Society Islands. Cook took with him two young New Zealanders, who at first were delighted with the change; but no sooner had they lost sight of land than they wept loudly in a song of praise to their native country. They were overwhelmed with grief for many days, but at length forgot their sorrows and their absent friends in the novelty of their new situation, and became very much attached to the voyagers. They were subsequently left at the island of Huahaine, where a grant of land was obtained for them, and a house built for them, by Cook. A well-stocked garden and some English fire-arms were also bestowed on them. The after-history of these transplanted youths was not a happy one. They either did not take kindly to the new soil, or they led a careless and dissipated life. Both died in a few years.

The further discoveries and adventures of Cook in the Pacific Ocean, up till the date of his lamented death, do not comprise any part of the history of Australasia. The exploring voyage lasted two years. On the 17th of January 1779, the expedition came to anchor in the Bay of Karakakooa in Owhyhee, or Hawaii, one of the Sandwich Islands. Here Cook was at first hailed and worshipped as a god, a very singular legend of the natives pointing to him as one of their early heroes returned to them. The "Resolution" left the bay on the 8th of February, but the breaking of the fore-mast in a gale obliged Cook to return, as no other convenient harbour could be found. A very marked change in the bearing of the natives was at once noticed. It was evident that mischief was brewing. The situation of the voyagers was fast becoming one of great peril. Cook to the last behaved with his wonted courage and humanity; but an unhappy accident provoked the fury of the savages, and Cook fell a victim. The date of his murder was the 14th of February 1779. Of the ship's crew there fell with their commander, Corporal Thomas of the marines, Theophilus Hinks, John Allan, and Thomas Flabchett. A lieutenant, a sergeant, and two other seamen, were wounded.

The remains of the great navigator were recovered by Captain King, and having been enclosed in a coffin, were reverentially committed to the deep. "After he was dead we all wailed!" was the expression used by the natives respecting the savage deed to Mr Ellis, the missionary; and there is ample testimony to the fact that for forty years after, down to the date of the abolition of idolatry in Owhyhee, some relics of Cook were worshipped with divine honours.

Thus perished, in the very noon of life and of his services to the world, the illustrious JAMES COOK. The command of the expedition after his death

devolved on Captain Clerke, who sailed northward to Kamtschatka, where he died. A monument was erected to his memory over the spot where his remains were buried, which still exists. The command of the expedition then fell to Captain Gore, on board the “Resolution,” while Captain King took command of the “Discovery.” On the 4th of October 1780, the two ships arrived safely at the Nore, at the mouth of the Thames, in England, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-one days. Thus ended an expedition which, although it had proved fatal to its principal conductors, Captains Cook and Clerke, was distinguished above many expeditions by the extent and importance of its discoveries. Besides other inferior islands, it added the fine group named by Cook the Sandwich Islands, in honour of Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, to the former known limits of the terraqueous globe, and ascertained the proximity of the two great continents of America and Asia.

CHAPTER X.

COOK'S CHARACTER.

EFFECT OF THE NEWS OF HIS FATE IN ENGLAND—A MEDAL STRUCK IN HIS HONOUR—PENSION TO HIS WIDOW—MONUMENTS TO HIS MEMORY—COOK'S FAMILY—FATE OF HIS SONS—MRS COOK SURVIVES HER HUSBAND AND CHILDREN—HER BENEVOLENT DISPOSITION—COOK'S FATHER—COOK'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE—HIS HABITS AND CHARACTER—TESTIMONIES TO HIS GREATNESS—INSCRIPTION ON THE FAMILY MONUMENT—INSCRIPTION AT OWHYHEE.

THE sad intelligence of Cook's melancholy fate excited deep and general sorrow throughout Europe. Distinguished honours were rendered to his name, alike by foreigners and by his own countrymen. The Royal Society of London ordered a medal to be struck in commemoration of him, bearing on one side the head of the illustrious navigator, with the inscription, "JAC. COOK, OCEANI INVESTIGATOR ACERRIMUS:" immediately under the head, in smaller characters, "REG. SOC. LOND. SOCIO. SUO;" on the reverse, the figure of Britannia holding a globe, with the words, "NIL INTENTATUM NOSTRI LIQUERE;" and under the figure of Britannia, "AUSPICIIS GEORGH III." A few impressions of this medal were struck in gold, which were distributed as follows: one to the sovereign under whose auspices Captain Cook proceeded on his discoveries; one to the King of France,



for his courtesy in holding Cook's ships neutral in the time of war; one to the Empress of Russia, for the hospitality shown towards the voyagers when at Kamtschatka; one to Mrs Cook; one to be deposited in the British Museum, and another in the College of the Royal Society. Silver impressions were distributed among the Lords of the Admiralty and other distinguished persons. The king settled on his widow a pension of £200 a year, and on each of his sons an annual sum of £25. Upon them also was bestowed one-half of the profits of the account of the voyage, the charts and plates for which were executed at the expense of the British Government. Armorial bearings, emblematic of the great discoverer's important services, were assigned to his family.

His earliest patron, Sir Hugh Palliser, erected a monument to his memory. In 1812 the people of his native village, Marton in Yorkshire, England, proud of his being born amongst them, placed in their ancient parish church (wherein he was baptized) a marble table setting forth his exemplary worth. In 1843, an obelisk, fifty-one feet in height, was erected for the same good purpose, in the neighbouring township of Eastby.

When he set out on his last voyage, Cook's family consisted of his wife and three sons. The after-story of these three brave lads offers a striking instance of the vicissitudes of fortune, and the mysterious dealings of Divine Providence with mankind. The second son, Nathaniel, was lost in the "Thunderer" man-of-war, about six months after his father's death. The eldest son, James, was appointed master and commander of the "Spitfire" sloop-of-war. The vessel was lying off Poole in Dorsetshire waiting for hands, and young Cook was driven out to sea one night in a heavy gale of wind, whilst attempting to get on board. Himself and every soul in the boat perished. The misfortune was aggravated by a circumstance disclosed afterwards by a sailor on board the vessel. Cook's boat was met, when in distress, by a revenue cutter, the hands of which threw them a rope, and lay to till they could bale their boat, or the fury of the wind should cease. But the master of the cutter, who was then in bed, was no sooner made acquainted with these circumstances, and that it was a king's boat, than, with an oath, he ordered his men immediately to set them adrift, and in that situation they were left to be overwhelmed by a tempestuous sea.

James Cook's body was afterwards found, and conveyed to Spithead on board his own vessel, whence it was conveyed to Cambridge, and buried by the side of the youngest brother, who had suddenly died of a fever, and whose funeral he had attended only about six weeks before.

Thus was the tender mother prematurely deprived of her husband and children, and left to mourn their untimely fates, which had so powerful an effect on her mind as to reduce Mrs Cook to a mere shadow of what she was formerly.

Mrs Cook had resided at Clapham, near London, for several years, where she was universally respected for her many offices of charity to the poor. To them she left £750, and to the Schools for the Indigent Blind, and the Royal Maternity Charity, about £1000. To the parish in which she was buried, at Cambridge, she bequeathed £1000, upon condition that, from the interest of that sum, the family monument should be kept in repair; that the clergyman should be annually remunerated for attending to the discharge of the trust; and that the remainder should be divided annually among five poor and aged women, parishioners. She bequeathed to the British Museum the Copley medal, awarded to her husband for his second voyage, and one of the gold medals described above. She had survived her illustrious husband for the long period of fifty-six years, and died at the age of ninety-four.

The father of Cook outlived his son only a few weeks, and never heard of his untimely end. He is stated to have been born at Ednam, on the Tweed. About the time that young Cook entered the navy, the father became a mason,

and built for himself at Ayton a house, which is still in existence. Here he was visited by the great navigator, in the brief interval between the second and third voyages.

From the nature of his profession Cook did not enjoy much of the quiet scenes of domestic life. But he was a most amiable husband and a tender father. His hours at home were devoted to the instruction or amusement of his children, varied at times by the study of his own favourite sciences. He was fond of drawing, but not very much inclined to music or to the pursuits of rural life. His widow cherished his memory to the last with the most devoted affection, and never, even in extreme old age, could speak of his fate without emotion.

Cook was, in person, of a strong-built frame, about six feet high, and though a well-looking man, he was plain both in address and appearance. His head was small; his hair, which was of a dark-brown colour, he wore tied behind. His features were very expressive; his nose exceedingly well shaped; his eyes, which were small and of a brown cast, were quick and piercing, and his eyebrows prominent, which gave his countenance altogether an air of austerity. His conversation was modest and agreeable, but thoughtful at times.

Captain King, who knew him intimately, leaves this testimony to his many fine qualifications: "He appears to have been most eminently and peculiarly qualified for the enterprise he was engaged in. The earliest habits of his life, the course of his services, and the constant application of his mind, all conspired to fit him for it, and gave him a degree of professional knowledge which can fall to the lot of very few. The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. His stomach bore, without difficulty, the coarsest and most ungrateful food. Indeed, temperance in him was scarcely a virtue; so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy, vigorous kind with those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicacious; his judgment, in whatever related to the services he was engaged in, quick and sure. His designs were bold and manly; and both in the conception, and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a great original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected. His temper might perhaps have been justly blamed as subject to hastiness and passion, had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane. Such were the outlines of Captain Cook's character; but its most distinguishing feature was that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was not only superior to the opposition of dangers and the pressure of hardships, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptation could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation, which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing, that persons who have experienced the fatigues of service will readily excuse, were submitted to by him

with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs."

"He was beloved by his people," says Mr Samwell, surgeon to the "Discovery," "who looked up to him as a father, and obeyed his commands with alacrity; the confidence we placed in him was unremitting; our admiration of his great talents unbounded; our esteem for his good qualities affectionate and sincere. England has been unanimous in her tribute of applause to his virtues, and all Europe has borne testimony to his merit. There is hardly a corner of the earth, however remote and savage, that will not long remember his benevolence and humanity." Mr Forster, the naturalist to Cook's last expedition, thus records the commander's worth: "If we consider his extreme abilities, both natural and acquired, the firmness and constancy of his mind, his truly paternal care for the crew entrusted to him, the amiable manner with which he knew how to gain the friendship of all the savage and uncultivated nations, and even his conduct towards his friends and acquaintances, we must acknowledge him to have been one of the greatest men of his age, and that reason justifies the tear which friendship pays to his memory."

In the Church of St Andrews the Great, Cambridge, in England, there is a tablet near the communion table, bearing the following inscription:

IN MEMORY OF

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, OF THE ROYAL NAVY,

One of the most celebrated Navigators that this or former ages can boast,

Who was killed by the natives of *Owyhee*,

In the *Pacific Ocean*, on the 14th day of February 1779,

In the 51st year of his age.

Of Mr NATHANIEL COOK, who was lost with the *Thunderer* man-of-war, *Captain Boyle Walsingham*, in a most dreadful hurricane in October 1780, aged 16 years.

Of Mr HUGH COOK, of *Christ's College, Cambridge*, who died on the 21st December 1793; aged 17 years.

Of JAMES COOK, Esq., Commander in the Royal Navy, who lost his life on the 25th January 1794, in going from *Poole* to the *Spitfire* sloop-of-war; which he commanded; in the 31st year of his age.

Of ELIZABETH COOK, who died April 9th, 1771; aged 4 years.

JOSEPH COOK, who died September 13th, 1768; aged 1 month.

GEORGE COOK, who died October 1st, 1772; aged 4 months.

All children of the first-mentioned Captain James Cook, by Elizabeth Cook, who survived her husband 56 years, and departed this life 13th May 1835, at her residence, Clapham, Surrey, in the 94th year of her age. Her remains are deposited with those of her sons, James and Hugh, in the middle aisle of this church.

Inscription on the slab in the floor of the middle aisle of the same church :

Mr HUGH COOK,
Died 21st December 1793 ;
Aged 17 years.
JAMES COOK, Esq.,
Died 25th January 1794 ;
Aged 31 years.
Also,
ELIZABETH COOK, their Mother,
Obit. 13th May 1835 ;
ÆTAT. 93.

On the spot in Owlyhee where Cook's savage murderers burned part of his body, the officers of the British ship-of-war "Blonde," erected in 1825 a cross of oak, ten feet in height, with this inscription :

Sacred
To the memory of
Capt. JAMES COOK, R.N.,
Who discovered these islands,
In the year of our Lord 1778 :
This humble monument is erected
By his countrymen
In the year of our Lord 1825.

Few visitors to the Sandwich Islands leave Owlyhee without making a pilgrimage to the spot where the discoverer met his untimely end ; and many carry away pieces of the dark lava-rock on which he stood when he received his death-wound.

BOOK III.

AUSTRALIAN NAVIGATORS FROM COOK TO FLINDERS.

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CHAPTER I.

DE SURVILLE'S ADVENTURES.

COOK AT DOUBTLESS BAY—A STRANGER VESSEL—DE SURVILLE'S EXPEDITION—THE NEW EL DORADO—HIGH EXPECTATIONS—DE SURVILLE ARRIVES AT NEW ZEALAND—FRIENDLINESS OF THE NATIVES—DE SURVILLE'S TREACHERY—HIS DISAPPOINTED HOPES—HE SAILS FOR SOUTH AMERICA—HIS MELANCHOLY FATE.

WHEN Cook's ship the "Endeavour," on his first voyage, was working out of Doubtless Bay in the North Island of New Zealand, another vessel was sailing in, and neither navigator was aware of the other's vicinity. The new visitor was the "St Jean Baptiste," a French vessel, commanded by CAPTAIN DE SURVILLE. He had been despatched from France on a secret expedition, fitted out at a great expense, and from which extraordinary results were anticipated. A rumour had gained currency in that country that the English had discovered a new El Dorado in the Great Southern Ocean—a marvellous island, abounding in gold and riches, and fine cloths, and inhabited by Jews, said to be situated about seven hundred leagues west from the coast of Peru. Flushed with high expectations, De Surville set sail from Pondicherry, a French settlement in India, on the 2d of June 1769. His vessel was of several hundred tons burthen, and it carried twenty-six twelve-pounders and six smaller guns. After many adventures and making some important discoveries, he arrived at New Zealand and cast anchor in Doubtless Bay on the 16th of December 1769, and immediately landed at Mangonui, where he was received by crowds of natives, who were delighted and surprised at the confidence reposed in them, and in return they supplied the strangers with food and water. One day a storm arose as a party of invalids were endeavouring to reach the ship from the shore. Being driven back, the sick were detained by the inclemency of the weather for two days in the house of a chief named Naginoui, and by his people they were fed and carefully attended without remuneration. When the storm subsided, one of the ship's boats was missing, and De Surville, without any evidence for so doing, believed

that the New Zealanders had stolen it. Under the guise of friendship, he invited Naginoui on board, accused him of the theft, and put him in irons. Not satisfied with this treacherous revenge, he burned the village where his sick had found an asylum in the hour of need, and carried the chief away a prisoner from his native land. Naginoui did not survive his capture long; he pined for fern root, wept that he would never again behold his children, and died of a broken heart eighty days after his seizure.

All hopes of finding the new El Dorado having now been dispelled, De Surville left New Zealand on the 1st January 1770. Death and disease made sad havoc of his crew. The remainder were hardly able, even with the assistance of the officers, to handle the sails. Their only hope now was to reach some European settlement to save the survivors. In April, De Surville and his feeble followers reached Callao in Peru. Anxious for an interview with the Spanish governor, to solicit the assistance he so much needed, De Surville put off in a small boat, and was drowned in the surf, exactly eleven days after the death of Naginoui.

CHAPTER II.

MARION'S ADVENTURES.

FIRST VISITOR TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND AFTER TASMAN—FRENCH EXPEDITION UNDER MARION—ARRIVES IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—FIRST MEETING WITH NATIVES—THEIR APPEARANCE—THE FIRE STICK—ENCOUNTER WITH THE NATIVES—MARION LEAVES THE ISLAND AND SAILS FOR NEW ZEALAND—ANCHORS IN BAY OF ISLANDS—FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES—SYMPTOMS OF HOSTILITY—MASSACRE OF MARION AND HIS CREW—CANNIBALISM—CROZET'S ENCOUNTER WITH THE NATIVES—CROZET'S REVENGE—A NATIVE VERSION OF THE STORY—THE UNKNOWN FRENCH VESSEL.

THE first visitor to Van Diemen's Land after Tasman, its discoverer, was MARION DU FRESNE, a French navigator. Excited to emulation by the accounts of Cook's great achievements in discovery, the French Government fitted out an expedition in 1771 with the object of exploring the Southern Ocean. It consisted of two vessels, the "Mascarin" and the "Marquis de Castries," and the command was given to Marion. His instructions were to search for new lands in the Pacific, and to examine more closely the lately-discovered islands of New Zealand.

On the 3d of March 1772, Marion first sighted the west coast of Van Diemen's Land. Next day he anchored in Frederik Hendrik's Bay. The fires and smokes, seen by day and night, bespoke the country to be well inhabited; and, on anchoring, there were about thirty men assembled upon the shore. On the boats being sent next morning, the natives went to them without distrust; and, having piled together some pieces of wood, presented a lighted stick to the new-comers, and seemed to ask them to set fire to the pile. Not knowing what this ceremony meant, they complied; and the act seemed neither to excite surprise, nor to cause any alteration in the conduct of the natives: they continued to remain about the French party, with their wives and children, as before.

These people were of the common stature, of a black colour, and were all naked, both men and women; and some of the latter had children fastened to their backs, with ropes made of rushes. All the men were well armed with pointed sticks (spears), and with stones which appeared to have been sharpened in the manner of axe-heads. They had, in general, small eyes, and the white duller than in Europeans; the mouth very wide, the teeth white, and flat noses

Their hair, which resembled the wool of the Caffres, was separated into shreds, and powdered with red ochre. They were generally slender, tolerably well made, kept their shoulders back, and upon their prominent chests several had marks raised in the skin. Their language appeared harsh, the words seeming to be drawn from the bottom of the throat.

The French tried to win them by little presents, but they rejected with disdain everything that was offered; even iron, looking-glasses, handkerchiefs, and cloth. They were shown ducks and fowls, which had been carried from the ships; and it was endeavoured to make them understand that such would be gladly purchased of them; but they took these animals, with which they seemed to be unacquainted, and threw them away in anger.

The party had been about an hour with the savages when Captain Marion went on shore. One of the natives stepped forward, and offered him a fire-brand to be applied to a small heap of wood; and the captain supposing it was a ceremony necessary to prove that he came with friendly intentions, set fire to the heap without hesitation. This was no sooner done, than they retired precipitately to a small hill, and threw a shower of stones, by which Captain Marion and the commander of the "*Castries*" were both wounded. Some shots were then fired; and the French, returning to their boats, coasted along the beach to an open place in the middle of the bay, where there was no hill or eminence from whence they could be annoyed. The savages sent their women and children into the woods, and followed the boats along shore, and on their putting into land, one of the natives set up a hideous cry, and immediately a shower of spears was discharged. A black servant was hurt in the leg; and firing then commenced, by which several of the natives were wounded, and one was killed. They fled to the woods, making a frightful howling, but carried off such of the wounded as were unable to follow. Fifteen men armed with muskets pursued them; and on entering amongst the trees, they found a dying savage. This man was a little more than five feet seven inches high; his breast was marked like those of the Mozambique Caffres, and his skin appeared as black; but on washing off the soot and dirt, his natural colour appeared to be reddish. The spears, which it was feared might have been poisoned, were proved not to be so by the facility with which the wound of the black servant was healed.

After the flight of the savages, Captain Marion sent two officers with detachments to search for water, and for trees proper to make a foremast and bowsprit for the "*Castries*;" but after traversing two leagues of country without meeting a single inhabitant, they returned unsuccessful in both pursuits; nor could any fresh water be found during the six days which the ships remained in Frederik Hendrik's Bay.

Finding he was only losing time in searching for water in this wild country, Marion determined to make sail for New Zealand, where he hoped to succeed better. He accordingly left Van Diemen's Land on the 10th of March, and steered eastward. It was on the 11th of May 1772 that Marion anchored his two ships between Te Wai-iti Whais Island and the Motu Arohia (the Motuaro

of navigators), in the Bay of Islands. The former island is small, and Taranui was the chief of the village which stood upon it; the latter island had then a considerable population, but is now uninhabited. Next day the sick were landed on Te Wai-iti. The New Zealanders brought the ships' crews abundance of fish, and the French in return loaded them with presents. Intimacy, friendship, and confidence rapidly sprung up; the French often slept on shore and the natives on shipboard. Marion, whose authority over all was soon perceived, was the object of universal attention, and he placed in the aborigines such unbounded confidence, that on several occasions Crozet, the second in command of the expedition, took the liberty of pointing out to him the imprudence of his conduct.

In this happy state, Marion and his crew passed away their lives at the Bay of Islands, until the 8th of June. On that day Marion landed, and after the natives had decorated his head with four long white feathers, he returned to the ship, more delighted than ever with his new friends. But it was then remarked that the natives had ceased to visit the ships, and one girl on leaving gave signs of sorrow which none could explain.

On the 12th of June, Marion went on shore at the request of a friendly chief, with sixteen officers and men, to enjoy a day's fishing in Manawaoroa Bay, a place still celebrated among the British soldiers stationed at the Bay of Islands as capital fishing ground. When evening came, it caused some surprise on board the ships that Marion did not return, although no evil was suspected. Early next morning the boat of the ship "*Marquis de Castries*," with twelve men, was sent for food and water to Orokawa. Four hours after its departure, one of the sailors from this boat swam off to the vessel almost dead with terror, and related that the boat's crew on landing were received by the natives in the usual friendly manner, but while dispersed collecting firewood, each man was suddenly attacked by six New Zealanders, and all were killed save himself. From a concealed thicket he beheld his comrades' bodies cut into pieces, and divided among their murderers, who immediately left the spot with the flesh.

Great anxiety was now felt for Marion and all on shore, and the "*Mascarin's*" long-boat was immediately launched with a strongly-armed crew. As it approached the land, Marion's boat was seen surrounded by natives, near the bottom of Manawaoroa Bay. It was not thought advisable to inquire for Marion, but to go and warn Crozet, who with sixty men were felling a kauri-tree two miles inland. Crozet, on hearing what had happened, ordered the men to collect their tools, and march to the beach. Part of the cut-down tree and the road made to drag it along still remain, and are still pointed out as the "*road of Marion*." Crozet did not communicate to his party the bloody transactions which had occurred, lest they might endanger their safety by an unseasonable revenge.

During the progress of Crozet's party to the beach, they were met and followed by crowds of natives, who shouted that Tacouri had killed and eaten Marion. On reaching the strand, Crozet seized a musket, drew a line on the

sand, and cried that he would shoot the first native who crossed it. This bold bearing enabled his party to embark safely in the boats, and then came the hour for vengeance. Volley after volley of musketry was fired among the solid body of New Zealanders on the beach, who, stupefied by terror, stood like sheep to be slaughtered. That night the sick were embarked on board the ships, and next day a party, sent for wood and water, destroyed the village on Motu Arohia, and killed many of the inhabitants. Some days afterwards several natives were seen dressed in the murdered sailors' clothes, and were shot. A party sent to ascertain Marion's fate, found Tacouri's village deserted, and saw that chief decamp covered with Marion's mantle. In one house several pieces of human flesh were seen in baskets; after setting this and another village on fire, the ships weighed anchor, and stood out of the Bay of Islands, which they named the Bay of Treachery.

Crozet in his narrative repeatedly states that the French gave no cause of offence, that up to the fatal day nothing could exceed the apparent harmony in which both races lived; "they treated us," says Crozet, "with every show of friendship for thirty-three days, with the intention of eating us on the thirty-fourth."

Such is the French account of Marion's massacre; the native version of the affair Dr Thomson accidentally heard on a singular occasion. He states: "During the winter quarter of 1851, the French corvette 'L'Alcmène,' thirty-two guns, Commander Count D'Harcourt, was totally wrecked, and ten lives lost, on the west coast of New Zealand, the opposite side of the island, but only fifty miles distant from the place of Marion's massacre. As several men were severely wounded when the ship foundered, the governor requested me to go and assist their transit across the country to Auckland. When so employed, I awoke one night, and saw a crowd of New Zealanders talking earnestly round a fire. There were then upwards of a hundred French sailors, and nearly two hundred natives, plunged in sleep in the open air all about. Hearing the name of Marion mentioned, I pretended sleep, and listened to the conversation. From many words, I gathered that long ago two vessels commanded by Marion, belonging to the same nation as the shipwrecked sailors, visited the Bay of Islands, and that a strong friendship sprang up between both races; and that they planted the garlic which flavours the milk, butter, and flesh of cows fed in that district. Before the *Wewis*, as the French are now called, departed, they violated sacred places, cooked food with tapued wood, and put two chiefs in irons; that, in revenge, their ancestors killed Marion and several of his crew, and in the same spirit the French burned villages and shot many New Zealanders.

"From inquiries made on the spot in 1853, the above narrative and the reason assigned for Marion's murder are, I believe, correct. No man was then alive at the Bay of Islands who had witnessed the affair, and only two old men were acquainted with the particulars of it, although his name was familiar to all. According to the native story, the French, not they, were the aggressors. 'We treated Marion's party,' the New Zealanders may say, 'with every kindness

for thirty days ; and on the thirty-first they put two of our chiefs in irons, and burned our sacred places.' ”

About the same period another French vessel visited New Zealand. No record of this visit can be found in the histories of navigation in the Southern Ocean, but the natives retain a tradition of it. They state that shortly after Cook's departure from the Houraki Gulf, a vessel entered the river Thames, and shipped a number of wooden spars. When sailing away, she fell in with a fishing-canoe which had been driven out to sea, took the two young natives in it on board, and conveyed them to France. They were brought back in two years ; and the commander of the vessel gave the natives pigs and potatoes, with instructions how to preserve the former and cultivate the latter. While the names of these good men are forgotten by the New Zealanders, those of Cook, De Surville, and Marion live in their traditions.

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNOR PHILLIP AND THE FIRST FLEET.

SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT—THE FLEET AT PORTSMOUTH IN 1787—CAPTAIN ARTHUR PHILLIP APPOINTED GOVERNOR—ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIFE—SAILS FOR AUSTRALIA—ARRIVAL AT BOTANY BAY—FOUND UNSATISFACTORY FOR SETTLEMENT—PORT JACKSON DISCOVERED—SYDNEY COVE—THE STRANGER FLEET IN BOTANY BAY—LA PÉROUSE'S EXPEDITION—FOUNDATION OF THE COLONY OF NEW SOUTH WALES—FIRST ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT—BROKEN BAY—PITTWATER BAY—THE NATIVES.

It is impossible to think or write without indignation of the short-sightedness of the British Government, when planning a settlement in the new world which the genius and enterprise of Cook had opened up to the British people. Instead of embracing the opportunity to found "a new Britannia in another world," their sole idea appears to have been that Providence had shown them a favourable opening for getting rid of their surplus criminal population. This fatal purpose throws a dark shadow across the pages that record the earlier history of more than one of the Australasian colonies. But as the repetition of the story here would tend to no good purpose, it will be passed over as lightly as the exigencies of true narration will permit. Better, a thousand times, would it be for the world, if the entire record were buried in eternal forgetfulness!

A fleet of eleven sail was assembled at Portsmouth in England, in the month of March 1787, for the formation of the proposed settlement on the coast of New Holland. It consisted of his Majesty's frigate "Sirius," CAPTAIN JOHN HUNTER, and the armed tender "Supply," Lieutenant Ball; three store-ships—the "Golden Grove," the "Fishbourne," and the "Borrowdale;" and six transports—the "Scarborough," the "Lady Penrhyn," the "Friendship," the "Charlotte," the "Prince of Wales," and the "Alexander." On board of these vessels there were embarked 600 male and 250 female prisoners; the guard consisting of one major-commandant and three captains of marines, twelve subalterns, twenty-four non-commissioned officers, and 168 privates. Forty women, wives of the marines, were also permitted to accompany the detachment, together with their children.

CAPTAIN ARTHUR PHILLIP, of the Royal Navy, was appointed governor of the proposed colony. Captain Phillip was born in London, in the year 1738. His father, Mr Jacob Phillip, was a native of Frankfort in Germany, who, having settled in England, maintained his family and educated his son by teaching the

languages. Mr Phillip entered the navy at the age of sixteen, and was present at the taking of Havannah, in the year 1761, when he gained some prize-money, and was made lieutenant on board the "Stirling Castle," by Admiral Sir George Pococke. At the close of the Seven Years' War, in 1763, Lieutenant Phillip returned to England, and, having married, settled at Lyndhurst, in the New Forest. A rupture, however, having taken place shortly after between Portugal and Spain, he offered his services to the court of Lisbon, and was employed in the service of Portugal till the year 1778, when Great Britain being again embroiled with France, he returned to England. In the year 1779, he was made master and commander, and appointed to the "Basilisk" fireship. Two years after he was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and appointed, first to the "Ariadne" frigate, and subsequently to the "Europe" sixty-four. In January 1783, he sailed with a reinforcement to the East Indies; but returning to England very shortly afterwards, he was not again in active service till he obtained his appointment as Governor of New South Wales in the year 1787.

The little fleet which was thus placed under the command of Captain Phillip, and which has ever since been designated by the colonists of New South Wales THE FIRST FLEET, set sail from Portsmouth on the 13th of May, 1787; and, having touched for supplies and stock for the settlement at Teneriffe, Rio de Janeiro, and the Cape of Good Hope, arrived at Botany Bay on the 20th of January 1788, after a long but comparatively prosperous voyage of eight months and upwards.

The first examination of Botany Bay elicited very unsatisfactory results. It was recommended by Cook and others, but they had not looked upon it with the eyes of men choosing a home. It was extensive enough as a bay—too extensive, in fact, for it did not afford a shelter from easterly winds, and what made this worse was, that ships would always be obliged to anchor a long way out, because the water was so shallow. Fresh water was abundant, for in the northern part of the opening there was a small stream, George's River. But they would never think of building a town upon it. It was so narrow that it would scarcely allow a small boat to pass, and the banks upon either side were a perfect morass. The western side of the bay was better, but there was no fresh water at all in that direction.

It was evident, then, that they dare not disembark in Botany Bay. Governor Phillip was an energetic man, one well fitted for the task he had to perform. He was not, therefore, at a loss. He ordered the ships to remain as they were, while he went round the coast in an open boat to see if a better port could not be found. The coast, as he drew near Port Jackson, wore a most unpromising appearance: the natives stood upon the tops of the cliffs, and warned the boats off with shouts of defiance; but the governor kept on. Soon he saw the opening, and passed under a stratified cliff of sandstone, some 300 feet high, descending into deep water. There was another head to match it on the other side, and when he had passed between these, and left the noise of the booming breakers far behind, a beautiful and tranquil scene broke upon his delighted gaze. It seemed like a gigantic lake, but so run in with estuaries and little islets as to

appear great only from the countless variations of scenery. This was PORT JACKSON, one of the finest and loveliest harbours in the world. Still, it was a question where he should land his crew among the many little bays about. The place was soon decided upon, and it received the name of SYDNEY COVE, after Thomas Townshend, Viscount Sydney, one of the members of the younger Pitt's administration.

It took three days for the governor to complete all his explorations, and then he returned to the ships. Directions were at once given for an immediate removal to Sydney Cove. This removal would have taken place the day following, but for a singular circumstance. About daylight, just as they were preparing for a start, there were cries that two strange sail were in the offing. The sight of the phantom ship could not have created greater astonishment than these ships bearing into the bay. There they were, sure enough, and what was still more singular, they showed French colours. While conjecture was busy among the colonists, it was busy enough on board the French ships too. Travelling alone through the wide extent of these pathless seas, where every week showed them new variations of vast unreclaimed solitude, it was certainly a matter of astonishment to find many ships at anchor in the midst of the loneliness. Scarcely were the anchors down, when boats put off, and mutual explanations followed on both sides. Governor Phillip learned with surprise that the vessels before him were the French exploring vessels, "Boussole" and "Astrolabe," then upon a voyage of discovery, under the command of the unfortunate LA PÉROUSE.

After a mutual exchange of civilities the two commanders proceeded to the work each had in hand; the Frenchman to provide his fleet with wood and water, the Englishman to establish the settlement of the new colony.

On the 26th January the fleet, having been brought round, anchored in deep water close along the shore of Sydney Cove. A formal disembarkation then took place. A detachment of marines and blue-jackets leaped from their boats into the primeval forest. After hoisting the British colours at a spot near where the colonnade in Bridge Street, Sydney, now stands, the royal proclamation and commission constituting THE COLONY OF NEW SOUTH WALES were read, a salute of small arms was fired, and the career of the British dominion in Australia commenced. The whole party landed amounted to 1030 souls, who encamped under tents, and under and within hollow trees, in a country which they described as resembling the more woody parts of a deer-park in England. Such were the circumstances of the foundation, and such were the founders, of the magnificent colonial empire in the Southern Ocean!

By the beginning of March the governor had got things a little settled. The ground had been cleared, and the work of erecting storehouses and other buildings begun. All this was not easy. The work of felling gigantic gum-trees was in itself a fearful task, and to remove them afterwards and grub the stumps required the labour of all their men for weeks together. When things began to look a little orderly, and the sickness which raged among them had begun to abate, the governor went with the long-boat and cutter on an excursion

to BROKEN BAY. This was found to be very extensive. After rowing about it until evening, the party landed upon a rocky point on the north-west side, and there passed the night. This point was chosen as a place of security; for the natives, though friendly, were rather too numerous to be trusted. On the day following the boat continued her course. The water got very shallow until they passed a bar which their small boats could scarcely float over. They then entered a very extensive branch with deep water, out of which the tide came so strongly, that the boats could scarcely make headway against it. This opening appeared to end in several deep inlets, which there was not sufficient time to examine, as the boats had much difficulty in finding a channel amid the banks of sand and mud. Leaving this north-west branch, they went across the bay into another which ran south-west. This was also found to be very extensive, and from it ran a second opening to the westward, affording good and extensive shelter. Continued rains prevented the party from making a survey of their discoveries upon this expedition; more especially as the land was much higher here than at Port Jackson, was more rocky, and equally covered with timber. Above them soared the Blue Mountains in huge, precipitous walls of red sandstone, crowned on the summit with trees, and apparently quite inaccessible. Upon the south side of the bay there was a headland, which seemed to obstruct the view, but on rounding it, the finest harbour of all was discovered, and it received the name of PITTWATER. But all these harbours were rendered comparatively useless by the bar which stretched across the entrance. The land was pretty good all round, and well watered; one spring forming a beautiful cascade over the rocks into the sea. In this excursion a good many interviews with the natives took place, and it was for the first time observed that some of the women had lost the first two joints of the little finger of the left hand.

At this point the history of the new settlement at Port Jackson properly begins. Governor Phillip was an expert and indefatigable explorer, but he did not undertake any further navigation along the shores of the settlement.

CHAPTER IV.

STORY OF LA PÉROUSE.

THE STRANGER FLEET IN BOTANY BAY—EARLY LIFE OF LA PÉROUSE—EXPEDITION OF 1785—REACHES AUSTRALIA AND ANCHORS IN BOTANY BAY—LA PÉROUSE'S PREVIOUS ADVENTURES—DEATH OF M. LE RECEVEUR—SAILS FROM AUSTRALIA—BLANK IN THE STORY—D'ENTRECASTEAUX'S SEARCH EXPEDITION—CAPTAIN DILLON AT THE NEW HEBRIDES—DISCOVERY OF FRAGMENTS OF LA PÉROUSE'S FLEET—MONUMENT AT BOTANY BAY—CAMPBELL'S LINES.

It has already been mentioned that the stranger fleet which Governor Phillip found in Botany Bay, upon his return from discovering Port Jackson, was a French expedition commanded by Admiral La Pérouse. The story of this navigator forms one of the most pathetic episodes in the annals of Australian discovery.

JEAN FRANÇOIS GALAUP, COMTE DE LA PÉROUSE, was born at Albi in France in 1741, and entered the French Navy in 1756. He took part in the great naval battle off Belle Isle, between the French squadron of the Marshal de Conflans and the fleet commanded by the English admiral Hawke. La Pérouse was grievously wounded and made prisoner in the engagement, but was subsequently released. Rising by force of long service and merit, he had become admiral by 1782, and had command of two ships of the line, his reputation as a seaman standing very high. He was, besides, a man of most amiable manners, kind and generous in his dealings with the men under his command, and, in a word, the model of a true gentleman. At that time French society was in a state of violent commotion; in fact, the great Revolution of 1789 was rapidly drawing near. The king and his courtiers, in their wisdom, bethought them that it might serve to turn off the minds of the people from political objects if a grand expedition to discover new countries and open up fresh avenues to national enterprise were set on foot. Accordingly an expedition was fitted out, and put under the direction of La Pérouse. It consisted of two frigates, the "Boussole" and the "Astrolabe," with full complements of men. In August 1785 the

ships sailed from the harbour of Brest in France, with instructions to explore the Northern and Southern Pacific Oceans, the Chinese and Indian Seas, and the waters around the great Terra Australis. After passing through many adventures and making some valuable discoveries, La Pérouse and his fleet reached New South Wales, and cast anchor in Botany Bay. The astonishment of Governor Phillip upon finding the ships there was very great, and the kindest interchanges of friendship passed between the two commanders. At length, on the 10th March 1788, La Pérouse, having supplied his ships with wood and water, sailed away from the shores of Australia. He had shown the greatest courtesy to the settlers, though in the latter part of his stay he was much troubled by the visits of runaway prisoners, who entreated him to take them on board his ship. Just before the ships set sail, a Roman Catholic priest, named M. Le Receveur, who was attached to the fleet as naturalist, died and was buried in Botany Bay. A monument with a Latin inscription to the memory of the deceased was erected on the spot. It bears date 17th February 1788. La Pérouse had previously lost several officers and seamen in an encounter with the savages at Navigator's Islands, and it was for the purpose of refitting that he put into Botany Bay.

At this point occurs a sad blank in the story of the brave and gallant, but unfortunate La Pérouse. No tidings of the expedition arrived in France for three years. No European eye had ever seen any of the voyagers in the "Boussole" and "Astrolabe" after their departure from the shores of Australia. The king and people of France began to grow uneasy; and at length another expedition was fitted out in 1792, under the command of Admiral D'Entrecasteaux, to go in search of the lost navigators. It was unsuccessful, as will be subsequently narrated. For five-and-thirty years no traces of La Pérouse's fleet were discovered in any quarter. At last Captain Dillon, an English seaman in the service of the East India Company, accidentally found the key of the dread secret which the ocean had held in its keeping for forty years. He was cruising about the New Hebrides in 1827, when he came upon traces of the wrecks of two large French ships, strewed about the great reef that surrounds the island of Manicolo. These were fragments of La Pérouse's frigates. By converse with the natives, Captain Dillon gradually got the main incidents of the melancholy story. One stormy night the ships struck upon the treacherous reef, and went to pieces. Some of the crew managed to escape from the billows and reached the shore. One or two of them had chosen to remain amongst the savages; but the others had perished in an unsuccessful attempt to reach some civilised country. Captain Dillon brought back to Europe, in his ship the "Research," the fragments of the shipwrecked vessels; and the sad story of La Pérouse and his lost expedition became classic in the history of voyages and adventures at sea.

A monument to the memory of La Pérouse and his crew, with an inscription in French, stands on the shores of Botany Bay. It was erected by the French Government in 1825.

Campbell the poet has some beautiful lines, "Written on a blank leaf of 'La Pérouse's Voyages:'"

"Loved voyager ! his pages had a zest
More sweet than fiction to my wondering breast,
When, rapt in fancy, many a boyish day
I tracked his wanderings o'er the watery way. . . .
Humanly glorious ! Men will weep for him
When many a guilty martial fame is dim.
He ploughed the deep to bind no captive's chain—
Pursued no rapine—strewed no wreck with slain ;
And, save that in the deep themselves lie low,
His heroes plucked no wreath from human woe.
'Twas his the earth's remotest bounds to scan,
Conciliating with gifts barbaric man,
Enrich the world's contemporaneous mind,
And amplify the picture of mankind.
Fair Science on that Ocean's azure robe
Still writes his name in picturing the globe,
And paints—what fairer wreath could glory twine ?—
His watery course—a world-encircling line !"

CHAPTER V.

D'ENTRECASTEAUX'S VOYAGE.

SEARCH FOR LA PÉROUSE—D'ENTRECASTEAUX'S EXPEDITION—ARRIVE AT VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—FISHING—THE LANDSCAPE—EXPLORATIONS—D'ENTRECASTEAUX'S CHANNEL—THE HUON RIVER—ESPERANCE BAY—RECHERCHE ISLAND—LEAVE VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—SOUTH-WEST OF AUSTRALIA—LE GRAND BAY—RECHERCHE ARCHIPELAGO—RETURN TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—ROCKY BAY—VIEW FROM MOUNT WELLINGTON—LA RIVIERE DU NORD—TASMAN'S PENINSULA—LEAVE VAN DIEMEN'S LAND FINALLY—CAPTAIN JOHN HAYES—NAMES THE DERWENT RIVER—BRUNY ISLANDS AND CAPE BRUNY.

IN the meantime the French Government had become very anxious about La Pérouse's expedition. Nothing had been heard of him since his visit to Botany Bay in 1788, and then he had been three years away from home. Seven years had now elapsed, and still there were no tidings. The melancholy conclusion that he had been lost was pretty evident to the mind of every one; but in answer to the general wish to have the matter cleared up, an expedition was fitted out, under the command of ADMIRAL BRUNY D'ENTRECASTEAUX. There were two ships, the "Recherche" and "Esperance;" the former commanded by the admiral, and the latter by Captains Huon and Kermadec. The two vessels arrived off the coast of Van Diemen's Land in 1792, and on the 21st of April anchored off Storm Bay.

M. Labillardière, the celebrated botanist, was the naturalist to the expedition; and he has left us an account of the voyage. He tells us that the admiral was afraid to anchor in Storm Bay at first, as he considered the place too exposed; but the vessels having found a little cove higher up, he took the ships into it. Their first care was to go fishing, and the immense quantity caught surprised as well as delighted them. In this respect, as tastes differ, the quality must not be too closely scrutinised, for amongst the spoils were long blue sharks, which are, to say the least, somewhat coarse eating. Round about the inlet huge mountains rose to an immense height, or stretched their vast, gloomy, thickly-timbered gullies down into the sea beyond them. It was a lonely spot, broken by no sounds except those of the ships; for even the winds were enclosed so as not to blow with violence upon that sheltered basin. When they landed they were, like all explorers in the same place, surprised and delighted with the immense size of the trees around them. The French botanist went into raptures of delight; he says that "the eye was astonished with the prodigious height of

the trees, some being upwards of 150 feet high; their summits crowned with perpetual verdure; several of them, falling from age, found a support upon their neighbours, and fell to the ground only in proportion as they rotted. Most of the vegetation formed an admirable contrast with the state of decay." Above was life and vigour, strength and light; below was gloom and damp, death and decay; but it was Phoenix rising from the ashes—the decaying vegetation forming a vegetable mould of immense richness, which supported a thick undergrowth of young and healthy saplings.

This forest was not, however, so thick as to prevent them entering it. At first, the soil was marshy, but it became drier as they reached the sources of the waters which flowed down in rivulets from the mountain sides. Sometimes, however, the ground was found to be undermined with sunken ponds, and these were so completely covered over with moss, and overhung with long grass, that frequently the explorers only knew of their existence by actual immersion in them. These things, combined with the dense nature of the scrub and undergrowth of shrubs, rather confined the wanderings of the visitors, but they made several excursions into the interior while they remained.

On one occasion they passed through the forest until they arrived at a large plain which extended to the sea-shore. Here they spent the night, filling up the records of their adventures, not with descriptions of scenery, but with their fears of the natives. But they saw only one native during the time of their absence; and after two days' hard walking, they returned to their ships in safety. In the meanwhile an examination had been made of the inlet where the vessels were lying. A very little on the east side of them there was a portion where the land did not close entirely round the water. An attempt to reach the bottom of this showed them that they were in a strait instead of a bay, and that while Adventure Bay was on an island, the bay in which they anchored ran between that island and the sea. It is one of the loveliest and wildest spots in the Southern Ocean.

After many explorations and surveys in boats, the ships commenced to work down the strait, which was named D'ENTRECASTEAUX'S CHANNEL. As they passed along, the crew saw two islands, one of which lay at the mouth of a fine broad river, as useful, apparently, for the purposes of navigation as it was beautiful. The river was named the HUON, and has since become celebrated for the production of a tree which yields the pretty cabinet wood known as Huon pine. To the southward of the river was a deep and gloomy bay, named, after one of the ships, ESPERANCE BAY. A deep and long lagoon extends a long way beyond this island, and beside it another anchorage, which was called after the RECHERCHE.

Leaving the shores of Van Diemen's Land, the vessels sailed for the southwest coast of Australia, and cruised along the south part of it in December 1792. At length a storm drove them to anchor in LE GRAND BAY, so called after the seaman who discovered it. There the seamen landed in hopes of discovering water, but none was to be found on that sandy and desolate shore. Whichever way they turned, nothing but glaring yellow hills of sand met them; and if there

was any variation upon this, it was only because salt lakes occupied their place, or the sand was covered with a dark and dry kind of coarse shrub. The surf, moreover, was prodigious, so that it was only with the greatest difficulty a landing could be effected at all. The admiral found that the Dutch navigator Nuyts had laid down the latitudes of the prominent points on the coast with surprising exactness. To the group of islands lying off Nuyt's Land he gave the name of the RECHERCHE ARCHIPELAGO. The admiral adds: "It is not surprising that Nuyts has given no details of this barren coast; for its aspect is so uniform that the most fruitful imagination could find nothing to say of it."

Again steering for Van Diemen's Land, the admiral, on the 21st of January 1793, sighted a bay which he named ROCKY BAY. The ships remained a month here, and made many observations on the country. At this time Mount Wellington (as it was afterwards called) was covered with snow, and altogether the appearance of the country was much finer than when they had visited it before. From a hill which they ascended, the explorers had an extensive view of the country around, on which many open plains and large lakes were to be seen. They had several interviews with the natives. One excursion was made to the summit of (the present) Mount Wellington. The journey was long and toilsome, but the magnificent view from the top amply repaid the voyagers for all their labours. It is now too familiar to travellers from all parts of the world to need description. Further explorations along the shore discovered a fine river, to which the name of LA RIVIERE DU NORD (River of the North) was given. The name of TASMAN'S PENINSULA was also given to the south-eastern promontory of the island. A small vein of coal was discovered near the South Cape. On the 28th February the French fleet left the coasts of Van Diemen's Land in further search for tidings of La Pérouse.

In 1794 Captain John Hayes, of the Bombay Marine, visited the south coast of the island with the ships "Duke" and "Duchess." He went much farther up the River of the North than the French voyagers had gone, and named it the DERWENT, a much more appropriate appellation than the other, which is now quite forgotten. He was probably unaware of the visits of the French, and deemed himself the first discoverer. The name of the French navigator still survives in the channel called after him, as well as in the two islands named BRUNY (which, after all, are but one island), and in CAPE BRUNY.

CHAPTER VI.

ADVENTURES OF BASS AND FLINDERS.

FLINDERS IN THE FIRST FLEET—HIS EARLY LIFE—BASS, SURGEON IN FIRST FLEET—ARRIVE AT SYDNEY—PLAN AN EXPEDITION—THE “TOM THUMB”—THEIR EXPLORATION OF THE COAST BETWEEN PORT JACKSON AND POTANY BAY—SECOND VOYAGE IN THE “TOM THUMB”—MISHAPS AT SEA—THE NATIVES FRIENDLY—COURAGE AND ADDRESS OF THE VOYAGERS—PERILOUS NIGHT PASSAGE—REACH SYDNEY IN SAFETY.

IN 1795 Captain Hunter, who had commanded the “First Fleet,” was sent out again to supersede Governor Phillip. Among the gentlemen under his command were MATTHEW FLINDERS, midshipman, and GEORGE BASS, surgeon. Flinders was born at Donington in Lincolnshire, England. He was a descendant of the Flemish colonists introduced by Henry VII., who first taught the English how to turn desolate heron-haunted swamps into rich pastures. From his earliest years he displayed an adventurous and investigating spirit. It is among the traditions of his family that, on the day he was promoted from petticoats to “buttoned clothes,” after being lost for hours, he was found in the middle of one of the sea-marshes, his pockets stuffed with pebbles, tracing the runlets of water, “wanting to know where they came from.” Being desirous of entering the navy, he taught himself navigation from Euclid’s and Robertson’s Elements, without the aid of a master. In 1793, at the age of sixteen, he presented himself as a volunteer on board the “Scipio,” Captain (afterwards Admiral) Pasley, by whom he was placed on the quarter-deck; and at the instance of that commander, he joined the “Providence,” Captain Bligh, engaged to carry bread-fruit trees to the West Indies. In this voyage he was entrusted with the charge of the chronometer, and took his first lesson in the construction of charts. On his return in the latter part of 1793, he joined the “Bellerophon,” seventy-four, bearing the broad pendant of Sir Thomas Pasley, to whom he acted as aide-de-camp in Lord Howe’s memorable victory of the 1st of June 1794. An account of this action, with diagrams of the position of the two fleets at three several periods of the day, drawn up by Flinders with the neatness, clearness, and minuteness for which all his MSS. are remarkable, are still in the possession of his family. From the “Bellerophon” he followed one of his officers, who took the command of the “Reliance,” ordered to convey Governor Hunter to New South Wales, and here met, in George Bass, the surgeon, with a kindred spirit. When they arrived in the colony, seven years after the axes of the “First Fleet”

rang in the forests of Sydney Cove, little had been done to work out in detail the investigations made previous to the landing in Botany Bay. Jervis Bay, indicated but not named by him, had been entered by Lieutenant Bowen, and Port Stephan had been examined ; but the intermediate portions of the coast, both north and south, were little further known than from Captain Cook's general chart ; and none of the more distant openings marked, but not explored, by that celebrated navigator had been seen. The navigation was dangerous ; for, as Collins says in his "History of New South Wales," the bare idea of being lost in one of the arms of Port Jackson struck him with horror, as, from the great similarity of one cove to another, the recollection would be bewildered in attempting to determine any relative situation. "Insanity," he adds, "would accelerate the miserable end that must ensue."

Whilst on the voyage Flinders and Bass planned an expedition, and a month after the arrival of the "Reliance" in Sydney Harbour preparations were made for carrying it out. They bought a small boat, eight feet long, named it the "Tom Thumb," and embarked in it with a crew consisting of one small boy, to make marine discoveries on the Australian coast. A small sail was hoisted, which Flinders managed, while Bass steered, and the boy was kept to bale. They tacked to and fro about the harbour to test their sailing capabilities, and then stood boldly out of the heads into the huge rolling swell of the ocean. The little "Tom Thumb" danced about like a feather on the ripple, and seemed no more than a mere bit of sea-weed upon the loud rollers. Her sails hung idly flapping in the valleys between the swell, and when descending the crest of the wave the wind was enough to take her mast out ; but she kept her way boldly, and in due course reached Botany Bay. Their first exploration was in ascending the GEORGE RIVER, which falls into that bay. They went up this, about twenty miles beyond a point which Captain Hunter had named in his survey. They explored its windings, and found several patches of really good land among them ; and having ascertained many particulars about the country around, they returned again to the sea, and got back safe and sound to Sydney.

In the meantime the little vessel was laid up in ordinary for a short period. The "Reliance" was ordered on a voyage to Norfolk Island, and, as the surgeon and midshipman could not be spared from the ship, exploring had to be given over ; but not for long. In March 1796 the "Reliance" returned, and the "Tom Thumb" was again launched. The rumour about the large river to the south of the bay was still in their minds, and they thought it might yet be found to be true. Early in the morning of the 25th of March they sailed from Port Jackson, standing out to sea to wait for the sea-breeze. This took them far out, and when they tacked towards shore in the evening, instead of being off Cape Solander, as they expected, they found that a southerly current had drifted them farther down, to a place where it was impossible for them to land ; so they had to remain all night at sea. There were some islands below them, which they tried to reach ; but in doing so they saw a place where they could obtain water by swimming ashore with the cask. This was not a good place to land upon, so they preferred swimming in and out to their boat. Mr Bass went on shore, and

filled the cask. While getting it off, a surf arose farther out than usual. This carried the boat before it on to the beach, so that they were left high but not dry, for their arms, ammunition, and clothes were thoroughly drenched and partly spoiled. It would not do to stay to dry them, because the natives might come, and they would be defenceless; so they emptied and launched the boat as quickly as possible, and then slowly rafted the things on board. It was late in the afternoon before everything was got off, and they then tried to reach the islands. It was not possible to land on either of them; but there were two larger ones lying near, and they went to them. These were also inaccessible, and, being now dark, the wet and hungry crew had to pass another cold night in the boat, with their stone anchor dropped under the lee of Red Point.

They would have returned on the 27th, but the sea-breeze was too strong for them to beat against. Two natives were seen on shore, who were hailed, and, to the gratification of the explorers, they replied in English. They told them that there was no water to be found on Red Point, but that there was a river a few miles farther southward, where not only fresh water was abundant, but there were plenty of fish and wild ducks. They were natives of Botany Bay, and consequently, having been long in contact with the whites, they could be trusted with safety. The river, however, turned out to be a miserable affair. It was nothing more than a small stream, which descended from a lagoon under Hat Hill. It was so narrow and tortuous that even the "Tom Thumb" had very great difficulty in getting any distance up it. Their native guides, who had free passages given them in the boat, now left them, and walked alongside in company with eight or ten strangers who had joined them. After rowing up the stream for about a mile, the adventurers began to be uneasy about the narrowness of the stream. The natives here had the reputation of being ferocious and cruel, and if they chose to be hostile now, it was quite evident they could easily destroy the boat's crew with their spears. But fresh water was wanted badly before they could think of returning. Besides this, their muskets and powder were wet, and it was better to make both serviceable before they provoked any hostility by trying to go back. After consulting together, they, with very great presence of mind, agreed not to show the slightest fear, but land amongst the savages, and whilst one engaged their attention, the other should dry the powder, and clean the muskets.

Bass accordingly landed, and went among the savages, and endeavoured to occupy them by getting their assistance in mending a broken oar, while Flinders spread out the wet powder in the sun. This met with no opposition, for the natives scarcely knew what powder was; but when they proceeded to clean the muskets, they became so alarmed that the explorers were compelled to desist. On inquiring for water, they were told that there was none nearer than the lagoon; but as this was too far to go, after many evasions, they were shown a native well not very far from where they stood. Here the cask was filled, and the "Tom Thumb" turned again towards the sea without any opposition from its savage friends. By rowing hard they got a good many miles nearer home that night, and they dropped their stone kedge under a range of cliffs more

regular, but less high, than those near Hat Hill. At ten o'clock, the wind, which had been unsettled and driving electric clouds in all directions, burst out in a gale from the south. The intrepid navigators got up their anchor, and ran before it. In a very short time the waves began to break. The little bark was now in extreme danger. The night was dark, and the shade was increased by the cliffs which overhung their boat. Their course was taking them, perhaps, to new dangers, and the heavy, roaring surf which beat against the cliffs told them of their terrible fate if they attempted to look for shelter on shore. Bass kept the sheet of the sail in his hand, drawing in a few inches occasionally when he saw a particularly heavy sea following. Flinders was steering with an oar; and we can well believe what he tells us, that it required the utmost exertion and care to prevent the boat broaching to. This, he adds, would have sent them to the bottom in an instant. The task of the boy in baling was no easy one now, for every wave sent a fine portion of its foam over their gunwale. It was in the midst of such dangers as these that the "Tom Thumb" reached Sydney in safety. It had not done much on this expedition, except to teach the colonists what a treasure they possessed in the indefatigable courage and zeal for exploration of George Bass and Matthew Flinders.

CHAPTER VII.

BASS DISCOVERS THE STRAITS.

FLINDERS GOES TO FURNEAUX ISLANDS—BASS GOES ON AN EXPEDITION TO THE BLUE MOUNTAINS—PETITIONS FOR THE OUTFIT OF ANOTHER EXPLORING VOYAGE—STARTS FROM SYDNEY IN A WHALEBOAT—POINT BASS—DISCOVERY OF SHOAL HAVEN—AND OF THE STRAITS—FURNEAUX'S LAND—THE RUNAWAYS—WILSON'S PROMONTORY—WESTERN PORT DISCOVERED—BASS RETURNS TO SYDNEY.

AFTER the return of the voyagers in the "Tom Thumb," Flinders was much engaged in his official duties, and had to go on a surveying voyage to Furneaux's Islands. Bass was thus left to plan new schemes of exploration. As he was of too energetic a temperament ever to continue idle, he started off with two companions to explore the Blue Mountains. His adventures on this expedition will be referred to afterwards. When he came back to Sydney he drew up a memorial to the governor, asking for means for another exploring voyage along the coast. His request was readily granted, the more so as he only required a whaleboat, a crew of eight men, and provisions for six weeks. With this slender equipment he started from Sydney on the 3d of December 1797. Clearing the heads of Port Jackson, the whaleboat's crew found themselves in the broad Pacific. But Bass was their leader, and that circumstance was of itself sufficient to dissipate all fears for their safety. He had in a high degree that greatness of spirit which inspires men with confidence. He was, in fact, a born leader of men. As he sailed to the southward he clearly perceived that there was no chance of finding a large river until the line of the Blue Mountains had terminated. There seemed, too, a considerable probability that they would end before the coast trended to the south-west, because the more they ran to the southward the nearer they approached the coast-line. At a point named afterwards POINT BASS, they seemed to terminate the base of the southern extremity of the chain he saw extended in a south-westerly direction, and afterwards appeared to turn north-westward again. Close under Point Bass there was a beautiful and spacious bay, surrounded by picturesque hills, and supplied by a fine river which ran into it. This bay was unfortunately found too shallow to be of much value, and was called in consequence SHOAL HAVEN. After passing this bay, and giving it such examination as his means afforded, he discovered in succession three others: Barmouth, Jervis, and Twofold Bays. The latter he did not examine, for the coast now seemed to trend to the south-west, and he was

burning to decide the great question whether or not Tasmania was united to Australia.

The coast trended to the south-west, as just observed, and it no longer bore the high and lofty character of the eastern side. When Cook had passed along the same part, his distance from the land and the height of his vessel above the water, enabled him to discern something beyond the arid line of sandhills which backed the beach. But to the crew of the whaleboat nothing was on view but the sand, and the heavy surf which beat upon it. Still they kept on. The weather was extremely rough, and there was not a chance of shelter upon that shore, but there was an open sea before them, and every heavy roller which came from the west sent a thrill of pleasure through Bass, for he knew that the straits which now bear his name were discovered. At last higher land became visible; there was a fine promontory jutting from the coast, which received the name of FURNEAUX'S LAND. A search was immediately made for a convenient place to land, and while they beat backwards and forwards, scrutinising each inlet, they observed men hailing them from the shore. They were not natives, for they were clothed; and as the boat neared them they were seen to be in the most emaciated condition. These were some prisoners who had escaped with a boat from Port Jackson; they had intended to proceed to a wreck upon Furneaux's Islands, where they hoped to find sufficient plunder to support them for a while, and enable them to decide upon their further course. But they were unsuccessful in finding the wreck, and while they searched, their provisions failed. A few of them had some excuse to land, and while the majority of their companions were ashore, made off with the boat and provisions. Ever since that time the men Bass found had eked out their miserable existence upon shell-fish and sea-weeds, and some of their number had died, or were on the point of death. Bass, unfortunately, could do nothing to relieve them; he had overstayed his own time already, and there was little enough left of his provisions to carry the crew back to Sydney. He, however, took two sick ones into his boat, gave the others what he could, and told them to follow the coast-line until he could send them assistance. It has not been learnt whether they were ever heard of subsequently, and as no further mention is made of them in any history of New South Wales, it is presumed that they all perished.

Bass did not give a favourable account of the country he had seen to the southward from Furneaux's Land, or, as it has since been named, WILSON'S PROMONTORY; he proceeded a little farther westward, and discovered the fine harbour of WESTERN PORT; but the time and provisions at his disposal did not enable him to examine it closely. He then returned to Sydney, without, it is true, finally settling the question whether or not Tasmania was separated from Australia, but making sufficient observations to render it nearly certain that it was a distinct island. The subsequent voyage of Bass and Flinders round the island settled the question for ever.

CHAPTER VIII.

BASS AND FLINDERS SAIL ROUND TASMANIA.

BASS'S REPORT—THE "NORFOLK" FITTED OUT—BASS AND FLINDERS SAIL TO THE SOUTH COAST—SIGHT TASMANIA—SHIP IN PERIL—PORT DALRYMPLE—THE TAMAR—ITS CHARACTER AS A RIVER—APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY—SITE OF LAUNCESTON—CIRCULAR HEAD—CAPE GRIM—BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY—THE PROBLEM OF THE STRAITS SOLVED—RETURN TO SYDNEY—BASS SAILS FOR ENGLAND—HIS SAD HISTORY—HIS EARLY LIFE—HIS HEROIC ACHIEVEMENTS.

WHEN Bass brought back to Sydney his report of a strait existing between the continent and Van Diemen's Land (now called Tasmania), a small decked vessel of twenty-five tons, named the "Norfolk," was put under the command of Flinders and himself, and they were instructed to complete the exploration of the south coast.

The "Norfolk" sailed on the 7th of October 1798, and on the 11th anchored in Twofold Bay, where they made a survey of the shores. On the 17th they reached a group of islands now known as Kent's Islands, which are merely granite rocks covered with brushwood. Standing to the southward, they next morning sighted Furneaux's Islands, and rested for the day at one of them called Preservation Island. The next landing made was at the southern end of Cape Barren Island—most appropriately so called; but it was singular that in a place where food seemed to be scarce, the island should be thickly inhabited by a small brush kangaroo, and a new quadruped, the wombat, both of which are grass-eaters. On the 4th of November Tasmania was sighted—the north side, it should be remembered, which had never been seen before. It was a cape which was before them, the last and lowest part of a range which ran up from the coast to join a lofty chain of high mountains and seemed to extend far inland. The scenery was bold and picturesque, and had the usual characteristics of fine gloomy forests, spread out like a sable garment on the slopes of the hills. It was not until the afternoon that anything like an opening could be seen; they moved forward to examine it. It penetrated deeply into the shore, so they sailed on. Hills soon enclosed them on every side, and brought them into close contact with slopes of those that were green and fertile. Soon the sloop was hurried on by the influence of a rising tide, and just as she was advancing into the harbour which lay before her, the water shoaled suddenly, and she struck. Fortunately, the flood-tide soon dragged her across the bar, and she floated over into a splendid harbour; it was almost a complete basin. The shores were

broken into points and projections, that looked like sub-divisions of the main stream, and all were clothed with a beautiful and fresh verdure. The sun was down when they entered the bay, but the dusky twilight enabled them to anchor in perfect safety, and enjoy the beauty of the scene.

The fine harbour, and the river in which it was found to bend, were named PORT DALRYMPLE, and the river TAMAR. When the morning broke, the explorers were able to form a good idea how the basin was situated. It was the lowest part of a valley, lying between two chains of hills, which descended to the coast from piles of mountains lying farther inland, whose irregular outline could only be dimly discerned. The valley varied very much in width; at times it joined a spacious and broad amphitheatre; or again, the mountains threw out promontories from their sides which diminished the width to a mere gorge; thus the Tamar was found to be more like a chain of lakes than a river, but all the more picturesque and placid in its long reaches in consequence. Of the two chains of hills, verdant and well wooded as they were, one terminated in a point in the bay, the other came down to the sea five or six miles behind it on the west side. Thus the ends of the chains would be seen from the entrance, rising like swelling buttresses against the distant blue heads of the back mountains which rose over them in clusters. Twelve miles to the west of the port, the back land was high and jagged, showing spaces amid its forests here and there, and displaying hard, barren surfaces of granite rock. The country around was good, especially in the valley at the head of the stream; but at some distance farther it became stony, and somewhat thickly wooded.

The aspect of the same locality is now somewhat different, as the site of the town of LAUNCESTON. The Tamar divides into two branches—the north and south-east. The city stands at the confluence of the two, at the side of a rough bold outline of rock, along which there is a gorge for the river to flow down. From this height one of the branch streamlets of the river appears like a lake, and the rock, dense forest, and foaming waters around make a scene unequalled in all Australia.

On the 20th of November the “Norfolk” left Port Dalrymple and proceeded to the westward; but the wind changing they were driven back to Furneaux’s Islands until the 3d of December.

The important question of the straits was not quite decided as long as land was still to be found to the westward, and therefore appearances were now watched with no ordinary degree of interest. At noon on the 4th the farthest land to be seen to the west was a small flat-topped island, which was found to be connected with the mainland, and called CIRCULAR HEAD, and a near projection of jagged appearance, ROCKY CAPE. Beyond this point there was nothing like mainland to be seen; but a long heavy swell came from the south-west such as they had not been accustomed to before. It broke heavily upon a small reef lying off the point, and although it was likely to prove troublesome and dangerous it was hailed with joy and congratulations. There could be no doubt about the truth now; they had discovered a passage to the Southern Ocean between Australia and Tasmania. A cluster of islands at this point was

named HUNTER'S ISLES. Bass had landed on them and returned with a boat-load of seals and albatrosses.

The extreme north-west cape of Tasmania was found to be a steep head, and from its bold and forbidding character, the huge surfs which broke upon it, and the mists by which it was always surrounded, it was called CAPE GRIM. The principal mountain visible in the interior behind the cape was called after the vessel, as a memorial of the part she had taken in discovering this extreme region of Tasmania. The shore from Cape Grim to the southward consisted of black cliffs, at first high and unapproachable, but they gradually became lower and lower until they ended in a sandy beach which fronted the wooded inland like a rampart. This low description of land continued as the "Norfolk" sailed along, showing no break or inlet in the coast-line, nor any prominent object inshore. Two mountains only were seen on the 11th of December, and as these were the first signs of land seen by Tasman, they were named MOUNTS ZEEHAAN and HEEMSKIRK, after his two ships. The crew of the "Norfolk" had no object now but to get round to the other side of the island, to make further observations. There was no inlet of any kind upon the west side, and even if there had been it had been many times visited before, so that mere curiosity was not thought a sufficient cause to keep the small sloop close upon a lee-shore. On the morning of the 12th they saw the tops of the mountains which Tasman had erroneously named De Witt's Isles, as he was too far off to distinguish the connecting land. Flinders named the highest of them MOUNT DE WITT. After passing several places of smaller note, the "Norfolk" entered Headsman's Cove, a little inlet at the mouth of the Derwent. Beyond this the crew proceeded in the boat, imagining that one tide would enable them to reach its source. Scenes of surpassing beauty struck their gaze at every fresh bend of the river. On either side were gentle grassy slopes, slightly timbered with graceful acacias, and occasionally embellished with splendid flowery shrubs. Behind these park-like lawns rose gloomy forests, swelling into mountains here and there, and sending up a grey peak of craggy stone into the clear blue air. The river was fresh and placid, containing abundance of fish, and, what surprised the explorers most was, that amid all this abundance and charming beauty combined with utility, they saw no signs that it was made use of. It was, in fact, a paradise in solitude. On the 3d of January the "Norfolk" left the Derwent, and, after sailing along a coast already described, they reached Sydney on the 12th of the same month.

Thus was solved one of the great problems of Australia. When it was known that Van Diemen's Land was an island, the voyage from England to Sydney was very much shortened. The merit of this discovery belongs entirely to Bass and Flinders, who had put to proof what Cook and D'Entrecasteaux had only guessed.

At this point the honoured name of Bass drops out of the history of Australia. He returned to England as the mate of a trading vessel, and then disappeared for ever. The story of the life of Flinders's noble fellow-labourer, like that of too many other heroic explorers and discoverers, is very sad and painful. The only account of his early days that we possess is given in a letter

written by a relative of Bass's in 1852, and given in a work on the colonies by Mr Samuel Sydney. It is as follows: "The mother of Bass lived with the Calder family fourteen years, and died with them. Her son and only child, George Bass, was born at Asworthy, near Sleaford (in England), where his father had a farm, and died when he was a boy. The widow and son afterwards went to reside at Boston. From his boyhood he showed a strong inclination for a seafaring life, to which his widowed mother was much opposed. He was apprenticed to Mr Francis, a surgeon, at Boston, and at the end of his apprenticeship walked the hospitals, and took his diploma with honour. But his inclination for the sea being unsubdued, according to a promise she made, she yielded to his wish and sunk a considerable sum in fitting him out and buying a share in a ship, which was totally lost. She was a fine noble-minded woman, of no ordinary intellect. Her son wrote her long letters, containing full accounts of his discoveries. These came into the possession of Miss Calder on the death of Mrs Bass. A short time ago she thought to take a peep at the letters, and went to the old box, but they were gone. The last time his mother heard of Bass he was in the Straits of China. She expected him many years, thinking that he might be taken prisoner; but at last gave up all hopes, concluding that he had been wrecked and drowned. He had only been married three months when he sailed away, never to return. His widow is dead."

Such is the sole record remaining of one of the bravest and noblest men whose names illuminate the history of discovery. To Flinders and Bass both England and Australia owe a debt of incalculable gratitude. When the sentiment of national pride shall spring up in the breasts of young Australians, there will be enduring monuments erected to the memory of these true heroes in every capital city in the Southern Ocean.

CHAPTER IX.

FLINDERS DISCOVERS MORETON BAY.

A FRESH EXPEDITION—THE SLOOP “NORFOLK”—FLINDERS STARTS FROM SYDNEY—DISCOVERS MORETON BAY—ENCOUNTER WITH NATIVES—GLASSHOUSE BAY—HERVEY BAY—A BARREN EXPEDITION—THE CLARENCE RIVER—FLINDERS RETURNS TO SYDNEY AND RESUMES DUTY.

WHEN Bass and Flinders returned from Tasmania, they appear to have parted company. Still eager for adventure, Flinders memorialised the governor for permission to go exploring northwards. The request was complied with; for there was no man in the settlement, save George Bass, who had proved himself better fitted for the labours of a discoverer, or in whom the governor had more confidence. The sloop “Norfolk” was again put into requisition, with the same crew, and a nephew of Flinders in addition.

He started from Sydney on the 8th of July 1799, and sailed northward. On the morning of the 10th, the vessel sprung a leak, and it was necessary to keep one pump continually at work. But Flinders refused to turn back. He was too hardy a seaman not to risk a little danger in any enterprise on which he was bent. By the 15th, the explorers were off Cape Byron, with Mount Warning just appearing over it. When they had cleared the reef at Point Danger, they steered west for a large open space where no land was visible. This was MORETON BAY. Passing between these breakers and Point Lookout, they got ground in twenty fathoms water. As they drew nearer there seemed to be a very large extent of water within the opening, but the country towards the sea was as sterile, wretched, and sandy, as could well be imagined. At dusk Cape Moreton was rounded, and they got into Glasshouse Bay. There they anchored, intending, if possible, to repair the leak. Next morning they landed. They had brought with them a native from Sydney, who commenced at once to parley with some savages who were on the beach fishing with nets. At first they seemed peaceable, and accepted some presents, but they soon became troublesome. The party, to avoid a conflict, shoved off in their boat from shore. A savage then ran into the sea after them and flung a spear, which happily missed the boat. Flinders and one of the seamen at once discharged their muskets, and wounded two of the savages. The plea on which the great explorer defends this act is that, as he wanted to repair his ship there, he could not afford to leave his crew at the mercy of the savages, and he felt therefore bound to strike a wholesome

terror into them. The spot where this incident occurred was named Point Skirmish.

The explorers then proceeded up the river, which ran up towards Glasshouse Peaks. Nothing of importance was seen besides five or six native huts. Advancing still farther, Flinders named the river Pumice Stone River, and cast anchor. Landing at a particular spot, he walked towards a round mount, which he ascended. Here he had a fine and extensive view of the bay and the surrounding country. After a stay of fifteen days in Glasshouse Bay, he went on to Hervey Bay; but finding no practicable river after sailing all round it, and noting that the coast was low and shallow, and the country unpromising, he returned to Sydney.

Not much of any consequence resulted from this voyage, although it was afterwards found that a narrow sandy inlet which Flinders discovered and named Shoal Bay was the mouth of the Clarence River, a very important stream on the east coast. Nothing more was done at that time with the "Norfolk" sloop or its discoveries, and Flinders returned to his duties as midshipman on board the "Reliance."

CHAPTER X.

FLINDERS'S VOYAGE IN THE "INVESTIGATOR."

FLINDERS RETURNS TO ENGLAND—PLANS ANOTHER EXPEDITION—RECEIVES COMMAND OF THE "INVESTIGATOR"—ARRIVES AT AUSTRALIA—BEGINS SURVEY OF THE SOUTH COAST—LOSS OF A BOAT'S CREW—PORT LINCOLN DISCOVERED—SPENCER'S GULF—KANGAROO HUNTING—MEETS FRENCH EXPEDITION UNDER BAUDIN—REACHES PORT PHILLIP—LIEUTENANT JAMES GRANT'S PREVIOUS DISCOVERY—LIEUTENANT MURRAY PREVIOUSLY AT PORT PHILLIP—CORIO BAY—SOUTH COAST UNVEILED—FLINDERS PROCEEDS TO PORT JACKSON.

FLINDERS had only attained to the rank of midshipman in the Royal Navy at the time he returned from Moreton Bay. At the latter end of the year 1800 the "Reliance" returned to England, and Flinders lost no time upon his arrival in making known what he had accomplished in the exploration of the new world in the south. His charts of the discoveries in Tasmania were speedily published. This brought him at once into notice, and paved the way for pushing his plans further. An ardent temperament such as his could not think of resting; he had tasted the delights of exploration, and he longed with feverish anxiety to betake himself to his favourite pursuit once more. Fortunately, there was at that time in England a man who could appreciate all this, and had sufficient interest with the Admiralty to cause them to do all that Flinders desired. This was Sir Joseph Banks, the companion of Cook in his first voyage. Upon hearing the bold plans of the brave young midshipman, and seeing how much he had done on very small resources, and how little he required for what he wanted to do then, Sir Joseph willingly laid his plan before Earl Spencer, then First Lord of the Admiralty. The plan was approved of, and laid before the king, George III. Although his Majesty knew but little about Australia—which had sprung into existence at a period of heavy affliction for him—he gave his assent willingly to the plan proposed by Flinders. Orders were given for the purchase of a vessel, the command of which was given to the gallant youthful explorer. She was an old sloop of only 340 tons burthen, but, it was thought, well fitted for the purposes of the expedition.

In February 1801 Flinders was promoted to the rank of commander, and was appointed to the "Investigator" sloop. A proof of the popularity of his character, and of the adventurous spirit of the British sailor, was given when eleven men being required to complete his crew, out of 300 seamen on board the vice-admiral's ship, the "Zealand," 250 volunteered.

On the 18th of July he sailed from Spithead, furnished with a passport from the French Government, which was granted after precedents of similar protection afforded to Admiral La Pérouse and to Captain Cook by the respective authorities in England and France. In consequence of this passport, Flinders received directions from the Admiralty "to act in all respects towards French vessels as if the two countries were not at war." So miserably slow was the progress of the first Australian colony, that at this period, thirteen years after its foundation, it was found necessary to take a supply of salt meat for eighteen months, and to have a general supply of provisions for twelve months more to be sent, after the departure of the "Investigator," and lodged in storehouse at Port Jackson for the sole use of the "Investigator."

Among the gentlemen who accompanied the expedition was William Westall, the famous landscape-painter, and Robert Brown, the great naturalist.

It was November before Flinders sighted the coast of Australia, and proceeded to examine the coast-line hitherto unexplored. In the course of his investigations he surveyed King George's Sound, which had previously been discovered by Vancouver and on which the settlement of Swan River or Western Australia was planted in 1829. He found no traces of Vancouver, but there was a neglected garden, and close to it a sheet of copper bearing the inscription: "August 27th, 1800: Chr. Dixon, ship 'Ellegood.'" This was probably the memento of some whaling ship which had visited the sound.

Flinders next put into an inlet, to which he gave the name of PRINCESS ROYAL HARBOUR, where he made some necessary repairs, and took some astronomical observations. He also, with a party, made an inspection of the coast inland, but found the aspect of the country very bleak and cheerless. He then proceeded to coast along the Australian Bight, first discovered by Van Nuyts in 1627, and was struck with the fearful desolation of that terrible shore. He passed and named in succession Fowler's Bay, Smoky Bay, Streaky Bay, Anxious Bay, and Coffin's Bay—the latter called after Admiral Coffin, the commissioner who had fitted out the "Investigator." A conspicuous mountain, visible inland, was named Mount Greenby. Several other points along the coast were likewise named; but no incident of any consequence marked the voyage. THISTLE ISLAND was so called after the mate of the vessel. Near this place the cutter with a crew under the charge of Mr Thistle and a midshipman named Taylor were sent in search of water, and all perished at sea. How they were wrecked remained a mystery until the next day, when the broken boat, bottom upwards, was found drifting near some rocks, against which it had been evidently dashed to pieces. The spot was called CAPE CATASTROPHE, and an island close by was named TAYLOR'S ISLAND. The cove in which the cutter was wrecked was called MEMORY COVE, and a copper plate, with an inscription commemorating the disaster, was left at the place.

A beautiful bay, sheltered by an island four miles long was next discovered, and named PORT LINCOLN, and the island BOSTON ISLAND, after Flinders's native place. A fine hill surrounded by rich and beautiful land was named Stamford Hill, and a lake adjacent Sleaford Mere. The "Investigator" remained until the

8th of March surveying the islands in Sir Joseph Banks's group. Then he discovered and explored SPENCER'S GULF—so called after Earl Spencer—but found it a place totally unavailable for settlement. A mountain, sixteen miles inland, three thousand feet, and standing amid a scene of sublime solitude and desolation, was ascended by some of the party. But the flowers and birds even of that desolate region are of rare beauty. HARDWICKE BAY was discovered, and named after the Earl of Hardwicke. Point Marsden and Nepean Bay were similarly passed and named after officers connected with the English Admiralty. Here the party landed and found abundance of kangaroos; no less than thirty-one being shot during the first day's hunting; and the seamen, who had been living on salt meat for many months, revelled in the unaccustomed luxuries of kangaroo soup and steaks.

The exploration of the south coast was pursued with the utmost perseverance. The Gulf of St Vincent, Yorke's Peninsula, Cape Willoughby, Mount Lofty, Kangaroo Island, and other now well-known places, were severally noted and named. Near Backstairs Passage Flinders fell in with the French expedition under Captain Baudin, who commanded the ship the "*Géographe*." The Frenchman had been exploring Van Diemen's Land, and also the east part of the south coast of the continent, as Flinders the west part. A second vessel, the "*Naturaliste*" was engaged in the expedition, but had parted company with the "*Géographe*." Mutual civilities and an exchange of information passed between the two commanders; but Flinders subsequently found that the French, by the orders of the Emperor Napoleon, claimed all the south coast as their discovery, and had named the various points along it by the names of the emperor and his courtiers. They even gave the whole territory the name of the Napoleon Land. The officers of the "*Géographe*" knew well that all this was done without warrant, for one of them—M. Freyeinet, first lieutenant to Captain Baudin—said afterwards to Flinders at Sydney Government House: "Captain, if we had not been kept so long picking up shells and catching butterflies in Van Diemen's Land, you would not have discovered the south coast before us." It is but justice to the French people to say that all idea of appropriating Flinders's discoveries has long since been abandoned by them.

At the place where the vessels met, Cape Jervis had disappeared, and the coast had become low and sandy, curving round so as to form a large but open bay. As the head of this bay was seen by both ships at the same time, it received the name of ENCOUNTER BAY. The succeeding part of the coast having been discovered by the French, Flinders adopted the names they had given to the various points.

When Flinders reached Cape Otway, he had come upon the tracks of a previous discoverer, LIEUTENANT JAMES GRANT, who, in the "*Lady Nelson*" surveying ship, had sailed along the southern coast only a few months previously. But Grant did not see the coast between Cape Otway and Cape Schanck. He spoke of a great opening there, which he called King George's Sound. Within this lay PORT PHILLIP. It had been discovered by LIEUTENANT MURRAY on the 15th of February 1802, and it was on the 26th of April that the "*Investigator*"

arrived off Cape Schanck. Thence Flinders bore away westward, in order to trace the land round the head of the deep bight. On the west side of the point a small opening was seen, with water breaking across it. At first it seemed scarcely worth notice, but in advancing it appeared more interesting; and Flinders sailed in to obtain a nearer view. A large extent of water presently became visible within; and although the entrance seemed very narrow, and there were strong rippings, like breakers, he was determined to steer on. Every man was at his post as they approached the broken water. The lead was kept going, but the soundings were quite regular, between forty and seventy feet. They steered through; the water became smooth and shallow, and they found themselves in an extensive harbour. While they gazed around in wonder at the inlet thus opened to them, their vessel stuck fast upon a mud-bank, reminding them that first appearances are not always the best criteria of the safety of a port. But the ship was easily got off again, and brought to an anchor in smooth, deep water.

Flinders at first supposed the fine harbour he had discovered to be Western Port; but this mistake was easily corrected the next morning, when a further examination of the harbour was made. Of course he knew nothing of Lieutenant Murray's previous discovery until he subsequently reached Sydney; but Murray's names were preserved. It was he who named PORT PHILLIP, the rocky point on the eastern side, POINT NEPEAN, and a hill far inland on the same side, ARTHUR'S SEAT. A wide inlet, which Flinders thought (but erroneously, as it proved) must communicate with the sea, was seen. This was CORIO BAY, afterwards seen by Hume and Hovell in their celebrated overland journey from Sydney in 1824.

Having passed INDENTED HEAD (so named by him), he sent three men to the highest part of the back hills, now called Station Peak, to ascertain if there was any arm of the sea visible from its top. None was seen, and the seamen, after building a cairn and leaving a written memorial of their visit, returned to the ship.

For thirty years afterwards Port Phillip was still a solitude; but in less than thirty years after that again it was the seat of the populous, wealthy, and enterprising city of Melbourne, whose marvellous growth has become a world's wonder!

After leaving Port Phillip, the "Investigator's" explorations on the south coast were ended. Flinders was on his old ground. The man who had begun his discoveries by sailing out from Port Jackson in a boat eight feet long, now sailed in with a large ship, equipped for exploration, and with the first fruits of his labours upon his charts. The southern coast of Australia was now fully unveiled.

On his return to Sydney, on the 9th of May 1802, Flinders found in Port Jackson the second French ship of Baudin's expedition, the "Naturaliste." He communicated with the commander, Captain Hamelin, and showed him his charts; so that there was no doubt then that Flinders had been the first to explore the coast between Cape Nuyts and Encounter Bay. Why his charts were not published first will be seen when his cruel imprisonment and detention by the French at the Mauritius comes to be related.

CHAPTER XI.

FLINDERS'S LAST EXPLORATIONS.

SECOND EXPEDITION OF THE "INVESTIGATOR"—FLINDERS SAILS NORTHWARD—PORT CURTIS—BARTER WITH SAVAGES—SURVEY OF THE GULF OF CARPENTARIA—NATIVES OF THE GULF—MALAY FISHERMEN—RETURN TO SYDNEY—FLINDERS SAILS FOR ENGLAND IN THE "PORPOISE"—WRECK OF THE THREE VESSELS—COWARDLY CONDUCT OF CAPTAIN PALMER—FLINDERS CONDUCTS THE SHIP—WRECKED CREWS SAFELY TO SYDNEY—SAILS AGAIN FOR ENGLAND—PUTS IN AT MAURITIUS—INFAMOUS CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH GOVERNOR—FLINDERS DETAINED A PRISONER—ROBBERY OF HIS SHIPS AND PAPERS—FRENCH DISHONESTY—FLINDERS RELEASED—RETURNS TO ENGLAND—PUBLISHES HIS GREAT WORK—DIES—HIS CHARACTER.

NOTHING daunted by the mishaps and disasters of his last expedition, Flinders resolved on continuing his exploring voyage. His ship, the "Investigator," was, moreover, almost worn out with age and service; but he was not the man to be deterred from high exploits by the mere circumstance of possessing inadequate means and instruments.

He sailed from Sydney on the 22d of July 1802, taking with him as a tender the "Lady Nelson" surveying ship. The object of this expedition was to examine Hervey, Keppel, and Shoalwater Bays, which had been only imperfectly seen both by Cook and himself. He was then to proceed through Torres Straits, and to examine the Gulf of Carpentaria. The first part of the voyage was uneventful. Flinders first surveyed and named PORT CURTIS. At Keppel Bay better land was found, but the country near the coast is not inviting. A party of savages threw stones at a boat's crew of the voyagers, but a volley of small shot fired over their heads speedily dispersed them. No harm was done on either side. On the 18th of August Flinders left Keppel Bay, and proceeded to Port Bowen (which he named), and thence to Broad Sound, where the "Lady Nelson" lost her keel by an accident. Passing into Torres Straits, after a terrible struggle in getting through the Barrier Reef, and being obliged to send the "Lady Nelson" back, he sighted the Murray Islands, where he anchored. Scarcely had he done so, when forty or fifty savages came off in canoes. They would not come alongside of the ship, but lay off at a little distance, holding up cocoa-nuts, joints of bamboo filled with water, plantains, and bows and arrows. A barter was soon commenced, which was carried on in a curious manner. A hatchet or piece of iron being held up, the savages offered an armful of cocoa-nuts, a bunch of green

plantains, or a bow and quiver full of arrows, or the like, in exchange. A savage then leaped overboard, swam to the ship, and made the barter. They did not show the slightest fear. At one of the Prince of Wales Islands, they landed and found some of those large nests of the white ants, sometimes eight feet or more in height, which Pelsart and Dampier had previously described. At length a large opening presented itself to view, but the water was too shallow to allow of their entering it. This was the Gulf of Carpentaria. On the 6th of September a breeze sprang up and carried the "Investigator" along the low coast of the gulf. Here Flinders was in the track of the early Dutch navigators. The voyage, as respects fresh adventures, was a perfect blank; but the old "Investigator" was beginning to give out symptoms of breaking up. An examination of her condition showed that there was scarcely a sound timber remaining in her hull. The seamen were really alarmed; for how were they ever to get back again in such a rotten vessel? Still, Flinders never flinched from his mission. He resolved upon making Port Jackson, if possible, and if not successful, he would try and reach India. On some of the islands in the gulf they saw many natives, who were in the habit of escaping from view in a very remarkable manner. Upon examination it was found that they hid themselves in caves dug in the ground, sometimes containing two compartments, each large enough for a man to lie down in. Many of them were found also to have lost their front teeth, which a black fellow at Mount Gambier once told Mr Julian Wood meant that they had each killed his enemy and eaten him. At the Wellesley Island immense numbers of turtles and turtles' eggs were procured. The old vessel grew more shaky daily, and once it bumped upon a rock, and all but went to pieces. Luckily, an opportune wave floated it off again before much harm had been done. On the last day of 1802 the voyagers sighted Cape Maria Van Diemen, and found it to be an island. At North-West Bay the natives were troublesome. They gave chase to Mr Westall the artist, and struck four spears into the body of Mr Whitelock, a petty officer. For this aggression two of them were shot dead in a volley from the ship. A man named Morgan died from sunstroke, and his name was given to a small island, upon which his body was buried. The survey of the Gulf of Carpentaria had occupied 105 days.

When leaving the gulf the "Investigator" fell in with six Malay prahus and crews, engaged in fishing for trepang, or *bêche-de-mer*. The place where they were met with was called Malay Road, not far from Arnheim's Bay.

On the 5th of March Flinders left the barren and inhospitable shores of the gulf. The south-east monsoons had set in; his ship was leaky and rotten; and the crew were suffering so severely from scurvy, that a return to Sydney without fresh provisions was impossible. Reaching Timor, provisions in abundance were procured, but unhappily dysentery began to scourge the crew. All haste was made to reach Port Jackson, but many of the crew were stricken down before, on the 9th of June 1803, the "Investigator" reached its desired haven.

Not much was accomplished in the survey of the Gulf of Carpentaria. But the spirit of the heroic Flinders never flagged. He made application for another vessel to complete his explorations in the north, but the governor had no vessel

to give him, and the old "Investigator" was quite worn out. There was nothing for it but to return to England, and ask for another vessel from the Admiralty. Accordingly, on the 12th of July, Flinders embarked in the "Porpoise," and sailed from Sydney.

The "Porpoise" was accompanied by two trading vessels, the "Cato" and the "Bridgewater." In passing through Torres Straits on the night of the 17th of August, the "Porpoise" struck on a coral reef and "took a fearful heel over on her larboard beam-ends. The 'Bridgewater' was on the point of following, but the 'Cato' giving way, the former grazing, escaped, while the latter struck and went over two cables' length from the 'Porpoise.'" The coward captain of the "Bridgewater," one Palmer, having escaped, sailed away in spite of the remonstrances of his mate, without making an effort to aid his companions. Mr Williams, the third mate of the "Bridgewater," kept a journal, from which the following particulars of this unparalleled piece of cowardice on the part of Captain Palmer are taken. After describing the situation of the "Porpoise," he says: "Though the noise of the surf was tremendous, the voice of the unfortunate Captain Flinders was heard by the fifth officer to say, 'For God's sake, Captain Palmer, assist me!' I now volunteered my services to proceed in the cutter if Captain Palmer would consent to the aid of the 'Porpoise;' he did consent, but while getting ready he changed his mind. The boat was promised in the morning, for which I had every refreshment that could be procured for the relief of my unfortunate companions. We again stood off at seven A.M. : from the mast-head we saw the reef off the two ships, and to leeward of them a sandbank. . . . We all rejoiced in the prospect of affording assistance to our companions, but the captain ordered the ship to be put on the other tack, and sailing away, left them to their fate. I was sent on shore at Tellicherry with the account of the loss of the 'Cato' and 'Porpoise.' In giving this account, I did for the first time disobey orders, and gave a contrary account, for I was convinced that the crews of those ships were on the reef, and that the account of their loss was given by Captain Palmer to excuse his conduct. I wrote out the account and left it behind, after having related it as differently as possible. This caused many words, and ended in my leaving the ship, forfeiting my wages and part of my clothes." So far young Williams; Palmer and his ship were afterwards lost at sea; in fact, they were never afterwards heard of: Williams, by his honourable quarrel with his captain, escaped this singularly retributive fate.

Flinders took the command, safely landed the crews of the two vessels on a sandbank, of which a narrow space was clear at high water, collected stores, erected tents, formed an encampment, and established a disciplined order of proceedings. The reef was a mere patch of sand, about three hundred yards long and one hundred broad, on which not a blade of vegetation was growing.

It was determined that two decked boats, capable of conveying all but one boat's crew, should be built from the materials of the wreck, and that the largest cutter should be repaired and despatched, under the command of Flinders, to Port Jackson, a voyage of 750 miles. On the 26th of August the cutter was

launched and named the "Hope;" and on the 6th of September Flinders safely reached Sydney. It was a daring voyage, and bravely conducted.

The only vessel that Flinders could procure in place of the wrecked "Porpoise" was a small leaky schooner of only twenty-nine tons burthen, named the "Cumberland." He set sail, accompanied by two trading vessels, and reached the shipwrecked crew in safety, by whom he was received with frantic cheers of joy. Then he set out, with all his old companions, to make the voyage of 16,000 miles to England in that miserable craft. But when he had got the length of Mauritius the leaky state of the vessel compelled him to put in there for repairs. Relying on his passport from the English Admiralty as an explorer, he landed on the island; and, eternal shame to the French nation and to humanity! he was apprehended as an impostor by the French governor—a low, malignant, envious, insolent wretch, named De Caen—and detained as a prisoner. He was lyingly accused of being a spy. The thievish Frenchman also seized upon the "Cumberland" and robbed it of all Flinders's log-books, charts, and papers! For six long years the heroic explorer was detained as a prisoner. He was treated with every indignity and cruelty. The miscreant De Caen perpetrated such outrages on an unoffending and peaceable British subject as ought to have been punished with disgrace and banishment. But his object was to curry favour with the Emperor Napoleon, by appropriating all the credit of Flinders's discoveries for the French nation. Whilst our gallant explorer was lying in prison, his stolen charts and journals were published in Paris as the records of Admiral Baudin's discoveries! Of all his acts of high-handed wickedness, none is more discreditable to the memory of Napoleon than his complicity in the imprisonment and robbery of Matthew Flinders. But the French nation are now heartily ashamed of the whole infamous transaction.

Flinders was released in 1810, and returned to England. He set about the preparation of his great work describing his voyages and discoveries. But, broken down in health and spirits by his long exile and sufferings, he died the very day it was published, the 14th of July 1814. There is a monument to his memory at Port Lincoln.

Next to Cook's, the name of Flinders stands highest on the illustrious roll of Australian navigators. He was a truly great man, and he possessed every quality of an explorer in the highest degree—undaunted boldness, untiring energy, infinite skill, and boundlessness of resources. As yet Australians have not learned to honour his name as it deserves to be honoured. But the day will come when the halo of the discoverer and martyr will shine around the memory of the most generous, most learned, and most modest of all the Australian explorers!

CHAPTER XII.

ENGLISH NAVIGATORS AFTER COOK.

CAPTAIN BLIGH'S ADVENTURES ON THE NORTH COAST—AT ADVENTURE BAY—OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATIVES—HIS SECOND VISIT TO ADVENTURE BAY—LIEUTENANT JOHN M'CLUER AT ARNHEIM'S LAND—CAPTAIN EDWARDS WRECKED IN TORRES STRAITS—HIS ADVENTURES WITH THE NATIVES AT CAPE YORK—SANDWICH SOUND AND WOLF'S BAY—CAPTAIN COX AT VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—CAPTAIN DE ST ALOUARN—VANCOUVER ON THE SOUTH COAST—DISCOVERS KING GEORGE'S SOUND—POINT POSSESSION—HIS OBSERVATIONS THERE—HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE COAST—LIEUTENANT JAMES GRANT'S DISCOVERIES—SURVEY OF WESTERN PORT BAY.

THE romantic story of CAPTAIN WILLIAM BLIGH and the mutineers of the "Bounty" will always form a striking episode in the story of English enterprise in the Southern Ocean. But it lies outside the history of Australian navigation and discovery, excepting in so far as it adds the name of Bligh to the list of discoverers. After the mutineers had turned their captain and eighteen of their comrades adrift in the midst of the Pacific Ocean, on the 28th of April 1788, the hapless castaways steered for Coepang, a Dutch settlement, at the south-west end of the island of Timor, which they reached on the 14th of June, having drifted the incredible distance of 3600 miles in an open boat. On the way they made the east coast of New South Wales in about $12\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of south latitude, and sailing northward, passed round Cape York and the Prince of Wales Islands.

It was not to be supposed that Bligh, under the circumstances of extreme distress, of fatigue, and difficulty of every kind, could do much for navigation and geography; yet he took views and made such observations and notes as enabled him to construct a chart of his track, and of the lands and reefs seen from the launch. And as he passed to the *north* of the Prince of Wales Islands, whereas Cook had passed to the *south*, he added a good deal to what little was yet known of Torres Straits.

Bligh, before the mutiny broke out, had touched at Adventure Bay in Van Diemen's Land for the purpose of obtaining wood and water. These he found in abundance, as also plenty of fish, and he planted many useful seeds and trees on the island. He notes a remarkable circumstance in connection with the aborigines at that place: when presents were made them wrapped up in paper, they took the articles out and placed them on their heads. The Dutch navigators had formerly noted the same curious circumstance as being practised by the natives on the east side of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Bligh again visited Ad-

venture Bay with the ships "Providence" and "Assistant" in 1792; but these visits added nothing to the catalogue of discoveries in that quarter. We shall meet with this remarkable man further on, when we come to narrate the early history of New South Wales.

At the end of the year 1791, LIEUTENANT JOHN M'CLUER, of the Bombay Marine, whilst engaged in making a survey of the west coast of New Guinea, touched on the coast of Arnheim's Land, sailing along it westward from longitude $135^{\circ} 15'$ to $129^{\circ} 55'$, when the coast was found to turn southward. This was the Cape Van Diemen of the old Dutch navigators.

In the same year CAPTAIN EDWARDS, in the frigate "Pandora," was wrecked on a reef in Torres Straits, when thirty-nine lives were lost. Not being able to save anything from the wreck, Captain Edwards, almost destitute of provisions and water, set sail with the remainder of his crew, in four open boats, for the north coast of Australia. From one part of the coast two canoes, with three natives in each, paddled hard after the shipwrecked mariners; but though they waved and made many signs, it was not thought prudent to wait for them. At one of the York Isles the natives, for some trifling presents, filled a keg of water for Captain Edwards, but refused to bring down any more. Soon afterward they let fly a shower of arrows amongst the unfortunate sufferers. Happily no person was wounded, and the natives were put to flight by a volley of musketry.

At the Prince of Wales Islands good water was found, and the sufferings of the party were much alleviated. To a large sound there they gave the name of SANDWICH SOUND, and to a commodious bay in it the name of WOLF'S BAY. On the 2d of September Captain Edwards, with his little squadron, passed out to the northward, and the same evening, by steering westward, cleared all the islands and reefs of Torres Straits. On the 14th he reached Timor.

The brig "Mercury," commanded by CAPTAIN JOHN HENRY COX, anchored at the entrance of a deep bay on the south side of Van Diemen's Land, on the 3d of July 1789. This bay was then first discovered, and on the maps (although Cox does not appear to have named it) the name of COX BIGHT is given to it. The country was found to be agreeably interspersed with hills and valleys, and some of the hills were luxuriantly clothed with trees to their very summits. About four miles from the vessel there was a stream of fresh water, and close to it stood a hut, or rather hovel, neatly constructed of branches of trees and dried leaves. Around it were scattered a great quantity of pearl, scallop, oyster, and other shells, which had been recently roasted. The droppings of some large animal, probably kangaroos, were met with in every direction; but neither the animal itself nor any of the natives were seen.

A heavy swell from the southward obliged Cox to get under way, and he worked along the shore to the eastward. His intention was to put into Adventure Bay; but being set to the northward of his reckoning, on the 8th July he discovered, and came to an anchor in, OYSTER BAY, on the inner side of Maria's Island, where wood and water were plentiful. Here some communication was held with the natives, but nothing new respecting the country or its inhabitants was added to the observations of Marion and Cook.

With the exception of a French vessel, commanded by CAPTAIN DE ST ALOUARN, which is said to have anchored near Cape Leeuwin in 1772, the south coast of the continent was apparently unvisited by any European navigator from 1627 to 1791. In the latter year CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER, an officer in the British Navy, and who had sailed with Cook, made the south coast at CAPE CHATHAM (which he named) on the 26th of September. Sailing eastward, he came to a sound in which he cast anchor on the 28th, and to which he gave the name of KING GEORGE III.'S SOUND. The first land he saw was a high mountain, which he named MOUNT GARDINER, and some islands off the mainland were called ECLIPSE ISLES. The appearance of the country was not very tempting, the soil being generally sandy, although well wooded. Fresh water was abundant, and the climate was healthy and agreeable. Kangaroos and birds were in large numbers, and so likewise were sea and shell fish. No natives were found, but their deserted huts (or *mia-mias*) were seen all about. Vancouver having cast anchor in a well-sheltered position, landed his crew. Tracing the shores of the sound inland, he reached a high rocky point, which he named POINT POSSESSION, and on reaching its summit he found that the surrounding country presented a far more fertile and pleasing aspect than had been before observed. Nearly in the centre of the sound was an island, covered with a good deal of green herbage, differing in that respect from the islands around, which were mere barren rocks. There was an approach to the picturesque in the way the sandhills seemed heaving and rippling in the distance; there was even something wild and sombre in the thin wiry grass, or dense thicket of rushes with which they were covered; but it was a landscape that owed much of its charm to the air of savage desolation which it wore. Vancouver quitted the sound on the 11th of October, and proceeded eastward in the examination of the coast; but, baffled by unfavourable winds, he abandoned his design. He then sailed away on his main expedition to the north-west coast of America. The last land seen was named by him TERMINATION ISLAND, the northern coast of which appeared much broken. In sailing out of King George's Sound, Vancouver's vessel had struck on a bank covered with oysters, to which the name OYSTER HARBOUR was given. This completed the navigator's discoveries in Southern Australia.

LIEUTENANT JAMES GRANT, on his voyage to Port Jackson in command of his Majesty's surveying brig "Lady Nelson," in 1800 discovered and traced a considerable part of the south coast. The first land seen was CAPE NORTHUMBERLAND (so named by Grant), which has since gained an evil reputation amongst mariners as a very dangerous locality. Its lonely beach is strewn for miles with the fragments of wrecked vessels; but a lighthouse now stands upon it. Within the cape stands also the little seaport of PORT MACDONNELL, so called after GOVERNOR MACDONNELL of South Australia. Two high mountains seen far inland by Grant were named, the one MOUNT SCHANCK, after Admiral Schanck, and the other MOUNT GAMBIER, after Admiral Lord Gambier. Sailing along the coast, another cape was met with, and was named CAPE BRIDGEWATER. A third cape the explorer named CAPE SIR WILLIAM GRANT, and some adjacent rocks were named the LAWRENCE ROCKS. The sight of smoke upon

the hills on shore showed that the land was inhabited. A large bay was next discovered and named PORTLAND BAY. To the right as Grant advanced lay a high and rocky island about a mile long, which he named LADY JULIA PERCY ISLAND, in compliment to the Northumberland family. To the east of Portland Bay he found a high and bold headland, the shores of which appeared inaccessible, but the land was picturesque and beautiful, abounding in wood, thick groves, and large trees. This was named CAPE OTWAY. Rounding this headland another high cape was seen, the scenery of which was very beautiful, consisting of valleys and downs with streams of water meandering through them. From its fancied resemblance to the Isle of Wight in England it was named POINT WIGHT. It so happened that Wight was also the name of a son-in-law of Admiral Schanck. WILSON'S PROMONTORY was next passed and named. Grant had just missed the chance of discovering PORT PHILLIP, by sailing straight across the bay 120 miles wide, instead of carefully exploring it. At CAPE LIPTRAP an unsuccessful attempt was made to land. The "Lady Nelson," having accomplished the achievement of sailing through Bass Straits from the westward, at length arrived at Sydney, where the tidings of what had been achieved by so small a vessel in such dangerous seas gave great satisfaction. The gallant little ship was immediately put in commission by the Government, and her first duty was to go back and make a survey of WESTERN PORT BAY.

She entered Western Port on the 21st of March 1801, and discovered two islands within the entrance. To one of these was given the name of SCHNAPPER ISLAND, from its fancied resemblance to a schnapper's head. A very pleasant island, with an extremely rich soil and delightful scenery, was named CHURCHILL ISLAND. Many seeds were planted here. After making a complete survey of the port, the "Lady Nelson" surveyed the three bays round Wilson's Promontory, and then returned to Sydney.

BOOK IV.

AUSTRALIAN EXPLORERS.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST EXPLORATIONS IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE NEW SETTLEMENT—ASPECT OF SYDNEY—MYSTERY OF THE BLUE MOUNTAINS—SUPERSTITIOUS FEARS—GOVERNOR PHILLIP'S FIRST INSPECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY—GEORGE BASS IN THE BLUE MOUNTAINS—LIEUTENANT BARREILLER AND MR CALEY—LAWSON, BLAXLAND, AND WENTWORTH'S EXPEDITION—MR EVANS'S EXPEDITION—WANT OF WATER BY THE SETTLERS—ROAD TO BATHURST FORMED—GOVERNOR MACQUARIE'S JOURNEY ACROSS THE BLUE MOUNTAINS—EVANS DISCOVERS THE LACHLAN.

FROM the date of the first settlement on the shores of Port Jackson, a period of twenty-five years elapsed before any successful attempt was made to extend the domain of the young colony by exploring the interior. By that time Sydney had become a thriving town. The governor's house was of stone. The judge and a few Government officers had houses of brick, but the main portion of the inhabitants were content with plastered logs and shingled roofs. Yet the people of Sydney felt no small pride in their town. They would have liked a little more land for their few sheep and cows. But the flocks on which they relied roamed through far different pastures. When the season came round they sailed away down the Great Southern Ocean, and came back laden with black oil and sperm. Their harbour was the finest in the world, sending its arms in among their cottages and town gardens, and capable of containing the whole British Navy; their log-huts were bathed in everlasting sunshine; and business was good. From the sparkling waters of the bay to the Blue Mountains behind, all was bustle and activity: whalers from Europe and America refitting, immigrants landing, new houses building, and vineyards and orange-groves creeping round the bay. Such as it was it comprehended all the English in Australia. Through those Blue Mountains no man could find a way to the boundless regions which lay beyond. Rewards were offered for the discovery of a mere sheep-track. The more adventurous citizens risked life and limb—not always without fatal

results—in clambering up and down their craggy sides, and peeping into their black fissures. But to pass these rugged heights upon the west had hitherto been a fruitless effort. They had even become in some measure associated with mysterious thoughts, and linked in imagination with spiritual and dreaded influences. They were as impassable, and the regions beyond were as unknown, to the natives of the country as to the colonists; and the former appeared to regard them as the abode of malignant spirits, who were possessed of unearthly and awful powers over the natural world. So readily does man, whether civilised or savage, link the marvellous with the unknown, and fancy conjure up the supernatural in connection with the invisible.

But—evil spirits notwithstanding—many bold efforts had, in the interim, been made by the colonists for the passage of these Blue Mountains. And not without good reason, for the narrow strip of territory between the mountains and the sea (at best of only moderate fertility) was fast becoming overstocked, and the settlers were in want of fresh pastures for their increasing flocks and herds. But the eastern face of the range presented everywhere a steep and precipitous escarpment, in the effort to scale which the boldest endeavours were vain.

Governor Phillip, in 1788, had made several excursions round the head of Sydney Harbour, during which he discovered and named Carmarthen, Lansdowne, and Richmond Hills, and—more important than all—the HAWKESBURY RIVER. In August of the same year Lieutenant Dowes and a small party set off from Sydney with a determination to reach the mountains. They got as far as a branch of the Hawkesbury, which had been formerly discovered by Captain Tench, but could not reach the vast range lying right before them. In 1790 some officers made an excursion in a direction south-west from Paramatta. They were absent six days, and reported that they had passed through a very bad country, intersected everywhere with deep ravines. Nothing further in the way of exploration was attempted for some years.

In 1796 George Bass, with two companions, started to explore the mysterious highland region. As we have already seen, he was a man of the most daring spirit; nothing daunted him. His hardihood and skill in exploration were astonishing. He climbed frowning precipices by the aid of iron hooks fastened to his arms, and descended by means of ropes to the bottoms of frightful caverns. How far he penetrated into the mountains is not known with certainty; but he said he had ascended a very high hill, and from its summit had seen another range about forty miles distant, which appeared to extend north and south. This seemed quite impassable, and he therefore returned. In doing so, he discovered the GROSE RIVER. About this time also Governor Hunter made an expedition along the course of the Nepean River, and discovered MOUNT HUNTER and the country immediately adjoining. In 1802 Lieutenant Barreiller, and a year after, Mr Caley, tried to force the terrible passes, but both were compelled to return baffled.

At length, in the year 1813, when a severe drought had burnt up the herbage in the coast districts, and occasioned a serious mortality amongst the cattle, three gentlemen, Lieutenant Lawson of the 104th Regiment, with Messrs Blaxland

and Wentworth, led an expedition into the mountains, which was very successful, for at length the long-sought pass was discovered.

Crossing the Nepean River at Emu Plains, they ascended the first range of mountains, and speedily got entangled in its deep ravines. But continuing their search, they at length found a spur trending westward, which they climbed, and from the summit of it looked down upon a valley of beautiful richness, well grassed and well watered. Descending into the valley down the slopes of Mount York, they found the country improving as they went on, and after a toilsome march of eight or ten miles, they found that the worst difficulties had all been surmounted. But, as their provisions were expended, they were obliged to return to Sydney, after an absence of little more than a month.

In the same year Mr Evans, a Government surveyor, was despatched from Sydney with an exploring party to follow up the discoveries made by Lawson, Blaxland, and Wentworth. He reported that on the fifth day after crossing the Nepean, he and his party having effected their passage over the Blue Mountains, arrived at the commencement of a valley on the western side of them. This valley Mr Evans describes as beautiful and fertile, with a rapid stream running through it. It was the termination of the tour lately made by Messrs Blaxland, Wentworth, and Lawson. Continuing in a westerly direction, for twenty-one days from this station, Mr Evans at length found it necessary to return; and on the 8th of January he arrived back at Emu Island, after an absence of seven weeks. During the course of this tour, he passed over several plains of great extent, interspersed with hills and valleys, abounding in the richest soil, and with various streams of water and chains of ponds. The country he traversed was ninety-eight miles beyond the termination of Messrs Blaxland, Wentworth, and Lawson's tour, and 150 miles from the Nepean. The greater part of these plains are described as being nearly free of timber and brushwood, and in capacity equal (in Mr Evans's opinion) to every demand which the colony might have for an extension of tillage and pasture lands for a century to come. The stream already mentioned continued its course in a westerly direction; and for several miles passed through valleys, with many and great accessions of other streams, and at length became a capacious and beautiful river, abounding in fish of very large size and fine flavour, many of which weighed not less than fifteen pounds. From the summits of some very high hills, Mr Evans saw a vast extent of flat country, lying in a westerly direction, which appeared to be bounded at a distance of about forty miles by other hills. The general description of these heretofore unexplored regions given by Mr Evans was, that they very far surpassed in beauty and fertility of soil any he had seen in New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land.

One of the extensive tracts which Mr Evans discovered was named Bathurst Plains, and the streams he traced for some distance, the Macquarie and Lachlan Rivers. One of them, as had been described many years before by Wilson and his party, ran to the north-west and the other to the south-west into the great unknown interior. This discovery of extensive tracts of fine grazing country gave great encouragement to the settlers, and an impetus to the progress of the

colony which sent it rapidly forward in the road to prosperity. Immediately the pent-up flocks and herds of the colonists poured themselves out over Bathurst Plains and the western districts of New South Wales ; and the people of Sydney began to desert their town gardens for sheep-feeding and wool-growing.

But a new impediment arose. Land was to be had for the taking, but there was scarcely any water. Ruin hung over the head of the flockowner who was not within reach of a permanent stream. An unusually dry summer left him a beggar. In vain he hurried his flocks to the nearest watering-place. They strewed the way with their carcasses. All the permanent streams were quickly occupied. New South Wales was not to be a great wool-growing country after all, unless more rivers could be discovered. To little purpose they had searched Europe for the sheep most famous for their wools, if these priceless animals were now to die of thirst. The Government surveyors were instructed to be always on the look-out for rivers. Rivers promised to be the death of the Government surveyors. Such rivers no man ever heard of before. They all ran inland. They stopped when least expected, leaving no visible channel or water-course. Sometimes they were as salt as the waters of the ocean ; at another period of the year they contained excellent drinking water. At one time they formed merely a chain of ponds ; and at another, in a perfectly dry season, they boiled over their banks, filling whole valleys with crashing timber, and sweeping away the apparently secure homesteads which had sprung up on their shores.

In January 1815 a road made along the ridge of the Blue Mountains was finished as far as what is now the town of Bathurst, and in April of the same year Governor Macquarie went to inspect the places discovered along the line. He passed in succession through, and named, King's Table Land, Prince Regent's Glen, the Vale of Clwyd, and other places, now well-known spots past which the iron horse rushes daily, carrying its freight of human beings and luggage. It was the 4th May when the governor reached Bathurst Plains. From this point Mr Evans and a small party were despatched, with one month's provisions, to explore the country to the south-west. They passed along a valley down which a stream poured into the Macquarie, and named it Queen Charlotte's Valley. After passing through some rough and scrubby country, they reached the Lachlan (so called from the governor's Christian name), which they followed up for some distance, but without being able to find out where it ran to. There was the same perplexity about the Macquarie. There were thus two rivers flowing into the interior, within a short distance of each other, and diverging from each other farther and farther at every mile ; but whither did they flow ? This problem was a puzzling one, which it took a long period of exploration to answer.

CHAPTER II.

OXLEY'S TWO EXPEDITIONS.

LIEUTENANT OXLEY, SURVEYOR-GENERAL—HIS EXPEDITION IN 1817—TRACE THE LACHLAN—THE NATIVES—A VAST MARSH—MALLEE SCRUB—A FRESH START—BIRDS AND FISH—A TERRIBLE COUNTRY—TURNING BACK—RETURN TO BATHURST—SECOND EXPEDITION—DOWN THE MACQUARIE—A FERTILE COUNTRY—SUPPOSED INLAND SEA—THE CASTLEREAGH—THE PEEL—THE SEA REACHED—A LUCKY DISCOVERY—RETURN TO NEWCASTLE—THE BROTHERS HUME'S FIRST EXPLORATIONS.

To solve the problem of the two rivers was now the ardent desire of the colonists; so that, when Mr Evans returned, it needed no persuasion to induce the governor to send out a second expedition. A leader for it was found in the surveyor-general of the colony, Lieutenant Oxley, R.N., a young officer of great spirit and enterprise. He had with him Mr Allan Cunningham, a botanist and explorer, to whose memory a monument is erected in the Botanical Gardens at Sydney; Mr Evans, the deputy surveyor-general; Mr Frazer, a botanist; and Mr Parr, a mineralogist. The expedition started early in April 1817, and on the 14th arrived at Bathurst Plains, where they found the young settlement formed by Governor Macquarie already in a flourishing condition.

Oxley's first resolve was to explore the first and largest of the rivers seen by Mr Evans in his previous journey; and on the 20th the party started from Bathurst towards the Lachlan, through a country which, although at first very picturesque in appearance, soon became flat and uninviting. They reached the river on the 26th, at a place where it was about a hundred feet wide, with deep banks, and its course marked by large trees, many of which, having fallen into the stream, obstructed the current, and rendered progress difficult. Here a depot was established, and two boats constructed to assist their progress down the river. Finding by their instruments that they were not more than six hundred feet above the level of the sea, they inferred from this and from flood marks which were everywhere visible—some of them thirty-six feet above the stream—that the ocean could not be nearly so distant as had before been supposed. It was believed that the Lachlan united somewhere with the Macquarie, and probably with other rivers, and fell into the Pacific on the southern coast, at a distance of not more than five or six hundred miles.

Considerable numbers of natives were found encamped on the banks of the river, and the lagoons and pools were full of fish and covered with wild fowl. The natives behaved throughout in a very peaceable and friendly manner, and

the travellers proceeded through apparently endless plains and swamps, with no other obstructions than those offered by the nature of the country. On the 12th May the stream appeared to terminate in a vast marsh, and they resolved to attempt to go no farther in that direction; but as another branch had been seen to the south-west they proceeded towards it. They reached an elevated range on the 4th June, after passing through a monotonous and desolate region, destitute of water, and exceedingly difficult for travelling. Their horses were almost worn out with fatigue and want of food, most of the country crossed being of the kind known as mallee scrub; and the prospects on all sides, from the hills on which they now encamped, were of the most dreary and disheartening kind, with recent flood marks in all directions.

After stopping to rest and recruit for a few days, they resolved to turn back towards the north, in hopes of regaining the river, and on the 23d June again reached the Lachlan, at a spot where it had emerged from the great swamps which had before caused them to abandon it. It was now enclosed between deep banks, running to the westward, and so hidden by trees that it was not perceptible until close at hand. Fish were abundant, consisting mostly of a species of perch of two or three pounds' weight, and the fine large fish afterwards known as the Murray cod, weighing from fifty to seventy pounds each. Birds were also plentiful, and easily procured; and with all these advantages in their favour it was resolved to make another attempt to follow the course of the river towards its mouth. These encouraging prospects were, however, but of very short continuance, for the disappointed explorers again came to almost interminable swamps and bogs, in which the strength of both men and horses quickly became exhausted. The stream, too, was again obstructed with fallen timber to such an extent that the boats were useless. From every elevation they ascended the prospect presented was of the same monotonous and sterile description—enormous flats and almost impervious scrubs stretching in every direction, and dotted with shallow lagoons, from which a sickly and decaying vegetation sent up an offensive odour, and poisoned the atmosphere with miasms.

After pushing through this difficult and disheartening country for a considerable distance, they were again brought to a stand by an impassable and apparently endless swamp. They had now reached a point which they reckoned at about five hundred miles in a direct line from their place of departure, and more than double that distance by the devious route they had been compelled to follow. The river, which they had traced so great a distance, had not, so far as they had been able to discover, received a single tributary in all that vast extent of country. Being unable to proceed farther, they buried a bottle containing the names of the party, the course they then proposed to pursue, and the date at which they had reached the spot. The place where they turned back, after following the course of the river for so many hundreds of miles, was, singularly enough, within a short distance of the junction of the Lachlan with the Murrumbidgee; and they missed the discovery of that fine river only by a day or two's journey. Their farthest camp was about latitude 34° and longitude 145°.

They retraced their steps on the banks of the Lachlan until the 1st of August, and then struck across the country in a north-east direction, in order, if possible, to reach the Macquarie. The country over which they now travelled consisted principally of a red sandy loam, with patches of cypress, box, and acacia trees, and tracts of mallee scrub. On the 14th August, having travelled about a hundred miles, and suffered from want of water, without having seen any signs of the Macquarie, they changed their course to the eastward. Their provisions were now beginning to fail, and they feared that if they proceeded farther from the settled districts they would be unable to return. After facing to the eastward, they crossed many fine streams, and at length reached the Macquarie about fifty miles beyond the place to which Mr Evans had traced it upon his first journey. They followed down the course of the river for some distance, but the state of their provisions and other circumstances compelled them to return without having obtained any definite information as to its further course. The country on its banks, so far as they went, was of the most promising description; and their return journey towards Bathurst was through a district of beautiful hills and fertile valleys, in which the streams abounded with fish and the plains with game. They reached the settlement on the 29th of August, after an absence of about four months and a half, having added greatly to what was previously known of the interior if they failed to achieve all at which they had aimed.

The result of this expedition was to awaken a strong desire in the colonists to ascertain more about the character of the great unknown interior on whose fringe they had so long waited and wondered. Accordingly, in May 1818, Mr Oxley again set out, with a well-equipped party, consisting of Dr Harris, a surgeon of the old New South Wales Corps; Mr Evans, the deputy-surveyor; Mr C. Fraser, botanist; and twelve men, with nineteen horses, and six months' provisions. Previous to the departure of this party, preparations had been made for facilitating their proceedings by building two boats at the point on the Macquarie which they had first struck on their former journey in returning from the Lachlan. In these boats they embarked the heaviest portions of their provisions and equipments, while the horses thus relieved proceeded along the banks. They found as they proceeded that the river received the waters of various tributaries, and in its increased volume was frequently as much as three hundred feet wide, proportionately deep, and varied with magnificent reaches, with extensive flats of the richest land on either side, on which no traces of floods could be discovered. The natives were numerous and not unfriendly, and wild fowl and kangaroos abundant. On the hills which formed the backgrounds of the picturesque scenes through which they passed, were discovered mineral indications of a most promising character; and altogether the splendid prospects which seemed to lie before the party raised their most enthusiastic expectations. Here at length the Australia of the old navigators—the bright vision which had lured the world for centuries—was about to meet the gaze of civilised men. Here, in the innermost recesses to which the coy genius of Australia could retreat, she was at last about to reveal her choicest treasures. Never was enthusiasm doomed to quicker disappointment. As they advanced the scene

gradually changed. At every mile the country became flatter and more uninteresting, until, having reached the 148th degree of longitude and the 31st of latitude, the river lost itself in apparently interminable marshes and swamps, amid which further progress appeared impossible. Mr Oxley thought he had now reached the margin of an inland sea. His account says: "To assert positively that we were on the margin of the lake or sea into which this great body of water is discharged, might reasonably be deemed a conclusion that has nothing but conjecture for its basis; but, if an opinion may be hazarded from actual appearances, which our subsequent route tended more strongly to confirm, I feel confident we are in the immediate vicinity of an inland sea." Mr Oxley's speculations, however, on this as on other important points in Australian geography, although by no means improbable when made, turned out to be erroneous. Defeated but not dismayed by the obstacles before them, and hoping to achieve in another direction something more worthy of note than seemed possible in the great marshes of the Macquarie, the faces of the party were now turned towards the east. A lofty range of hills, which in their outward journey they had seen in that direction, was the object to which they now directed their course. These hills were bare and dark in appearance, and had been named Arbuthnot's Range, but were afterwards known as the Warrambungle Mountains. Their course towards them lay over a difficult country of alternate swamp and scrub. Much of the ground, even where dry on the surface, was rotten and treacherous, and the horses sank almost knee-deep at every step; the consequence was, that in a short time they lost several of their best animals and almost exhausted the remainder.

On the 27th July, when they had been out about two months, they reached the banks of a considerable stream—more than five hundred feet wide, and apparently in flood by the heavy rains which were now falling. This river was named the Castlereagh, and after waiting on its banks for a few days it fell so much that they were able to cross it. The heavy rains, however, had rendered the country almost impassable: but they struggled on, and at length reached a hill which they named Kangaroo Hill from the numbers of those animals found there, but which was afterwards called Loadstone Hill from the remarkable effect it produced on the compass, which was suddenly reversed, so that the needle pointed to the south. On ascending Arbuthnot's Range they ascertained that its loftiest point (Mount Exmouth) was about three thousand feet high. From this elevation Mr Oxley described the surrounding country as follows:

"To the north-east, commencing at N. 33° E., and extending to N. 51° E., a lofty and magnificent range of hills was seen lifting their blue heads above the horizon. This range was honoured with the name of the Earl of Hardwicke, and was distant on a medium from 100 to 120 miles; its highest elevations were named Mount Apsley and Mount Shirley. The country between Mount Exmouth and this bounding range was broken into rugged hills, and apparently deep valleys, and several minor ranges of hills also appeared. The high lands from the east and south-east gradually lessened to the north-west, when they

were lost in the immense levels which bounded the interior abyss of this singular country, the gulf in which both water and mountain seem to be as nothing. Mount Exmouth seems principally composed of iron-stone; and some of the richest ore I had yet seen was found upon it."

Leaving the Warrambungle Range, they continued their journey towards the coast, passing through a broken country with much good land, for about a hundred miles. Keeping still towards the eastern coast, they crossed Liverpool Plains, containing many tracts of splendid openly-wooded country, consisting of alternate hills and valleys, and abounding with game and with a numerous population of aborigines. From an elevation called Whitwell Hill they had a view of a magnificent country, with mountains stretching to the eastward. On the 2d September they reached a deep and rapid stream, which they named the Peel; and after crossing it passed over some lofty elevations, and through fine valleys, with numerous streams running westward.

Beyond this they found the streams running to the eastward, and it was evident they had passed the dividing range, separating the waters of the great interior from those which fell into the Pacific, which washed the shores of the eastern coast. The rest of their journey was through an extremely broken and picturesque country, of a different geological character from that which had been the scene of their wanderings to the westward of the dividing range. Rocks and glens, lofty precipices and shaggy woods, alternated with rich open forest lands. They were at an elevation of several thousand feet, and their descent to the lower coast district was extremely difficult. They at length reached a fine stream, which they named the Hastings, and which brought them to the coast, after having traversed, from their farthest western point in the great marshes of the Macquarie, an extent of country measuring nearly four hundred miles in a straight line, and on which the foot of civilised man had never before been set. The spot where they reached the sea was Port Macquarie: and as this was before any settlement had been formed there, they still had a difficult journey before them in order to reach the settled districts. The coast, between the place where they struck the Pacific and Newcastle, the nearest spot where civilised men were to be found, was interrupted and broken by numerous indentations and salt-water lakes, difficult to cross and impossible to avoid. In these circumstances the travellers were fortunate enough to find a boat, half buried in the sand, the remains probably of a wreck. This boat the men carried on their shoulders for about ninety miles from one inlet to another.

With the natives, throughout their long journey in the interior, they had no conflict, and had experienced no difficulty up to this time in maintaining friendly relations. They found the coast natives, however, extremely treacherous; for although the savages professed to be most friendly, they attacked the party on more than one occasion, and dangerously wounded some of the men. They at length reached Port Stephens, and from thence were conveyed to Newcastle, where they arrived on 5th November, after an absence from the settled districts of more than five months, during which period they had accomplished by far the longest journey which up to that period had been undertaken into the interior of

the Great South Land, and had added a vast extent of magnificent country to the previously known territory.

Other routes through the coast range than that discovered by Wentworth and his companions were soon sought for and found. So early as 1814 Mr Hamilton Hume and his brother, two youths, the sons of a Presbyterian minister, and natives of the colony, had penetrated through the mountains at a point sixty or seventy miles to the south-west of the previously opened route to the western interior, and had discovered the country around Bong-bong and Berrima. Two or three years subsequently, Mr Hume, accompanied by Mr Meehan, Government surveyor, made further successful exploring journeys in the same direction; in these journeys Goulburn Plains, and a great part of the county of Argyle, as far as Lake Bathurst, were discovered.

CHAPTER III.

JOHNSTON'S EXPEDITION.

PROGRESS OF PASTORAL SETTLEMENT—LIEUTENANT JOHNSTON'S EXPEDITION—SUPPOSED
PASSAGE FROM LAKE BATHURST TO THE SEA—DISCOVERY OF THE CLYDE—FATE
OF CAPTAIN STEWART AND HIS PARTY—FATE OF BRIGGS AND HIS COMPANIONS.

THE return of Oxley from his second expedition seems to have satisfied the Sydney people that not much was likely to be accomplished in the way of exploration; but many private colonists roamed abroad in search of good grazing ground. For several years this was the only enterprise in the way of exploring that was carried on, and within a short time after the discovery of the brothers Hume, the Goulburn Plains and the Argyle district were occupied by pastoral settlement. In 1820 Governor Macquarie made a tour through the newly-settled districts, the party camping out as they went from station to station. After a seven days' march they arrived at Lake Bathurst, then a magnificent sheet of water, twenty miles in circumference, and covered with flocks of wild fowls. The conviction was then held that Lake Bathurst and Lake George were the sources of some considerable river which entered the sea on the southern coast; and it was thought, if the mouth of this stream could be discovered, that it would, in all probability, afford an easy means of access by water to the rich and extensive districts opened up by the southern track across the mountains. In pursuance of this idea, Lieutenant R. Johnston, R.N., was shortly afterwards despatched, in the cutter "Snapper," to explore that portion of the coast where it was thought the mouth of this imaginary river was likely to be found. He was also instructed to make inquiries during the course of his voyage respecting the fate of Captain Stewart, and a party under his command, who had been sent by the Government in a small vessel a few months before to make an examination of the coast in the neighbourhood of Twofold Bay. Captain Stewart's party had never been heard of after leaving Sydney, and were generally believed to have perished at sea. As the idea that the waters of the southern lakes flowed into the sea on the southern coast was a mistaken one, Lieutenant Johnston was, of course, not successful in the main object of his voyage, but was fortunate enough to discover a considerable river, called by the natives the Bundoo, but which he named the Clyde, and up which he sailed for nearly thirty miles, and learned from the aborigines on its banks some particulars as to the fate of the missing party under Captain Stewart which had been despatched on an errand somewhat similar to his own. From the Clyde

natives he also obtained intelligence respecting a man named Briggs and his companions, runaways from Sydney, who were supposed to have left Port Jackson in a whaleboat, and had never afterwards been heard of. Lieutenant Johnston's account of what he ascertained from the natives was as follows: "On my way up I saw several native fires near the banks. At one place I landed, taking with me two natives who had accompanied me from Sydney; upon which we were met by a tribe, who showed no symptoms of hostility towards us, but entered freely into conversation; and through my interpreters I learned the particulars of the melancholy loss of Mr Stewart and his boat's crew; as also of a man of the name of Briggs and his companions, who some time since made their escape from Port Jackson in a whaleboat. Stewart, they said, having lost his boat near Twofold Bay, was endeavouring to make his way back by land to Sydney, when he and his crew were cut off by the natives of Twofold Bay. Briggs and his companions were upset in Bateman's Bay, and being at a considerable distance from the land were not able to reach the shore. Such was the account which the natives of this tribe gave of these catastrophes; but, as I saw knives, tomahawks, and part of the boat's gear in their huts, I am of opinion that these runaways suffered the same fate as the unfortunate Stewart, and that this very tribe were probably their murderers."

CHAPTER IV.

KING'S VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES.

EXPEDITION OF 1817—CAPTAIN KING COMMANDER—SAILS FROM SYDNEY—EXPLORES NORTH-WESTERN COAST—RETURNS TO SYDNEY—SECOND VOYAGE—EXPLORATION CONTINUED—THIRD VOYAGE—FOURTH VOYAGE—SINGULAR SPECIMENS OF ABORIGINAL ART—GENERAL RESULTS OF FOUR EXPEDITIONS—CHARACTER OF CAPTAIN KING.

At the beginning of the year 1817 the whole of the northern and north-western shores of Australia yet remained to be explored. The vessels of the Royal Navy were not occupied in warfare, and a good deal might be effected by sending some of them on surveying expeditions. The Imperial Government, taking this into account, ordered the fitting out of an expedition for surveying the northern parts of the Australian continent, and gave the command of it to Captain Philip Parker King. After some difficulty in obtaining a suitable vessel, Captain King purchased a small teak-built cutter, named the "Mermaid," of only eighty-four tons burthen. The crew consisted of twelve men and two boys, with Messrs Bedwell and Roe as assistants. On the 17th of September 1817, Captain King reached Sydney, and there took on board Mr Allan Cunningham as botanist. On the 22d the expedition set sail from Port Jackson, taking the route by Bass Straits and Cape Leeuwin. It was the end of March before Dampier's Archipelago was reached. The weather was very hot, and the waters swarmed with turtles, snakes, sharks, and dolphins, whilst the scorching air was choked with flies and dragon-flies. Here King suffered many disasters, such as the breaking of his best anchors, becalming, and the prostration of his crew from the excessive heat. The mainland was a dreary desert, and the only feature of interest it presented was the enormous ant-hills, one of which was measured, and found to be eight feet high and about twenty-six feet in circumference. No events of any unusual interest occurred, and no discoveries of importance were made, in this quarter. The tedious work of mapping the islands and laying down the shoals and reefs on the charts formed the daily business of the party. Near Cape Arnheim they fell in with a fleet of Malay fishing-boats, but no hostile intentions were exhibited by their crews. At Knocker's Bay they had an encounter with savages, but, fortunately, without any loss of life on either side. Having made some minor discoveries in Rowley's Shoals, King continued his course round Cape Van Diemen to the Goulburn Islands, which were discovered and named. On the north-western coasts, wherever they landed, Mr Cunning-

ham, as was his constant practice, planted the seeds of such fruits, plants, and herbs as he thought suitable to the soil and climate or likely to be serviceable to man. Proceeding westward, Port Essington was discovered and surveyed, Van Diemen's Gulf explored, and the Alligator River entered and ascended for thirty-six miles. This river, as its name implies, abounded in alligators. It was at first a very wide and deep stream, but its rapid decrease in volume damped any hopes that might have been entertained as to its affording an opening into the unknown interior. From Van Diemen's Gulf they proceeded to the island of Timor to refit, and returned to Sydney on the 29th of July 1818.

In July of the following year (1819) Captain King again proceeded to the north-west coast. He went on this occasion by Torres Straits and the Gulf of Carpentaria. He now examined the north-western coast from Clarence Straits to Cambridge Gulf, and from thence to Cape Londonderry and Cassini Island, from which point he again proceeded to Coepang, in Timor, and from thence to Sydney. In this voyage the most remarkable object seen was a singular natural formation at Cambridge Gulf, which so much resembled a military fortification, with towers and ramparts, that it was difficult at first view to believe that it was not the work of human hands. The hill which was the site of this remarkable formation was named Mount Cockburn. The extent of coast explored during these two voyages was about 1040 miles.

A third expedition was undertaken the following year. The "Mermaid," better fitted out than on either of the two previous occasions, and with a surgeon on board, sailed from Sydney on the 14th of July 1820. Allan Cunningham, the botanist, was still with King, who resumed the survey of the north-west coast, from where he had left it on his second visit. The most southerly point reached on the third voyage was Prince Regent's River, in Brunswick Bay, a little to the north of the site of the unfortunate Camden Harbour settlement afterwards formed by Victorian colonists.

In 1821 Captain King undertook his last voyage of exploring and surveying on the north-western coasts, in the "Bathurst," a vessel of 170 tons burthen. Cunningham again went with him. A singularly interesting discovery, in connection with the aboriginal natives, was made in the course of this voyage. In passing Princess Charlotte's Bay, on the east coast of Australia, about two hundred miles to the south of Cape York, Cunningham discovered in some caverns in the cliffs a variety of native paintings, representing animals, weapons, utensils, and other objects. They were executed upon a ground of red ochre, rubbed on the dark schistous rock; the figures were outlined by dots, and the objects further delineated by transverse lines or belts of white argillaceous earth, which had been worked up into a paste; they represented with tolerable accuracy figures of sharks, porpoises, turtles, lizards, trepang, star-fish, clubs, canoes, water-gourds, kangaroos, and dogs. The total number of figures depicted was upwards of a hundred and fifty, and the work, whatever its object, must have occupied much time and called for the exercise of considerable patience and no little skill. This was the first time that anything of the kind had been noticed in connection with aboriginal customs,

but since then many native rock paintings have been discovered in various parts of Australia.

On reaching the north-west coast, the scene of their labours, they sailed up Prince Regent's River for about fifty miles, and found that it was also infested with alligators, some of them twenty feet long; and also by a curious creature, which, although in the shape of a fish, had two legs, and appeared to be amphibious, running about on the mud-banks with great speed, but instantly burying itself in the mud when alarmed. Captain King, after quitting this river, proceeded south as far as Cape Latouche Treville, in latitude about $18\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and from thence sailed to the Mauritius. He then returned to King George's Sound, and from thence going northward commenced the survey of Swan River, and after proceeding as far as the Buccaneer Archipelago returned to Sydney, where he arrived on the 25th of March 1822.

Captain King's voyages occupied a period of about four years, and although they were not remarkable for striking discoveries or exciting adventures, they contributed very materially to enlarge the before scanty knowledge of the north-west coast, and added many facts to the natural history of the country. He was a courageous and enterprising explorer, and did more to advance the knowledge of Australian geography than any who preceded him, except Flinders. He was the son of Captain King, who came out with Governor Phillip's fleet in 1788, and was born in Norfolk Island in 1791. He was subsequently a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council, and attained the rank of rear-admiral. His memory is cherished with veneration by the people of New South Wales, of which colony he might fairly claim to be a native.

CHAPTER V.

OXLEY AT MORETON BAY.

EXPEDITION OF 1823—OXLEY AT MORETON BAY—STRANGE ADVENTURE—ROMANTIC STORY OF PAMPHLET—HIS FORTUNATE RESCUE—DISCOVERY OF THE BRISBANE AND FIRST BEGINNINGS OF QUEENSLAND.

WHILST King was pursuing his marine surveys and explorations, the process of opening up the country already discovered went on but slowly. Port Macquarie was made an out-settlement of the penal establishment at Sydney. Lieutenant Oxley was sent in 1823 to examine Port Curtis, Moreton Bay, and other harbours to the north. In the course of this voyage, Oxley's vessel (the "Mermaid") reached Moreton Bay on the 29th of November, where a remarkable incident occurred. The surveyor-general was accompanied by Lieutenant Stirling and Mr John Uniacke. Their vessel anchored at the mouth of Pumice Stone River, the very place where Flinders had anchored twenty-two years before; and which, as they believed, no European had visited in the interval. Scarcely had they landed when a number of men, supposed to be natives, were seen approaching the vessel. When they got near, however, the man who was foremost was perceived to be of a much lighter colour than the others, and so soon as he was within speaking distance he hailed them in English. He was perfectly naked, although painted in the native fashion, and seemed wild with delight at having discovered his countrymen. "He was so bewildered with joy," says Mr Uniacke, in his account of the circumstance, "that we could make very little out of his story that night; so having distributed a few knives, handkerchiefs, etc., among the friendly blacks, we returned on board, taking him with us."

This man and his shipwrecked companions had some months previously made the discovery of the Brisbane River, one of the finest streams on the eastern coast of Australia, and the story of their adventures is a very remarkable one.

He said his name was Thomas Pamphlet, and that with three other men he had left Sydney in a small coasting craft on the 21st March—more than eight months previous—to procure a cargo of cedar at Illawarra. They experienced a very heavy gale shortly after leaving port, and were driven out to sea with very little water on board. They had no knowledge of their position, as they were almost ignorant of navigation, but believed that during the storm they had been driven far to the southward, and that when it abated they were off Van Diemen's Land. They accordingly steered north, as well as they could guess by the sun,

with the hope of being able to reach Port Jackson. Their water, however, was soon exhausted, and on the thirteenth day, one of their number, an old man-of-war's-man named Thompson, became raving mad and died a few days afterwards. A shower of rain at length partially supplied their wants; and still steering north, on the 15th April—the twenty-fourth day of their sufferings—they made the land; and in their eagerness to reach a small stream of water which they perceived on approaching a sandy cove, they ran their boat on shore at a place where in a few minutes it was dashed to pieces. “No sooner did my foot touch the ground,” said Pamphlet, “than I ran to the fresh water, and lying down by it, I drank like a horse. The eagerness of my companions for fresh water even exceeded mine. I had brought on shore a tin pint pot, and Parsons emptied this thirteen times in succession, while Finnegan lay down in the water, and drank to such excess that his stomach could not retain it, but threw it all up again. This he repeated four several times.” They had stripped off their clothes for the purpose of swimming ashore, and were all perfectly naked. On the breaking up of the boat some bags of flour were washed on shore, and they secured from twenty to thirty pounds each, being as much as in their exhausted state they were able to carry. Being still under the impression that they were far to the south of Sydney, they set out along the shore in a northerly direction, and after travelling for a considerable distance fell in with a tribe of natives, by whom they were kindly treated. They continued their journey towards the north for several days, and at length found they were on an island. This must have been Stradbroke Island, whose western shore forms the south-eastern boundary of Moreton Bay. With the assistance of the natives, they were at length enabled to cross to the mainland, where they again commenced their journey towards the north, but the impediments were so many, and their progress so slow along the shore, that they at last determined to make a canoe by cutting down a large tree and hollowing it out with a small hatchet, which they had fortunately saved from the wreck. They worked at the canoe from daylight till dark for nearly three months, being supplied with food, consisting of fish and fern-root, by the natives during the whole time. The canoe when completed, notwithstanding the great labour bestowed upon it, appears to have been a very poor one, for, soon after they had started in it, on meeting with a wide opening, which appeared to be the entrance to a large river, they were afraid to venture across, but abandoned their craft and again took to the shore, intending to follow up the river until they found a place where they could cross in safety. In proceeding up this river, which proved to be the stream afterwards named the Brisbane, they were impeded by numbers of salt-water creeks, which they were obliged to head, being too weak, from living entirely on fern-root, to swim them. They were about a month before they arrived at a place where they succeeded in crossing, and where they discovered two canoes, which they took, and by this means came down the stream in a few days. On arriving at its mouth, they again struck off northward, but meeting with large parties of natives, who behaved in a very friendly manner, and desired them to remain, they made very little progress. While amongst these friendly savages, the three white men were

frequently separated from each other, and were taken by their black friends to engage in hostile encounters with other tribes. It was on one of these occasions, when Pamphlet was left on the shore with but a few of his aboriginal friends, that the "Mermaid" entered the bay. What followed is related in his own words:

"At last, one evening, as I was sitting by the fire and the blacks were roasting fish for me, I heard some natives shouting on the beach and calling me; upon which I rose and walked slowly towards them; but what was my astonishment and delight, when I saw a cutter under full sail standing up the bay, about three miles from where we stood! I instantly made towards her with all the speed I could, followed by a number of the natives; but before I had run half the distance, she came to an anchor within half a quarter of a mile of the shore. On coming abreast the vessel I hailed her, and was immediately answered; and shortly afterwards a boat pushed off from her, from which landed Mr Oxley, the surveyor-general, Lieutenant Stirling of the Buffs, and Mr Uniacke. I now learned, to my great surprise, that I was at least five hundred miles to the northward of Port Jackson, instead of being, as we always imagined, to the southward of Jervis's Bay. I was taken on board the vessel that evening, where, after I was cleaned, I was decently clothed and humanely treated; but my head and heart were so much affected by this unexpected turn of fortune, that I was unable to answer any questions that were put to me that night. The next morning, however, I became more collected; and in the course of the day my satisfaction was greatly increased by the return of Finnegan, who experienced the same kind treatment that I had previously done. I now found that upwards of eight months had elapsed since I left Sydney; consequently, I had spent nearly five of them with these hospitable natives of Moreton Bay. Their behaviour to me and my companions had been so invariably kind and generous, that, notwithstanding the delight I felt at the idea of once more returning to my home, I did not leave them without sincere regret."

Mr Oxley and Lieutenant Stirling, on learning from Pamphlet that he and his companions had discovered a large river, set out to explore it, taking Finnegan, one of the shipwrecked men, with him as a guide. This was on the 1st December 1823. On the following morning they reached the mouth of the stream.

The river was named the Brisbane in honour of the governor. On examination, the surrounding country fully bore out the expectations which its first appearance had raised, and Mr Oxley returned to Sydney elated at having discovered so fine a river and so suitable a site for a new settlement. It is a curious fact, however, that in the official account which he prepared on his return, he makes no reference whatever to having rescued the shipwrecked men, nor does he allude in the most distant manner to having received any information from any one respecting the existence of the river prior to entering it himself. It was only on the publication of the narrative by Mr Uniacke that the public became aware of the real facts relative to the discovery of the Brisbane and the splendid country on its banks, which is now the capital of the flourishing colony of Queensland, one of the finest countries in the southern world.

CHAPTER VI.

HUME AND HOVELL'S OVERLAND EXPEDITION TO
PORT PHILLIP.

HAMILTON HUME—CAPTAIN HOVELL—OVERLAND EXPEDITION OF 1824—REACH THE MURRUMBIDGEE — DANGEROUS CROSSING — BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY — MOUNTAIN BARRIER—A MOUNTAIN PASS—AUSTRALIAN ALPS—THE HUME RIVER DISCOVERED —THE OVENS RIVER DISCOVERED—THE GOULBURN RIVER DISCOVERED—HARD-SHIPS—MOUNT DISAPPOINTMENT—REACH PORT PHILLIP—RETURN JOURNEY—THE NATIVES—REACH HOME—RESULTS OF EXPEDITION.

AMONGST the great explorers of the continent deserve to be ranked the name of Mr Hamilton Hume, a native of the colony, born in 1797 at Parramatta. He was a young man of great daring and energy, and an excellent bushman. In 1817, when only twenty years of age, as already stated, he discovered Lake Bathurst. Seven years later, in conjunction with Captain Hovell, a man of great intelligence and enterprise, he planned an expedition to the south, for the purpose of discovering if any large rivers fell into the sea in that direction.

The outfit of the explorers was of a very cheap and unpretending description. The Government supplied six pack-saddles, some slops and blankets, six muskets, a tent and a tarpaulin, to be returned at the termination of the journey. The provisions and all other appliances were provided by the leaders and their friends. The party, inclusive of Hovell and Hume, consisted of but eight persons. They set out from Hume's farm near Appin, on the 2d October 1824, and reached the then most distant out-station towards the south-west, about 165 miles from Sydney, on the 13th of the same month. On the 19th, having passed Yarrh—or, as they are now called, Yass—Plains, they reached the banks of the Murrumbidgee River, and encountered their first difficulty in attempting to cross it. The timber growing on its banks, like that of many Australian trees, was too heavy to float, and they were thus prevented from using it for making a raft. Its bark was likewise unsuitable for this purpose. They therefore determined to attempt to make a boat of the body of one of their carts, which they stripped of its axle, wheels, and shafts, and securely covered with a tarpaulin; it was thus readily converted into a tolerably good boat, and was found both sufficiently buoyant and not too crank. Mr Hume, with one of the men, undertook the dangerous enterprise of swimming across the river, taking with them a small line which they carried between their teeth, and to the middle of which was attached a line of sufficient length to reach across the stream. This was not done without

great difficulty and some danger. One of the ends of the tow-rope was conveyed across the river by means of the line, and everything being in readiness, the boat, carrying not less than six or seven hundredweight, made its first trip. The bullocks and horses were then conducted across separately. The roughness of the weather, and the unusual coldness of the water, contributed to render this undertaking, to the swimmers at least, not less unpleasant than it was evidently hazardous.

Leaving the banks of this fine river, they crossed high limestone ranges, from the summits of which extensive views were obtained over meadow-like tracts of country, covered with the richest herbage, and superior to anything they had ever before seen. "Each of these beautiful meadows," says their narrative, "was skirted by forest, and this again walled in by steep mountains or hills. The general sward of these meadows consisted not only of a fine grass like English rye-grass, but also of other grasses, similar to clover, lucerne, and burnet." On the 24th, their course was obstructed by what seemed an impenetrable mountain barrier. The two leaders of the party here separated, in order the better to discover a pass through which they might advance. Hume, with two of the men, took a direction south-west; and after proceeding about two miles, met with a chain of ponds, extending in the direction of his route, and terminating in a stream. This they succeeded in tracing, until bending about due west, and descending rapidly through a narrow chasm, it poured its waters into another stream, which it met at right angles on the western aspect of the range before mentioned. This latter stream was about twenty yards wide, flowing rapidly over pebbles and loose fragments of rock. On its opposite bank was a beautiful valley, bounded on the west by an almost perpendicular range, extending parallel with the one through which they had just passed. Hume being satisfied of the practicability of the pass which he had discovered, the whole party the next day descended with safety through it; and on the following morning the supplies, as well as the carts, were got across the stream. Here they were obliged to leave their carts, as from the mountainous character of the country it had become impracticable to take them farther. They loaded each of their bullocks with a burthen of three hundredweight. This proved to be one of the most difficult portions of their journey, and for some days they were involved in a labyrinth of gullies and precipices, but with admirable perseverance they continued their efforts, and on the 29th October reached, unexpectedly, a broad flat table-land, but so thickly wooded that their forward view was utterly intercepted, and their course rendered almost impracticable by immense quantities of dead timber. They had frequently to unload their cattle to cross streams and swamps, and even then the beasts were unable to effect a passage without considerable difficulty. They reached the western edge of this table-land on the 31st, and, continues this narrative, "if the sight of the descent was terrific, the idea of passing down it was yet more so." After some deliberation they determined on making the attempt, although not able to discover any place very favourable for their purpose. They commenced operations by first sending down the bullocks, and in an hour and a half the whole party arrived safe at the foot of the upper

division of the descent, when after some minutes' rest upon a rocky shelf projecting a few yards from the sides of the mountain, they recommenced their passage down the second stage of the descent, which is considerably less steep than the former. At the foot of this range they descried a small river, with fine pasturage, at which they arrived about sundown.

The natives of this part appeared to be numerous, from their fires and camps being seen all around; but although they were often hailed, they could not be induced to approach the exploring party.

On the 6th November they came in sight of the mountains afterwards designated the Australian Alps. Hume and Hovell, having ascended the side of a range, "were suddenly surprised by a sight in the utmost degree magnificent. Mountains, of a conoidal form, and of an immense height, and some of them covered about one-fourth of their height with snow, were seen extending semi-circularly from the S.E. to S.S.W. at the supposed distance of about twenty miles. The sun was bright (it was about ten or eleven in the forenoon), and gave them a most brilliant appearance. The mountains which they had hitherto seen, compared with these stupendous elevations, were no more than hillocks; their form, as well as their general character, were also dissimilar. The men had no sooner heard of this unexpected and interesting scene than, catching the enthusiasm, they ran to the spot where their leaders were standing, and were no less surprised than delighted at the pre-eminently grand and beautiful spectacle."

They perceived from the character of both the mountain range on which they were standing, and of the country immediately beyond them, that their progress in the direction of these Alps would be either impracticable, or attended with considerable danger, as well to themselves as to the cattle, and they at once, instead of making the attempt, decided upon proceeding fifty or sixty miles west; the object being to avoid, if possible, a repetition of those almost insurmountable difficulties by which they had hitherto been perpetually surrounded.

Continuing their journey through a difficult but richly grassed country, on the 16th November, soon after sunrise, they arrived suddenly on the banks of a beautiful river, 240 feet in breadth, with a current of about three miles an hour, and the water clear. They named it the Hume.

Although this magnificent river is now generally called the Murray throughout its whole course, the proper name of the portion above the junction of the Murrumbidgee is the Hume. Near the spot where the explorers first struck the stream Mr Hovell carved his name in the solid wood of a large tree; "Hovell, Novr. 17, 1824." Eleven years afterwards this tree was found by the first party taking cattle overland to Port Phillip; and the tree still stands (1877) in a sound condition. It is situated near the crossing-place at Albury. It has been fenced round, in order to preserve it as an historical landmark; and a monument to Hume, with a suitable inscription, is placed near it.

Being unable to pass so formidable an impediment as the Hume River presented at the spot where they first struck it, the explorers turned to the west, down the course of the stream, in search of a ford or crossing-place. As they advanced the river became wider, and the country on its banks still more beauti-

ful. On the 18th, seeing no prospect of being able to cross, they retraced their steps to the place where they had first discovered it, and on the following day continued their course up the river to the eastward. On the 20th, having found a suitable spot, they constructed a wicker boat, covered it with tarpaulin, and succeeded in taking their cattle and stores across the river in safety.

On the 21st they arrived on the banks of another river, probably a branch of the Hume, 110 feet wide. Here they had to construct another boat; and, after crossing, resumed their journey through a fine tract of pleasant level country. On the 24th they reached the banks of another river, the eighth which they had discovered and crossed. This river was named the Ovens, in compliment to the governor's private secretary, Major Ovens. The country on the borders of this stream is described as extremely beautiful, with the finest possible soil, and thinly timbered with magnificent trees of a very valuable description.

The explorers continued their journey after passing the Ovens through a fine level country, in which the natives were numerous but shy. After crossing many small streams they arrived on December the 3d at another fine stream. "The country on its banks," says the narrator of their expedition, "is extremely beautiful, clothed with luxuriant herbage, and both hill and lowland thinly wooded. A finer country for sheep cannot exist." This river was named the Goulburn, after the then Colonial Secretary.

The party were now beginning to suffer from want of food. Animal food they had not tasted for some time, for although they saw many kangaroos, they were unable to capture any in consequence of the death of some of their dogs, and the wretched condition of those which remained alive. The cattle were in even a worse plight than the men. The hoofs of the horses were almost destroyed by long journeys over rocky and stony country, and the feet of the bullocks were so swollen that they were unfit for travelling. In this condition the direction in which they were attempting to proceed was obstructed by almost impenetrable scrubs and mountains difficult to traverse and almost impossible to avoid. "Uncertain," says the narrative, "of their route, fatigued, lacerated, their clothes torn at every step, it at length became literally impossible to proceed, after having penetrated four miles into a dreadful scrub." They named the place from which they were driven back Mount Disappointment. Retreating for a time, they followed the course of a creek which they named the King-parrot Creek, through a scantily wooded country, until they were compelled again to turn by the country before them being on fire and the wind blowing the flames and smoke full in their faces. They then crossed a range, and on the other side came to a better country, but also on fire in every direction.

On the 14th December, from the summit of a remarkable high insulated hill, which they named Mount Bland, they obtained a view of extensive plains, stretching from west to south-east, and interspersed with patches of forest and detached conical hills. The soil was excellent, and these plains, as well as the hill, were named after their friend, Dr Bland of Sydney. They had now passed the high lands separating the waters, for the streams were found flowing to the southward, and abounding in eels, a fish they had never found in western waters.

On December 16th, proceeding south-west by south, they were struck with the singular appearance of the view before them at a great distance to the southward. Some of the party thought the effect was caused by smoke from the country being on fire; others thought what they saw was water. They altered their course toward it, and were soon gratified with the sight of the sea—"the so long and ardently-desired bourn of their labours." They travelled six miles along the shore over excellent land, clear of timber. There is some uncertainty as to the precise spot where they reached the ocean. Mr Hovell thought they were on the shores of Western Port; but it is now tolerably certain that they struck the coast near a spot in Port Phillip, afterwards called the Bird Rock, about seven or eight miles from what is now the site of the town of Geelong. They found the natives numerous, but managed, with some difficulty, to maintain friendly relations with them. On the 18th December, having previously killed a bullock and dried the meat, and also cut their initials in a tree, they commenced their return journey. On Christmas Day they recrossed the Goulburn River, and continued their journey without serious delay or interruption until the 6th January, when they fell in with a very interesting tribe of natives. Their narrative gives the following account of an interview with them. It took place near the Hume River:

"In the course of the day, we came by surprise upon a body of natives, consisting of eight men. They appeared much alarmed, and, on perceiving the bullocks, fled through a small creek, and concealed themselves among the reeds on its banks. In the evening, about a mile from the spot where they had been first seen, the natives again made their appearance, and approached them with marks of friendship. One of these men, dressed in an old yellow jacket, spoke a few words of English, and had been at Lake George. They had among them an iron axe and four tomahawks. The number afterwards received a considerable augmentation, amounting altogether to not less than forty able-bodied men, all armed. The horses having strayed, they assisted in bringing them in. When we were just going to start, they begged we would accompany them to their camp about a mile farther up the creek, so that the women and children might have an opportunity of seeing us. Mr Hume, taking three of the men with him, complied with their request, when he met with a party of about thirty women, as many children, and some fine young men. They were extremely pressing that he should stay, as they were going, they said, to have a '*corrobera*;' and two of them promised, in the event of his compliance, to accompany him the following day as far as the Murrumbidgee. The men were the finest natives he had ever seen; one of them was about six feet high, and another five feet nine inches and a half. They were all robust and well-proportioned, and possessed what is unusual among the native tribes, well-formed legs. Some of them had higher foreheads than are generally observed among these people. Their weapons were like those of the natives of the colony, except the spears, which were made of strong knotty reeds, about six feet long, to which was affixed a piece of hard wood about two feet in length, with a rounded point, barbed in some instances with numerous small pieces of flint or agate. Each of these people was furnished with a good

ample cloak of opossum skin, many of them had necklaces made of small pieces of a yellow reed, strung with the fibre of the currajong, the flax-plant, or the hair of the opossum. They appeared to be a kind and inoffensive people."

The remainder of the homeward progress of the party was rather slow, in consequence of the exhausted condition of both men and beasts. Some of the party and the cattle had to be left behind before they reached the Murrumbidgee, but all the men so left ultimately reached home in safety, leaving the cattle, which had become completely unable to travel, and the remaining supplies where the party had separated.

The result of this unpretending and by no means costly undertaking was most important. It disclosed the existence of a vast extent of country, suitable for every purpose of grazing and agriculture, where it had been strongly contended that all was a desert so barren that it was doubtful if it could possibly be crossed; but at all events uninhabitable and utterly useless for the purposes of man.

The explorers were rewarded by grants of land of twelve hundred acres each. Subsequently Mr Hovell effected a settlement at Western Port, and made a minute examination of the country. He was the first surveyor-general of Victoria. Both Hume and himself survived into a green old age. The colony of Victoria owes them both a monument as being its first real founders.

CHAPTER VII.

STURT'S TWO EXPEDITIONS.

CUNNINGHAM'S JOURNEYS—STURT'S EXPEDITION IN 1828—DISCOVERS THE DARLING—THE BOGAN—A DESOLATE COUNTRY—AN UNSOLVED PROBLEM—THE INLAND SEA—STURT'S SECOND EXPEDITION—DOWN THE MURRUMBIDGEE—DISCOVERY OF THE MURRAY—DOWN THE MURRAY TO THE DARLING—DISCOVERY OF LAKE ALEXANDRINA—THE TERRIBLE RETURN JOURNEY—SUFFERINGS OF THE EXPLORERS—FORTUNATE RESCUE—RETURN TO SYDNEY.

MR ALLAN CUNNINGHAM, the botanist who accompanied Oxley's expeditions, made two exploratory journeys in 1823 and 1827, in the course of which he discovered the Liverpool Plains and Darling Downs. In a third journey, made in 1829, he explored the Brisbane River to its sources. All these discoveries aided materially the progress of settlement. Many minor explorations were made between the years 1823-28, and wherever new grazing country was found thither streamed the tide of enterprise. But one terrible enemy of the settlers still remained to be subdued. This was drought. In 1812 the infant colony of New South Wales would have been literally dried up altogether, if a practicable road across the Blue Mountains had not been discovered. A yet more severe drought which commenced in 1826 compelled the owners of the rapidly increasing herds to look for better watered country towards the great interior, from which Oxley had been driven back by apparently interminable swamps. There had been heavy rains a short time before Oxley's journey was undertaken; and it was thought that the drought afforded an opportunity, which might not again soon occur, for crossing the great marshy regions which formed the known limits of the colony towards the north-west and south-west, and that thus some knowledge might be gained respecting the mysterious country beyond. With the double purpose, therefore, of finding better-watered pastures, and of elucidating an interesting geographical problem, it was resolved in 1828 to send an expedition to take up the task of exploration on the swamps of the Macquarie, from whence Oxley had been compelled to retreat ten years before.

The leader chosen by Governor Darling for this expedition was Captain Charles Sturt, an officer of the 39th Regiment, then stationed in Sydney. This gentleman was eminently qualified for the task to which he was appointed. His enthusiasm in the cause of discovery was unbounded, and his imagination had been excited to the highest pitch by what he had seen of the country in the voluntary and often solitary journeys he had made into various parts of the

known interior. Hamilton Hume, whose singularly daring and successful journey to Port Phillip, in conjunction with Hovell, has already been narrated, was selected to accompany Captain Sturt on this expedition. The other members of the party were Mr M'Leod, an army surgeon, two soldiers of the 39th Regiment, and eight prisoners of the Crown. The animals were thirteen horses, and two draught and eight pack bullocks.

The expedition left Sydney on the 10th September 1828, when the face of the earth had become so parched by drought that all minor vegetation had ceased, and the settlers had begun to drive their flocks and herds to distant tracts for pasture and water, because they were not to be obtained in the settled districts. In this condition of things the progress of the party was necessarily slow, and it was not until the 26th December that they reached the locality of the great marshes from which Oxley had been compelled to retreat. Here the scene was of the most gloomy description—dreary expanses of reeds or interminable polygonum scrubs met the gaze in every direction. A boat had been constructed and brought from the settled districts, and was now launched in the small and sluggish stream, which took the place of the watery expanse seen by previous explorers. Sturt attempted to navigate the river, or rather ditch, in this boat, while Hume made a journey on horseback towards the north. The channel of what seemed the main stream was soon lost in innumerable smaller channels, which at length disappeared amongst the reeds, and no signs of a lake or of any considerable body of water could be discovered.

The captain and his party soon returned to the camp, where they found Hume, who had been prevented by the marshy nature of the country from exploring it to any considerable distance. After proceeding with difficulty for some time in a northerly direction, the party again divided, and Sturt at length emerged upon scrubby and sandy plains, over which he rode for two hundred miles. Hume, after crossing various creeks and a fine chain of ponds, again joined the main party; and they proceeded north over great plains covered with shells and claws of crawfish—evidences that the country had been recently under water. The explorers, who were much persecuted by mosquitoes and a terribly irritating fly called the kangaroo fly, were frequently in great want of water, and altogether the position of the party was exceedingly depressing. Their spirits were, however, cheered on the 4th February 1829, by the discovery of a fine river, about 240 feet wide, deep, and covered with wild fowl. Much to their astonishment, however, its water was found to be salt. This naturally led them to believe they were approaching an inland sea. They named this singular river the DARLING. In tracing its course downwards they came upon camps of the natives, who set fire to the reeds and bush to drive the intruders back. Lower down they found that the Darling received a considerable tributary from the eastward. This they took for a continuation of the Macquarie after its escape from the marshes, and named it New Year's Creek. Their supposition that it was the Macquarie was, however, a mistake. It proved to be the stream afterwards called the Bogan—the name by which it was known to the natives. They traced it up for fifty or sixty miles; and then proceeded to the north-east

towards the Castlereagh. That which ten years before had been a fine river was now found to be merely a dry channel, overgrown in many places with reeds and brambles. They followed this channel for about a hundred miles, when, on the 29th March, they again struck the Darling, which was just as salt as where they had previously discovered it lower down. This was the extent of their journey; and the expedition started on its return to the settled districts early in April.

Sturt gives a vivid picture of the desolation caused by the drought, and the state of starvation in which he found the unfortunate aborigines. He says: "So long had the drought continued, that the vegetable kingdom was almost annihilated, and minor vegetation had disappeared. In the creeks, weeds had grown and withered, and grown again; and young saplings were now rising in their beds, nourished by the moisture that still remained; but the largest forest trees were drooping, and many were dead. The emus, with outstretched necks, gasping for breath, searched the channels of the rivers for water in vain; and the native dog, so thin that it could hardly walk, seemed to implore some merciful hand to despatch it. How the natives subsisted it was difficult to say, but there was no doubt of the scarcity of food amongst them."

Sturt's discovery of the Darling conclusively proved the mistaken nature of the opinions that the Castlereagh, the Macquarie, and other north-western rivers, were tributaries of the Brisbane, and found their outlet in Moreton Bay. But, although this theory was found to be untenable, the question of the Darling's actual course and outlet still remained unsolved. Whether it fed an interior sea, whether it crossed the continent to the north-western coast, or whether, after forming a junction with the streams discovered by Hume and Hovell, it reached the ocean in Spencer's Gulf or elsewhere on the southern coast, remained almost as uncertain as ever. Hovell, in the prosecution of his maritime pursuits, had many years before visited Kangaroo Island, on the coast of South Australia. While there he learned from some men, who had been engaged in seal catching on the islands and the main, that inside Encounter Bay there existed an extensive lake into which flowed a great river. In his overland journey to Port Phillip, Hovell came to the conclusion, from the direction of the rivers and the character of the country, that in all probability the united streams fell into the lake whose existence he learned from the sealers, and ultimately joined the ocean in Encounter Bay. This theory attracted little or no attention at first, but it was subsequently found to be correct.

It was not quite so certain, however, that there was an inland sea. Many abandoned the theory altogether. Yet how was a district, larger than Spain and Portugal put together, drained? Every settler could tell of the mighty floods which had swept away his sheep, his cattle, his farmyards, and not seldom his farm servants and shepherds. Where did these mighty floods go to, or how were they carried off? The fresh-water streams had been found to disappear altogether, after a short course inland. The Darling, which was quite large enough for a main drain, was salt. Yet whole seas went somewhere, for Oxley's sea had disappeared before Sturt could overtake it. Nothing was to be dis-

covered by following the course of the ordinary sluggish fresh-water streams. Creeping through a vast extent of level country, more like canals than rivers, they were stopped by the first impediment that came in their way. Sturt could trace their cessation to nothing stronger than a bank of more than ordinary stiff soil. To solve the mystery, it was necessary to follow the course of some more impetuous stream. The Australian Alps, lying to the south of the settlement, supplied such a stream. A thousand rills fed by its snows joined themselves into one impetuous torrent and dashed down a steep and rocky channel. No ordinary impediment was likely to stop the Murrumbidgee, and Sturt determined to trace its stream whither it might lead. The settlers who had already secured its green banks reported that it made directly for the interior, and showed no signs of abated strength. They would have followed its course themselves, but that it exhibited unmistakable symptoms of leaving behind it the rich fertility which marked its early progress.

In 1829 Sturt started on a second journey, with which may be said to commence the history of the Australian Colonies. He was accompanied by Mr George Macleay and a party of men. Striking the Murrumbidgee at Yass Plains, about two hundred miles from Sydney, the party proceeded along its banks delighted with the abundance of fish that it contained and the beautiful scenery on its banks. The stream continued to gain in breadth and body of water, but all appearance of fertility was fast disappearing from its course. In little more than a week after their departure from Yass Plains, the party found themselves in the centre of an absolute desert. They had brought a whaleboat and a smaller boat in frame from Sydney, and it was now determined to put them together and launch them. When this was done, Sturt, with Mr Macleay and six men, embarked. The rest of the party were ordered back with the drays and cattle to Goulburn Plains, there to await their return. They proceeded down the river in the whaleboat, towing the skiff, and about fifteen miles from the place where they had embarked came upon the junction of the Lachlan. On the following day their skiff was sunk by striking a snag. It contained, in addition to a large portion of the provisions, an apparatus for distilling fresh water from salt. The still and part of the provisions were recovered by diving, with much difficulty, but most of the provisions were damaged and much of them spoilt. In addition to this disaster they were robbed by natives of many useful articles of equipment, while engaged in recovering the boat and stores. Soon after proceeding on the voyage they found the stream decrease in width, while it increased in depth and velocity, and became so thickly overshadowed by trees, and so much impeded by fallen timber, that they were in momentary apprehension of danger. At the period, however, when their gloomy forebodings had reached the greatest height, they were suddenly surprised and delighted by their boat shooting out into a deep, broad, noble river, 350 feet in width. They had discovered the Mississippi of Australia—the great river which, having its sources among the snow-clad summits of the Australian Alps, carries its waters in a steady and constant volume to the far-off Pacific. They named it the MURRAY, after Sir George Murray, the then minister for the Colonies. It is singular that the native name of this river was afterwards found

to be very similar to that given to it by Sturt. It was called by the aborigines the Murrewa, or the Millewa—the sounds of *r* and *l* being interchangeable, and used almost indifferently by many of the aboriginal tribes. The voyagers at once comprehended that the several rivers discovered by Hume and Hovell had united to form this magnificent stream. It was a river not unworthy to be classed with the great water-courses of Europe. Wherever the Murray might lead them, at least it solved a very important portion of their inquiry. It was certainly the main artery of New South Wales. “I directed,” says Captain Sturt, “the union-jack to be hoisted, and giving way to our satisfaction, we all stood up in the boat, and gave three distinct cheers.”

The discovery of the Murray raised the spirits and the hopes of the little party to the highest pitch. As they proceeded they found that the united streams ranged from 450 to 600 feet in width, with few impediments to obstruct the course of the current. The country on its banks was splendidly grassed, and shaded in many places by gum-trees of a large size. The natives were numerous, and if not altogether hostile, were exceedingly troublesome. They were bold and expert thieves, often swimming off in shoals to the boat and impeding the action of the oars. Sturt's accounts of narrow escapes from a deadly conflict with these people are some of the most exciting parts of his narrative. At length the explorers found themselves at the mouth of a new river coming from the north. It was three hundred feet wide, and upwards of twelve feet deep. They had calculated that if the Darling continued its course it would join the Murray somewhere hereabouts, and their expectations were not disappointed. Its banks were sloping and grassy, overhung by magnificent trees; and the appearance of the river and the country was such that the men exclaimed that they had got into an English river. Its waters were sweet but turbid, and of a greenish tinge. The discovery of the junction of the Murray and the Darling—the finest rivers of Australia—was marked by the hoisting of the union-jack, accompanied by three British cheers. They attempted to sail up the Darling, but did not proceed far on account of the strength of the current and the crowds of natives by which their boats were surrounded, and from whom they were in constant danger. Having put about, and both wind and current being in their favour, they shot down the stream at such a rate as left the wondering aborigines far behind. They now destroyed their skiff, as it tended only to impede their course, and left the junction of the rivers on the 24th January, passing through a low country of marshes and lagoons, but thickly inhabited by troublesome and inquisitive people suffering from a loathsome disease. They passed a stream falling into the Murray from the north, which they named the Rufus, from Mr Macleay's red hair.

As they proceeded down the river, its course became rapid, and the banks in places very high; farther on the country assumed a barren and inhospitable character, and the stream became extremely tortuous. On the thirty-third day of the voyage on its stream, the banks retired on each side, and then were lost in the distance. The explorers found themselves floating on the bosom of an extensive lake, becoming slightly brackish as they advanced, while over its

waters was borne the distant thunder of the great Southern Ocean. To this was given the name of Lake Alexandrina, and Sturt's observations showed him that he had cut off the south-eastern corner of the continent. Indeed, Lake Alexandrina is separated from the Southern Ocean merely by a narrow bar of shifting sand. The shores of the lake were clothed with green pastures, and the whole surrounding country seemed excellently adapted for agriculture—a want beginning to be severely felt by the colonists of New South Wales, who were already getting their wheat and potatoes from Van Diemen's Land, and even from New Zealand.

But in this exciting moment of triumphant success, the question of how they were to return forced itself upon their minds with painful distinctness. Before they left Sydney arrangements had been made for sending a small vessel to the Gulf of St Vincent, as that place was looked upon as the most likely termination of their voyage if they were successful in reaching the ocean. But now there appeared no means of getting their boat to the open sea, for even if they succeeded in finding a channel through the endless shoals by which they were surrounded, the tremendous line of breakers which presented itself outside warned them that any attempt to cross would be fatal. They were far too much exhausted to think of reaching by land the succour waiting for them in St Vincent's Gulf; and after fully considering the matter, it was determined that their only chance of return lay by the way in which they had come. Their provisions were almost spent, and the prospect of half-a-dozen worn-out and almost starving men having to pull a heavy boat nearly a thousand miles, against a strong current, and surrounded by dangers of a most formidable character, was a most disheartening one. But, having determined to make the attempt, no time was lost in putting it into execution. The leaders resolved to take their turn at the oars with the men, and to share all their labours and hardships.

It was at noon on the 14th January 1830, that they commenced a task which proved to be one of the most desperate ever undertaken. Never in the annals of discovery and exploration were dogged resolution and endurance put to a severer test. In coming down the stream the current had often assisted them in getting clear from their aboriginal enemies; but in ascending it their course was so slow that they could not free themselves from their sable tormentors, but by the most desperate exertions. They had to pull sometimes for ten or eleven hours without a moment's rest, until in fact exhausted nature gave way, and the men fainted, became delirious, or fell asleep at their oars. There were fortunately many exceptions to the hostility of the blacks. They met with some who assisted them where the current was most rapid, by pulling the boat with a rope. They were, however, compelled to fire on the blacks on more than one occasion, but Sturt's humanity was such that this course was only resorted to under the most extreme circumstances.

When they reached the Murrumbidgee they were almost starving, yet their privations and labours were not nearly at an end. "For seventeen days," says Captain Sturt, "we pulled against the stream with determined perseverance, but human efforts under privations such as ours, tended to weaken themselves.

Our journeys were short, and the head we made against the stream but trifling. The men had lost the proper and muscular jerk with which they once made the waters foam and the oars bend. Their whole bodies swung with an awkward and laboured motion. Their arms appeared to be nerveless and their faces became haggard, their persons emaciated, their spirits wholly sunk ; nature was so completely overcome that, from mere exhaustion, they frequently fell asleep during their painful and almost ceaseless exertions. I became captious, and found fault where there was no occasion, and lost the equilibrium of my temper, in contemplating the condition of my companions. No murmur, however, escaped them, nor did any complaint reach me that was intended to indicate that they had done all they could do. I frequently heard them in their tent, when they thought I had dropped asleep, complaining of severe pains, and of great exhaustion. 'I must tell the captain to-morrow,' some of them would say, 'that I can pull no more.' To-morrow came, and they pulled on, as if reluctant to yield to circumstances. Macnamee at length lost his senses. We first observed this from his incoherent conversation, but eventually from his manner. He related the most extraordinary tales, and fidgeted about eternally while in the boat."

When they could pull no more, two of the men, after a little rest, set forward by land to endeavour to reach the depot where the provisions had been stored in the outward journey. "It was nearly ninety miles direct by land ; but the men joyfully undertook the journey. Our last modicum of food was divided with them, and away they went." A week passed at the camp : they at length divided amongst them their last ounce of flour, and were about to set forward in the last desperation of despair, when a loud shout announced the return of the two faithful men, Mulholland and Hopkinson. They had come back with Robert Harris and a supply of provisions. All danger and anxiety were at an end ; but the two men were in a terrible condition after their heroic exertions. Their knees and ankles were dreadfully swollen, and their limbs so painful, that as soon as they arrived in the camp, they sank under their efforts, but they met their companions with smiling countenances, and expressed their satisfaction at having arrived so seasonably for their relief.

The rest of the journey was performed by easy stages, the party arriving in Sydney on the 25th May, after an absence of nearly seven months. Most of the men quickly rallied from their exhausted condition, but Captain Sturt suffered for a long period, and at last became quite blind ; and although his sight was at length restored, his health had received a shock, the effects of which were perceptible as long as he lived.

CHAPTER VIII.

MITCHELL'S EXPEDITIONS.

SAMENESS OF EXPLORATION RECORDS—FATE OF CAPTAIN BARKER—MITCHELL'S EXPEDITION IN 1831—BLANK RESULTS—SECOND EXPEDITION—FATE OF CUNNINGHAM—ENCOUNTER WITH THE NATIVES—RETURN TO SYDNEY—MITCHELL'S THIRD EXPEDITION—ENCOUNTER WITH NATIVES—THE LODDON DISCOVERED—THE GRAMPIANS SEEN AND NAMED—MOUNT WILLIAM—HENTY'S WHALING SETTLEMENT—A WELCOME REST—THE RETURN JOURNEY—THE PYRENEES—MOUNT MACEDON—AUSTRALIA FELIX—MOVEMENT TOWARDS PORT PHILLIP—MITCHELL'S EXPEDITION IN 1845—THE DARLING—AN EARTHLY PARADISE—THE BARCOO—KENNEDY'S EXPLORATION OF IT—RETURN TO SYDNEY.

THE details of exploration, however interesting in themselves, are apt to become monotonous from frequent repetition. If, therefore, the exploits of several of the more noted Australian explorers are passed over briefly in this history, it is only because the journals of their adventures necessarily present a sameness which speedily becomes irksome to the reader. Only the more striking incidents, and adventures with some touch of romance in them, can be given here.

Captain Collet Barker, a fellow-officer of Sturt's in the 39th Regiment, was murdered by the blacks in 1831 when exploring the country around Lake Alexandrina. Mr Kent then took charge of the expedition, but failed in the main object of it, namely, finding a sea-mouth for the Murray.

Meantime, the rich country traversed by Hume and Hovell in their overland journey had been left practically unoccupied. Or, if explorations in that direction were undertaken by private settlers, they were kept as secret as possible. In general the discoverer waited until he could get a sufficient flock to take possession of them himself. But it was whispered that a rich territory would yet be found to the south of the Murrumbidgee. Still the opinion of the surveyor-general was entitled to weight, and Mr Oxley had assured his fellow-colonists that no rich territory could possibly exist to the south of the Murrumbidgee. It was reserved for another surveyor-general to lead the way to a colony, now for its size and population certainly one of the richest and most flourishing under the British Crown. This was Major Mitchell, who, in November 1831, started with a strong party to find a passage to the interior of the continent. He reached the Nammoy, which he traced for some distance, came upon the Gwydir (named by Cunningham), and at length reached the Darling. Here he

waited for supplies from a permanent depot which he had established on the Nammoy. But when his assistant, Mr Finch, arrived, he had no provisions with him, but only a sad tale to tell of how the camp had been surprised by the blacks, the two men in charge murdered, and the cattle and most of the stores carried off. This put an end to the expedition. Mitchell returned to the depot, where he buried the bodies of the two murdered assistants, and then retraced his steps to Sydney.

Again, in March 1835, Mitchell started with a strong party, amongst whom was Allan Cunningham, the botanist. When they reached the Bogan, Cunningham was missed. A search was at once instituted, but the botanist was never found. His tracks were followed for seventy miles, and his horse was found dead, as were also his whip and gloves. Afterwards the melancholy facts were revealed. Cunningham had lost his way, and wandered about for five days, when he fell in with some natives. At first they treated him kindly, but the horrible nature of his position overpowered his strength, and he became delirious. This sealed the poor fellow's fate. The savages became terrified at their strange guest, and murdered him. Such was the sad end of a brave explorer, a good man, and an eminent botanist.

After this Mitchell continued his exploration of the Bogan for some time, but an unfortunate encounter with the natives, in which three of them were killed, induced the speedy return of the expedition to Sydney.

His next expedition was of more importance, and placed him in the first rank of explorers. It was undertaken in 1836, just a few months after Batman and Fawcner had gone over to Port Phillip from Tasmania. Mitchell's party started from Sydney on the 17th March, and soon reached the Lachlan, which they explored for a considerable distance. On the Murray an encounter with natives took place, in which seven of them were killed. Tracing the river along its left bank, the party came to a fine country with a beautiful climate. On the 20th of June they reached the Loddon junction. On the third day they lost the Loddon; and then they went forward through a beautiful pastoral country, passed the Avon and Avoca rivers, obtained a fine view of the Grampians (named by Mitchell), fell in with a deep creek which was named the Richardson from one of the party who fell into it, and at length came to the Wimmera. Mitchell with some companions climbed to the summit of Mount William, whence they obtained a magnificent view of the country around. A few days afterwards they came upon, and named, the Glenelg, whose splendid scenery charmed the hearts of the explorers. Striking southward they descried the sea, and at length came upon the settlement of the Messrs Henty, formed three years before as a whaling station. Here they were hospitably received. But Mitchell tells that he was obliged to approach the station cautiously, as his armed party might easily be mistaken at a distance for bushrangers, and fired upon as they approached.

After some days of rest and recruiting at the Hentys' station, Mitchell set out on his way home. The journey was, on the whole, a pleasant one. The Australian Pyrenees were crossed and named. From the summit of Mount

Macedon, Mitchell caught sight of Port Phillip. When the party had reached Sydney, they had traversed 2400 miles of the finest country that ever it was the lot of explorers to discover. Mitchell gave it the name of AUSTRALIA FELIX, or the HAPPY. On his return to Sydney, the Colonial Government immediately made known the capabilities of their new province; and settlers from New South Wales, and from the neighbouring island of Van Diemen's Land, poured in a continued stream into Port Phillip Bay, and spread their sheep over its broad plains. The Government auctioneer went down from Sydney, and knocked down town building allotments at unheard-of prices—such was the great promise of the new territory—and within twelve months after the discovery of Sir Thomas Mitchell (who had received the honour of knighthood on receipt of the news in England), its new colonists were building the present city of Melbourne.

Sir Thomas Mitchell undertook another expedition in 1845, to explore the Darling. At the time of his starting—17th of November—Sturt was making his escape from the Central Desert (as will be subsequently narrated), and Leichhardt was returning from his toilsome expedition to Port Elsworth. The party included Mr E. B. Kennedy, a young surveyor in the Government service, Dr Stevenson, and twenty-six men. They had abundant supplies and provisions for a year. The start was made from Parramatta. They reached the Macquarie, and from thence crossed the country to the Upper Darling. Here Mitchell received tidings of the safe return of Leichhardt's expedition. This intelligence at once altered his plans. Leichhardt had proceeded along the eastern slope of the Great Dividing Range, and Mitchell now decided on examining its summit and western slope, expecting to pick up some stream at its source, and which would lead him to the shores of the gulf. No such passage was found; but the discoverer of Australia Felix was, in a great measure, compensated by the magnificent country which now disclosed itself within tropical Australia; in many spots, indeed, exceeding in luxuriance and beauty of scenery the Australia Felix of 1835. Advancing beyond the Darling, and making direct for the tropic, Mitchell found himself within a network of streams, taking their rise in the Dividing Range, and flowing through the broad rich table-lands which were now found to form its highest elevation. Here, at the very time Captain Sturt and his men, in the same latitude, and at the foot of the very same Dividing Range, were buffeting the red sand billows, and inhaling the scorching blast of the desert, the expedition under Sir Thomas Mitchell was wandering through the most lovely Claude-like scenery, and following the course of such streams as prompted their discoverer to name them the Claude, the Lorraine, the Salvator, etc. There was abundance of water, and the young grass was daily growing higher.

But Mitchell's chief discovery in this district was the river Barcoo, which he named the Victoria, of course wholly unconnected with Captain Stokes's Victoria on the north-west coast, at the opposite extremity of the continent. Here at length appeared to be the long-sought stream opening a passage to the Gulf of Carpentaria; and anxiously the expedition followed it down the western slopes and table-lands of the Great Dividing Range, along banks waving with perfumed

lilies, through rich deep meadows, with splendid reaches of water, capable of floating steamers of the largest tonnage. The Barcoo was followed for about two hundred miles, when the provisions of the expedition totally failed them, and the pursuit was abandoned. Strangely enough, Sturt and Mitchell were then on the banks of the same stream; for the Victoria and Cooper's Creek have been since ascertained to be the same river; and could they then have compared notes, it would have been known that the hopes of a passage to the north by the Barcoo were altogether delusive. That stream, shortly after Sir Thomas Mitchell's farthest point on it, takes a turn towards the south, and thenceforward maintains an entirely southern course. Mr Gregory, who at a subsequent period followed the course of the Victoria through most inhospitable wastes, found it, at length, to form the western arm of Lake Torrens, which is separated from the head of Spencer's Gulf, near Adelaide, by a narrow isthmus, flooded only during the rainy season.

Of the Barcoo, however, nothing was then known in Sydney, save what Mitchell had just seen. A noble stream through a garden of lilies, and making for the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, seemed well worth following, and Kennedy, the second in command of Mitchell's expedition, was instructed to trace its further course. Taking it up where the late expedition had been forced to retreat on Sydney, this young officer proceeded along its banks. But even in the comparatively short distance between Mitchell's farthest and the rich Cooper's Creek district, the Victoria traverses an absolute desert. Scarcely any water, and no food for the horses, could be found, the river bed had taken a permanently southern direction, and, as a road to the north, was valueless. Having satisfied himself, therefore, that the Victoria was the Cooper's Creek of which Captain Sturt had just brought intelligence to Adelaide, Mr Kennedy returned to Sydney.

CHAPTER IX.

GREY'S EXPLORATIONS.

GREY AND LUSHINGTON—EXPEDITION OF 1837—THE “LYNHER” SAILS FROM THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—GREY LANDS AT PORT GEORGE IV.—FIRST EXPLORATIONS—FIRST MISFORTUNES—A NARROW ESCAPE—GREY'S GALLANTRY—HANOVER BAY—THE TIMOR PONIES—FRESH TROUBLES—A FINE COUNTRY—RETURN TO HANOVER—SECOND EXPEDITION IN 1839—DREADFUL DISASTERS—ARRIVAL AT PERTH—RETURN TO ADELAIDE.

THE next of the great Australian explorers was Captain Grey, who, in company with Lieutenant Lushington, undertook an expedition to explore the country lying between the Swan River and the Gulf of Carpentaria, a line of coast of three thousand miles in length as a ship sails. The successes of Sturt and Mitchell in opening new lands to British settlement had attracted the attention of England towards Australia. The importance of connecting the north-west coast of Australia by means of a settlement, nearer than the Swan River settlement, was urged upon the Home Government. It was replied that no settlers would go to a coast of which nothing whatever, save the misfortunes of the Swan River settlers, was known. Grey, then a captain of the 83d Regiment in London, seized with a spirit of adventure, proposed to the Government to go and explore the north-west coast. H.M.S. “Beagle” was then lying at Plymouth, preparing for a marine survey of the Australasian seas and gulfs, which was to extend over some years. Grey's proposal was accepted, and a passage was offered for himself and his exploring party in the “Beagle.” At the Cape of Good Hope he hired the “Lynher” schooner, and started with a party consisting of twelve men, thirty-one sheep, nineteen goats, and six dogs. On the 2d of December 1837, they reached the coast of Australia, and anchored in Port George IV. Here Grey landed and proposed to examine the shore for some distance. He took with him a few men and some dogs. The vessel was to meet them at the bottom of the bay. The weather was burning hot, and the rocks and sands were literally scorching. There was not a breath of air, nor a single tree to shelter the explorers. Their stock of water soon began to fail. First the dogs gave in, and began to drop down dead. Then the men began to drop behind. The position was becoming critical. The party was unable to go forward at all. In vain the men plunged into the sea in the hope of refreshing their exhausted frames. At length Grey started in advance with one companion, in hopes of reaching the schooner. But a new and terrible difficulty arose. At the distance

of a mile and a half the two travellers met an arm of the sea five hundred yards wide, out of which the tide was sweeping like a torrent. What to do now? Grey's companion could not swim. Grey saw that the lives of his companions depended on himself alone. He stripped to his shirt, and with a pistol in his hand and his military cap on his head plunged into the water. Soon the current swept away the pistol; then the cap had to be abandoned lest the chin strap should choke the hardy swimmer. After a fearful struggle, the waves dashed Grey on the opposite shore. He clambered up the rocks with difficulty, naked and wounded. A savage had perceived him, and the war-whoop was raised. But Grey contrived to hide in a crevice in the rock, where overpowered nature at once found relief in sleep. From this perilous position he was rescued, and subsequently the party on shore, by the timely arrival of the schooner. This was Grey's first adventure in Australian exploration.

After undergoing considerable difficulty in finding a suitable place for landing, Grey discovered a sheltered cove which he named Hanover Bay. On the 16th of December all the stores were landed, and the schooner started to Timor for the ponies. Grey spent the interval in taking a view of the country around. The schooner returned on the 17th of January 1838. Then Grey's explorations and difficulties commenced. The ponies were found unmanageable and not suited to the climate. The sheep died. A large part of the stores had to be left behind. Worst of all, the natives came down in force and an encounter took place with them, in which Grey was wounded, no less than three spears having entered his body. All hope of carrying out his original design of exploring the country all the way to Swan River was abandoned. But proceeding a little inland, the party were rejoiced to find themselves in a most delightful tropical country. Everywhere—by the sparkling cascade of the Prince Regent's River, along the picturesque banks of the Glenelg, through deep alluvial meadows watered by countless rivulets—Grey paused to admire the beauty of the scenery. "Those of the party," he writes, "who were not very tall, travelled, as they themselves expressed it, between two high green walls, over which they could not see; and those green walls were composed of rich green grass which the ponies ate with avidity. On a subsequent occasion, when we revisited this valley, we had to call to one another in order to ascertain our relative positions, when only a few yards apart. And yet the vegetation was neither rank nor coarse, but as fine grass as I have ever seen."

From Hanover Bay the expedition proceeded for seventy miles inland along the banks of the Genelg, a river discovered in the vicinity, the country still preserving the same appearance. On the 16th of April the party returned to Hanover Bay, where, fortunately, he found Captain Wickham with the "Beagle." A month later the "Lynher" returned, and all further attempts at exploration in that quarter were abandoned. Grey sailed thence to the Mauritius to recruit his shattered health.

But he was of too active a temperament to remain idle. In the following year he again started with an exploring party consisting of thirteen men. By the advice of the settlers at Swan River, where he put in before proceeding to

the north of the coast, he departed from his original intention of exploring downwards from Hanover Bay to Swan River, and determined to land at Shark's Bay, about six hundred miles to the north of Swan River, and to explore the coast district thence upwards to Hanover Bay. At Shark's Bay, however, a violent tempest put an end to further exploration at its very starting-point. The sea rose and washed away the whole depot of stores. Two leaky whaleboats, and a little flour and salt provisions, were alone left, and with these Grey and his men made a hasty retreat for Perth. About half-way from Perth, the two boats were so shattered by the surf as to be found useless, and the retreating party took to the land. Here they would have all miserably perished, but for the superior strength and endurance of the commander. They lay down, and declared themselves unable to proceed any farther. Leaving them on the sea-shore at a native well, Grey pushed on for Perth, and reached the out-settlements. Horsemen were immediately despatched with food, and arrived in time for the relief of all the party, save one, a lad named Smyth, who had perished. The sufferings of the party had been dreadful in the extreme. For days together they had gone without either food or water. When the remnant reached Perth, on the 21st of April 1839, they were so reduced as to be hardly recognisable. From King George's Sound Grey returned to Adelaide.

CHAPTER X.

STRZELECKI IN GIPPSLAND.

GIPPSLAND IN VICTORIA — STRZELECKI — A BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY — A TERRIBLE JOURNEY — REACHES MELBOURNE — FIRST DISCOVERY OF GOLD.

BETWEEN Wilson's Promontory and Cape Howe there lies a beautiful territory, in shape like a crescent, hemmed in between the sea and the Australian Alps. It is one of the most fertile and extensive districts in all Australia, containing about ten millions of acres. This is GIPPSLAND, so called after Governor Gipps, and the discovery of which is mainly due to Count Strzelecki (pronounced *Strelécki*), who, after the explorations of Sir Thomas Mitchell, undertook to explore the Great Dividing Range, which separates the eastern seaboard from the interior. Strzelecki was a Polish count, a man of vast and varied knowledge, and an ardent explorer. For years he wandered in the Great Dividing Range, incurring immense labour and hardship, making geological and botanical observations, measuring the heights of mountains, tracing the course of streams and rivers, and investigating the *flora* and *fauna*, and also the physical, moral, and social condition of the aborigines. The whole of this vast district was brought within a geological map of great scientific value.

We have now to follow him into what we have not unfairly called the garden of Australia Felix. We have already seen that the Great Dividing Range runs from north to south of the east coast, and buries itself in the Southern Ocean at Wilson's Promontory. Before, however, reaching Wilson's Promontory it throws off a spur which traverses the whole of Victoria from east to west, and on these slopes the rich goldfields of Sandhurst, Ballarat, Mount Alexander, the Ovens, Omeo, M'Ivor, and several others, now cluster. Coming down this spur, and on the slope of it, opposite to that traversed by Sir Thomas Mitchell, Strzelecki found himself within a beautiful district, whose existence had not been even suspected. Enclosed between the sea and the snow-clad summits of this Alpine barrier, sheltered by it from the hot blasts of the interior, and watered by numerous unfailing streams, fed from its snows, a large district not many degrees from the tropics, possesses an almost English climate. Tourists from Melbourne and Sydney are loud in their praises of the Arcadian beauty of Gippsland. Its lowlands are interspersed with some splendid lakes; while its rivers, navigable for sixty and eighty miles from their junction with the lakes, are the finest and most valuable within the Australian colonies. Flowers in endless variety, and of great beauty, form a wide-spread carpet. The tall fern-trees, with their

gigantic leaves, droop into natural bell-shape tents. A hundred deep pellucid streams display the crystal quartz, and sharp clean sand and gravel, which compose their beds. Everywhere the traveller comes upon opening glades leading up to the ranges, and clothed with many varieties of flowering heaths and acacias. Nor is the soil less profitable than gay. All the productions of a temperate climate attain to absolute luxuriance there. Gippsland, under a proper system of cultivation, might in a few years become the granary of Australia.

From this garden, however, Strzelecki was obliged to make a hasty retreat, and found himself almost hopelessly entangled in the dense hedge which forms its north-west boundary. With provisions running short, and suffering from the fatigues of their previous labours, the count and his men attempted to reach Melbourne by a short cut across the ranges. The skirts of these ranges are closed with a dense and almost impenetrable scrub. They had to abandon their packhorses, and all the botanical and geological specimens collected on the way. For twenty-two days they literally cut their way through the scrub, seldom advancing more than two miles a day, and being in a state of complete starvation. Their clothes were torn piecemeal away, and their flesh, lacerated by the sharp, lancet-like brambles of the scrub, was exposed to the keen air of these snow-crowned ranges. With difficulty Strzelecki and his men reached Melbourne, but the horses, with all his valuable collections, were never recovered.

In his report of this expedition to Sir George Gipps, then Governor of New South Wales, we have the first official notice of the discovery of gold. It stands thus among an enumeration of the mineralogical specimens collected in the district, in the report dated 1839, the despatch of Sir George Gipps to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with which it was forwarded, bearing date 1840: "Gold.—An auriferous sulphuret of iron, partly decomposed, yielding a very small quantity or proportion of gold, sufficient to attest its presence." Thus was lying, for twelve years, entombed among the parliamentary papers, that important discovery which was to effect such changes in the Australian colonies, until at length, in 1851, another Governor of New South Wales, taught by the prosperity of California, consented to make more publicly known Hargreaves' fresh discoveries of gold. But to Strzelecki the first discovery on the spot was unquestionably due in 1839; which was corroborated by Sir Roderick Murchison's scientific precognitions in 1846 and 1848.

CHAPTER XI.

EYRE'S EXPLORATIONS.

EDWARD JOHN EYRE—EXPEDITION TO LAKE TORRENS—FLINDERS'S RANGE—A HOPELESS PROSPECT—THE AUSTRALIAN BIGHT—A DESOLATE REGION—A TERRIBLE JOURNEY—FEARFUL ADVENTURES—APPALLING TREACHERY—IN THE VAST SOLITUDE—A DREADFUL NIGHT—SIGHT OF THE SEA—A WELCOME RESCUE.

THE splendid discovery of Australia Felix by Mitchell might be supposed to have satisfied the craving of the colonists for land. But within three or four years after it had grown as strong as ever. The squatters—or “Crown tenants” as they chose to call themselves—were permitted to take up “runs” as large as English counties. In a wonderfully short time Australia Felix was occupied from the Murray to the sea. The land in the neighbourhood of Adelaide was such as Captain Sturt had described it, rich in pastures, and needing but the care of the husbandman to give forth its corn and wine; but the traveller to the north of Adelaide soon found himself in a wilderness. The early settlers on Port Jackson never sought more eagerly to escape beyond the Blue Mountains, than did the inhabitants of the Adelaide district now seek to know what lay beyond the desert which encompassed them. Within a few short years the city of Adelaide had grown with amazing rapidity; the whole of the surrounding district was already overflowing with flocks and herds; but the settler who endeavoured to push to the north or west could nowhere discover either water or grass. The efforts of its new Government were unremitting; settlers were most ready to contribute to the expenses of exploring expeditions; and various were the plans discussed.

In 1840 these discussions were brought to a practical issue. After much debate the attempt to form a junction with the western settlement was abandoned; and an expedition, called the Northern Exploring Expedition, was formed by the united assistance of the Government and the colonists. Edward John Eyre, afterwards Governor of St Vincent, was then a settler in the colony of South Australia. He had already gained considerable experience as an explorer, both in New South Wales and in its new dependency, the Port Phillip district, as Sir Thomas Mitchell's Australia Felix soon came to be called. More recently he had made some incursions into the country to the north of Adelaide, and, on the opposite shore of Spencer's Gulf, in the Port Lincoln district; and to him was entrusted the command of the expedition. He was to ascertain the

extent and nature of Lake Torrens. And, if possible, he was to penetrate to the centre of the continent.

The southern shores of Lake Torrens were found desolate and dreary in the extreme. The lake was about twenty miles broad, covered with a thick coating of salt, which had the appearance of freshly-fallen snow. Under this salt was found a bed of soft mud, becoming so deep towards mid-channel as to frustrate all their efforts to cross the lake. More recently it has been ascertained that what was then known as Lake Torrens is, in fact, a semicircular chain of lakes or mud ponds; and that a portion of its western arm is the terminus of a river which takes its rise on the east coast of the continent, some fifteen hundred miles distant.

Abandoning Lake Torrens, Eyre threw himself entirely upon Flinders's Range, hoping that the slopes of its hills would furnish sufficient water to his party in their progress northward. But hill after hill grew smaller and less frequent, and gradually the country settled down into a desolate level. One peak still rose from the plain, and from this, named by him Mount Hopeless, he determined to take a last observation. Without water or food for the horses, and through a low sandy country, his party bore down on Mount Hopeless, and ascended to its summit. "And cheerless and hopeless, indeed," he writes, "was the prospect before us." As he had feared, all trace of Flinders's Range now ceased, and before him lay a wide desolate level, interrupted only by the ridge forming the shore of the still more gloomy lake. This ridge of the lake, which at each point of previous observation had been bending round from west to east, now appeared on his right hand. Supposing, therefore, that his only means of escape from this apparently uninterrupted semicircular basin was by descending to either of its southern extremities, he returned to the head of Spencer's Gulf, where a narrow isthmus separates the waters of the gulf from Lake Torrens, and crossed into the Port Lincoln district, intending to resume his northern course when sufficiently clear of the lake. Repeated attempts, however, proved the impracticability of forcing a passage northward from this portion of the coast. At every point when advancing a few miles inland, impenetrable scrub, and a total absence of water and food for the cattle, drove the expedition back. Nor did it appear an easier task to advance along the coast itself. Leaving the main portion of his men at Fowler's Bay, Eyre made three several attempts to reach the Great Bight, hoping that, after passing that portion of the coast, the country would be found to open up more favourably inland. But after encountering great hardships and the loss of several of his horses, he rounded the Great Bight only to behold the same impenetrable country. The objects proposed for the Northern Exploring Expedition seemed, therefore, impossible of attainment; and Eyre, on his return to Fowler's Bay, sent the men composing it back to Adelaide. We have now to follow him through a feat the most wonderful in the annals of exploration.

The south coast, from Fowler's Bay to King George's Sound, lay as Flinders had sketched it from his ship. Indeed, down to that time no white man had trod its desolate wilds. From the summit of the cliffs which had frowned down

on the topmasts of H.M.S. "Investigator," stretched inland a table-land without rise or fall, until a dense and impenetrable skirting of scrub hid it from sight. This table-land Eyre had now ascertained to be an unbroken sheet of limestone. At the bottom of the cliffs the action of the current had hollowed out immense caverns; and occasionally huge portions of the rock became detached and tumbled into the ocean, showing by the rapidity with which they were engulfed the hopelessness of finding any path by the margin of the sea. Inland the country seemed equally unpromising, and the only portion capable of sustaining animal existence was a narrow strip extending along the edge of the table-land overlooking the sea. Here the action of the wind had collected some scattered heaps of sand, on which grew a few tufts of sour grass and salsolaceous herbs. But from Fowler's Bay to the head of the Great Bight, neither lake, pond, nor stream had been discovered; and from Fowler's Bay to King George's Sound, a distance of upwards of fifteen hundred miles, no vestige of a water-course nor any surface lake or pond was subsequently met. During the day a strong wind blows from the interior, sometimes scorching in its heat, and loaded with fine sand. Towards evening this is met by a chilling breeze coming up from the great Southern Ocean; and doubtless to the action of those two winds is to be attributed the deposition of sand on the limestone surface along the edge of this exposed table-land. Occasionally, at intervals of 150 and 200 miles, the sand had been formed into a cluster of hills, and on digging down to the limestone at these places a little brackish water was found to ooze out between the sand and the rock. Strange as it may seem, this was the only water at all approaching fresh, which could be discovered along the whole course of this terrible journey.

In undertaking this most forbidding task, Eyre had determined to risk the life of no European save himself. The men composing the North Exploring Expedition had, therefore, been sent back to Adelaide. But the overseer of the party, a man of great energy and courage, refused to leave his leader. In addition he retained three aboriginal young men, one of them named Wylie, a native of King George's Sound. The officers and men of the disbanded expedition had made known, on their return to Adelaide, the great difficulties Eyre had experienced in his efforts to round the Great Bight, and the unpromising nature of the country beyond its head. From these it appeared that Eyre was advancing on certain destruction; and a Government sloop was immediately despatched to Fowler's Bay, with a strong recommendation from the governor to return. But Eyre's resolution was not to be changed, and the sloop returned to Adelaide without him. "We were now alone," he writes, "myself, my overseer, and the three native boys, with a fearful task before us. The bridge was broken down behind us, and we must succeed in reaching King George's Sound, or perish. No middle course remained." Having constructed bags to hold water, and having given the cattle sufficient rest, Eyre commenced his journey. His stock of provisions then consisted of some sheep, remaining over from the disbanded expedition, and a few bags of flour. The head of the Great Bight was again rounded, and the same forbidding nature of country was found to extend

along its western arm, the only vegetation being a few scattered tufts of grass, and the only water being procured from beneath the sandhills, occurring at intervals of one and two hundred miles.

That man or beast should travel through a succession of such intervals, extending over upwards of fifteen hundred miles, is indeed wonderful. Sometimes a group of sandhills occurred at the end of one or two days' march; more frequently, scarcely a blade of grass, and not a drop of water, was met for a whole week, and human endurance, taxed beyond what it might be believed possible for it to sustain, was no longer supported by the hope that another group was yet in advance, or that retreat was possible. Eyre's progress, during one of those long intervals between water and water, may be thus sketched: After a halt of three or four days at one of these groups of sandhills to recruit, the horses were again loaded for a fresh start, the bags were filled with water, and the sheep were led out of their pen. For two or three days the horses were able to carry the few bags of flour, water, and other necessary baggage. On the fourth day their strength began to fail, and it became necessary to lighten their loads, the rejected articles being left on the wayside. On the fifth and sixth days the horses became totally exhausted, and no exertions could force them to proceed farther. Leaving them also stretched on the wayside, Eyre and his men, with the empty water-bags, hurried forward until the next group of sandhills appeared above the horizon. Arriving at these, they immediately proceeded to scoop out a well, considerable labour and delay being occasioned by the repeated falling-in of the sand. Reaching the surface of the limestone, they quenched their thirst and took a few hours' rest while the water-bags were filling. The whole party then shouldered their bags, and proceeded back to the horses; and these they generally succeeded in bringing on by easy stages to the sandhills; though occasionally they found one of the wretched and worn-out animals in its last struggles. Having brought everything living to the water, the most laborious task yet remained. Their provisions and a few indispensable articles were still strewn along their track; and it was necessary to go back and collect them, Eyre and his men carrying them on their backs a distance of sometimes forty or fifty miles. In addition to these immense labours, a further task devolved on Eyre and the overseer. The horses, though found unable to endure the same privation as the men, were nevertheless essential to the preservation of the party. Notwithstanding their fatigue, the want of water made them restless during the night, and, when not closely watched, they seized every opportunity to return to the last watering-place—the scattered position of the few tufts of herbage rendering it impossible to tether them. Nor could so important a task be safely entrusted to the three aborigines. Eyre and the overseer, therefore, agreed to divide each night between them, so as by strict watch to ensure the possession of the horses in the morning.

In this manner Eyre and his small party had toiled on for a couple of months, and had now accomplished more than half their journey, when an appalling act of treachery plunged him in fresh difficulties, and seemed to render his ultimate escape hopeless. In the midst of one of these long stages between water

and water, they had encamped for the night, and Eyre had taken the first watch over the horses. It was approaching towards midnight, when his watch would expire and he would be relieved by the overseer. The horses in their restlessness had led him some distance from the camp, when the report of a gun interrupted the sighing of the breeze over these desolate wilds. Startled by so unusual an occurrence, Eyre immediately hastened back to the camp. He writes: "I met the King George's Sound native, Wylie, running towards me, and in great alarm, crying, 'O massa, O massa! come here;' but could gain no information from him, as to what had occurred. Upon reaching the encampment, which I did in about five minutes after the shot was fired, I was horror-struck to find my poor overseer weltering in his blood, and in the last agonies of death. Glancing hastily around the camp, I found it deserted by the two younger native boys; whilst the scattered fragments of our baggage, which I left carefully piled up under the oilskin, lay thrown about in wild disorder, and at once revealed the cause of the harrowing scene before me. Upon raising the body of my faithful, but ill-fated follower, I found that he was beyond all human aid. He had been shot through the left breast with a ball. The last convulsions of death were upon him, and he expired almost immediately after our arrival.

"The frightful, the appalling truth now burst upon me, that I was alone in the desert. He who had faithfully served me for many years, who had followed my fortunes in adversity and prosperity, who had accompanied me in all my wanderings, and whose attachment to me had been his sole inducement to remain with me in this last, and to him, alas! fatal journey, was now no more. For an instant I was almost tempted to wish that it had been my own fate, instead of his. The horrors of my situation glared upon me with such startling reality as, for an instant, almost to paralyse the mind. At the dead hour of night, in the wildest and most inhospitable wastes of Australia, with a fierce wind raging in unison with the scene of violence before me, I was left with a single native, whose fidelity I could not rely upon, and who, for aught I knew, might be in league with the other two, who perhaps were even now lurking about, with a view of taking away my own life, as they had done that of the overseer. Three days had passed away since we left the last water, and it was very doubtful when we might find any more. Six hundred miles of country had to be traversed before I could hope to obtain the slightest aid or assistance of any kind, whilst I knew not that a single drop of water or an ounce of flour had been left by these murderers from a stock that had previously been so small."

Their small store of flour had, indeed, been the incentive to this horrible deed. The two natives had taken with them all the flour and water they could carry, and the double-barrelled guns of Eyre and the overseer, leaving behind them only a brace of pistols and a rifle which had a ball fast in the breech, and was useless for the time. The encampment showed that they had laid their plan for murdering the overseer that night; but, as the country around was entirely destitute of food, it is most probable that they perished as soon as their stock of flour was exhausted.

"After obtaining possession," continues Eyre, "of all the remaining arms,

useless as they were at the moment, with some ammunition, I made no examination then, but hurried away from the frightful scene, accompanied by the King George's Sound native, to search for the horses, knowing that, if they got away now, no chance whatever would remain of saving our lives. Already the wretched animals had wandered to a considerable distance; and although the night was moonlight, yet the belts of scrub, intersecting the plains, were so numerous and dense that, for a long time, we could not find them. Having succeeded in doing so at last, Wylie and I remained with them, watching them during the remainder of the night; but they were very restless and gave us a deal of trouble. With an aching heart, and in most painful reflection, I passed this dreadful night, every moment appearing to be protracted to an hour, and it seemed as if the daylight would never appear. About midnight the wind ceased and it became bitterly cold and frosty. I had nothing on but a shirt and a pair of trousers, and suffered most acutely from the cold. To mental anguish was now added intense bodily pain. Suffering and distress had well-nigh overwhelmed me, and life seemed hardly worth the effort necessary to prolong it. Ages can never efface the horrors of this single night, nor would the wealth of the world tempt me to go through similar ones again."

With daylight Eyre and Wylie prepared to hasten from this dreadful scene. There was not sufficient sand on the surface of the limestone to bury the body of the overseer, and nothing remained but to wrap his blanket around it. The sheep had all been consumed, or perished on the journey. Forty pounds of flour was now their only stock of provision; and, abandoning everything else save his charts and papers, Eyre hurried from the spot with his solitary attendant, Wylie. The two natives again appeared before starting, and made efforts to gain over Wylie, but they could not be induced to speak to Eyre, and after a short time, they disappeared in the desert.

The two travellers were now obliged to live chiefly on their horses, curing the flesh in the sun and carrying on a sufficient quantity for some days' consumption. The singular wall of cliffs retired inland, and they were enabled to gain access to the sea-shore, where they occasionally caught a stinging ray-fish. At length, when human nature threatened to sink under such long-continued exposure, and to reach the settlement at King George's Sound, now close at hand, appeared beyond their strength, a whaling barque was sighted off the coast. On perceiving their signals, the commander—Captain Rossiter, of the French whaling-ship "Mississippi"—sent a boat for them, and they were received on board with much hospitality. After recruiting themselves here for some weeks, they were again landed, within easy reach of the settlement, where they arrived in July 1841, after an absence of over twelve months from Adelaide.

CHAPTER XII.

STURT'S THIRD EXPEDITION.

THE NORTHERN REGION—STURT STARTS AGAIN—ROCKY GLEN—DROUGHT AND HEAT
—THE GREAT CENTRAL STONY DESERT—AN OCEAN OF SAND—EYRE'S CREEK—
A RETREAT—COOPER'S CREEK—THE GREAT DESERT AGAIN—THE HOT WIND OF
THE DESERT—TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS—A THRILLING ADVENTURE—SAFE RETURN
TO ADELAIDE.

THE terrible story of his adventures which Eyre had to tell, completely satisfied the minds of the South Australian people that the south coast was an utterly impracticable country. But there still remained a possibility of finding good grazing land in the great interior which lay to the north of them. A fresh expedition was therefore planned in 1844, and the command of it was given to Captain Sturt, whose previous achievements as an explorer had raised his reputation to a very high pitch. He started from the Darling on the 24th of September 1844, with a party of fifteen men, including Mr Poole, assistant surveyor; Mr J. H. Browne, surgeon; and Mr John Macdouall Stuart as draughtsman. The provisions were calculated to last eighteen months.

Desirous to escape from the meshes of Lake Torrens, he left that district on his left hand, and passed up the Murray and the Darling, merely making a descent, at intervals, on the Torrens basin, to ascertain the existence of an eastern arm.

Leaving the Darling, which was taking him too much out of his northern course, at its junction with a small tributary, called by the natives the Williorara (the Menindie of the expedition under Burke and Wills), he endeavoured to pass up the Williorara. But its waters quickly failed him, and pasture was becoming daily more scarce. The expedition had started in winter, so as by help of the spring showers to push to the north. The sun was beginning to dry up the pools, and no time was to be lost. By means of forced marches, Captain Sturt and his men passed over a very inhospitable tract of country and reached as high as latitude $29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, when they unexpectedly came upon a picturesque spot, well watered and supplied with food for the cattle. To this was given the name of Rocky Glen Depot; and here Captain Sturt determined to allow both men and horses to recruit for some time, while he explored the country beyond, for the purpose of selecting the most safe northern route. With dismay he gradually ascertained that no northern route was to be found. The Rocky Glen ceased as suddenly towards the north as it had opened, and the country beyond

became an absolute desert. In vain Captain Sturt and the officers under his command followed the course of every creek, and made long and harassing excursions into the district around. Neither water nor pasture was to be found beyond the Rocky Glen. Retreat, too, was cut off. The summer's sun had dried up every pond and creek which had supplied them on their line of march, and six months' imprisonment in the Rocky Glen Depot became certain.

For six months no rain fell. The violence of the sun became insupportable. To escape from its rays a large underground chamber was excavated, to which the men retired during the heat of the day. Gradually the surrounding desert closed in on them. The whole vegetation of the Rocky Glen became mere snuff, and was carried away by the hot blast. Nothing was left but the naked rocks and the pool of water on which their lives depended. Day by day it, too, yielded to the fury of the sun. "Under its effects," wrote Captain Sturt, "every screw in our boxes had been drawn, and the horn handles of our instruments, as well as of our combs, were split in fine laminæ. The lead dropped out of our pencils; our signal rockets were entirely spoiled; our hair, as well as the wool on the sheep, ceased to grow; and our nails had become as brittle as glass." Scurvy now attacked the whole party. Some of the men would be unable to proceed with the expedition, and Mr Poole was dying. In this condition, the winter months came slowly round, and the first refreshing shower fell. The way was again open, and it might be possible to save Mr Poole. A litter of boughs and dried leaves was already prepared, and with Mr Poole six of the men endeavoured to make a retreat on Adelaide. But the winter had been too long in coming. Mr Poole died a few hours after his attendants had quitted the camp, and his body was brought back just as Captain Sturt and the remainder of the expedition were about to start on their northern course. His companions raised a rude pyramid of stones on a neighbouring hill to mark the place of his interment; and Mount Poole is all that is left to tell of the weary days spent in the Rocky Glen Depot. "That rude structure," writes Captain Sturt, "looks over his lonely grave, and will stand for ages, as a record of all we suffered in the dreary regions to which we were so long confined."

About fifty miles farther on, a fresh halting-place was discovered, and called Park Depot. Accompanied by Mr Browne and three men, Captain Sturt started from Park Depot, bearing right down on the centre of the continent. In a short time the country assumed all the appearance of a desert. Neither grass nor water was any longer visible, and the eye rested on nothing, to the brink of the horizon, but reddish-brown sand. Gradually as they advanced, this sand swelled into long parallel ridges, running from east to west and rising higher and higher, until at length the explorers found themselves toiling over a very ocean of solid billows, some fifty or sixty feet high, and succeeding each other in endless uniformity. At the distance of about two hundred miles from Park Depot, this singular country came to an abrupt termination, and the explorers stood before what is now known as Sturt's Stony Desert. The parallel sand ridges, running from east to west, were suddenly chopped off at right angles, and in their stead stretched an immense level plain, uninterrupted all round the

horizon from south to north, and thickly strewn with small fragments of quartz, firmly packed together, and rounded as if waterworn. Neither herb nor shrub protruded through the firmly-wedged quartz fragments. No sound or movement could be heard or seen all round them, and the dray wheels and hoofs of the horses left not the least impression on the surface of the plain. All that could attract or sustain animal and vegetable life, nature seemed to have rigidly excluded from this scene of desolation. Thus the sun went down, and Captain Sturt and his men encamped for the night in the Stony Desert.

With the morning the party was again under way; and at the distance of about thirty miles from its commencement, the Stony Desert was found to come to an equally abrupt termination. An immense plain of clay, or dried mud, lay before them, entirely destitute of vegetation. No water could be found, and the earth, cracked by the heat of the sun, abounded in immense fissures, which were avoided only by extreme watchfulness and care. Still maintaining their original course, the party arrived at the termination of this plain also, and found the tall sand ridges re-appear, precisely as they had left them on the eastern shore of the Stony Desert. Again the explorers toiled over this solid ocean of red billows—an ocean seen, as it were, under the glare of some great conflagration, lashed into waves running mountains high, and then suddenly frozen all round from centre to horizon.

At length a small creek appeared ahead, and revived the hopes of the party. It received the name of Eyre's Creek. It contained some good water, and communicated sufficient fertility to its neighbourhood to furnish a meal for the horses. On following it down, however, it soon died out on the desert, leaving merely a few incrustations of salt, and leading to a country as destitute of vegetation as that they had already traversed. They were now more than four hundred miles from Park Depot; and with the exception of Eyre's Creek, some fifty miles behind, had nothing in the intermediate region to fall back upon. They had advanced two hundred miles beyond the Stony Desert, without meeting any indication of a permanent change in the nature of the country. Both men and horses were so weak that any further advance would greatly endanger their retreat. Under these circumstances, Captain Sturt decided to fall back on Eyre's Creek, and, by its assistance, to regain the depot. The party regained the main expedition with considerable difficulty, and in a most exhausted condition.

Having taken some short rest at Park Depot, Captain Sturt again started with Mr Stuart and two men. After some days' travelling, the explorers were agreeably surprised by increasing signs of fertility, and they came upon the banks of a fine creek flowing through an extensive and picturesque tract of pastoral country. This is Cooper's Creek, so sadly associated with the melancholy fate of Burke and Wills. Returning to their original course, after some examination of the district, they were soon again toiling over a sea of red sand ridges, exactly similar to those met with in the first excursion. At the end of another week's travelling, the Stony Desert again appeared in all its awful stillness. For half an hour Captain Sturt sat on the summit of one of those quartz-

clad hills, sweeping the horizon with his telescope, hoping to find some encouragement to advance. But no change in the nature of the country could be detected. Reluctantly the horses' heads were turned, and the most protracted effort yet witnessed to reach the centre of the continent was finally abandoned. The party hastened to throw themselves back on Cooper's Creek, some two hundred miles distant, and the nearest halting-place. It was a journey for life or death. The horses that refused to proceed were abandoned on the way. When a horse fell, his light baggage was hastily distributed among the rest, and the retreat continued. Uninterruptedly, night and day, they retreated. At night one of the men went before them with a lantern; and thus assisted in their course over the vast sand ridges and through the unbroken solitude of the Stony Desert, the explorers safely reached Cooper's Creek. Over these regions the hot winds blew with unusual violence. On the morning of their arrival a hot wind began to blow, and towards mid-day raged with great fury. The leaves of the trees along the creek became crisp in a few moments, and fell like a snow shower around them. The wastes of sand ridges, from which they had just escaped, seemed a very ocean. The crests of the sand billows were cut off and whirled on high in thick spray. Blinding torrents of fine sand, driven before the wind, were poured over the Cooper's Creek district, smarting and blistering the feverish skin. Towards the horizon, sea and sky were mingled in one red mass. Every living thing turned from the glow. An all-pervading relaxation seized man and beast. The horses were unable to bear the weight of their own heads. Propped against trees, and turned from the hot winds, they let their heads fall to the ground, as if the muscles of the neck had been severed. A thermometer, graduated to 127°, burst from the excessive heat, though placed in the fork of a large tree. In all probability, had this tempest overtaken the party in the desert, they would have all perished. Passing through Cooper's Creek district, Captain Sturt with his men again joined the main expedition at Park Depot, greatly weakened by sickness, and scarcely capable of any further exertion. On the following day he found himself unable to walk. In a day or two more his muscles became rigid and his limbs contracted. Gradually also his skin blackened. The least movement put him to torture, and he was reduced to a state of perfect prostration.

But Park Depot was many hundreds of miles from Adelaide, and an immediate retreat was now necessary. Already another summer had come round, and the sun was drying up all the pools and water-courses on the way. It was doubtful, indeed, whether the way was still open. Mr Brown proposed to go and ascertain, lest the expedition should be again caught in the desert. Unless Flood's Creek, about 150 miles nearer Adelaide, contained sufficient water, it would be dangerous to move the expedition; and Mr Brown determined to learn the condition of Flood's Creek. The hide of a bullock was sewn together, so as to form a water-tight bag. This, filled with water, was placed on the way some seventy miles in advance, and on the following morning Mr Brown started with a light spring-cart, containing about thirty gallons of water. By this contrivance he was enabled to supply himself and his horse with water

half way on his journey, without encroaching on the store which he carried with him. Anxiously the men watched for his return. On his report depended another six months' imprisonment in Rocky Glen Depot, and both officers and men recalled Rocky Glen Depot with horror. On the eighth day they came to Sturt's tent to tell him that Mr Brown had appeared in sight, and in a few minutes he stood before him. "Well, Brown," said he, "what news? Is it to be good or bad?" "There is still water in the creek," he answered, "but that is all I can say. What there is, is as black as ink; and we must make haste, for in a week it will be all gone." A bed of leaves was placed in one of the carts, into which Captain Sturt was lifted, and the whole expedition commenced its retreat from Central Australia. Flood's Creek was safely reached, and it enabled them to push on to the Murray. The news was carried down the Murray that Sturt, now nineteen months absent, and supposed dead, was returning. The settlers along its banks hastened to place their carriages at the service of himself and his exhausted men. Under the light of an Australian moon they again passed the clustering vines and golden wheatfields which surround Adelaide.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FATE OF LEICHHARDT.

AN OVERLAND ROUTE TO CARPENTARIA—MITCHELL INVITES LEICHHARDT TO EXPLORE
THE ROUTE—EXPEDITION STARTS—A LONG JOURNEY—FATE OF GILBERT—
PRIVATIONS—REACH PORT ESSINGTON—RETURN TO SYDNEY—SECOND EXPEDITION
—THE LOST EXPLORERS—FRUITLESS SEARCH—GREGORY'S DISCOVERIES OF
RELICS.

WHILE the people of Adelaide were seeking an extension of settlement towards the north, the people of Sydney were also occupied by a project of their own. Between Sydney and India, China, and the rich islands of the Dutch in the Indian Archipelago, lay the whole continent of Australia. If their ships went to the south-west, there was more than half the continent to sail round. If they went to the north-east, there were the Great Barrier Reef, twelve hundred miles long, and the dangerous Torres Strait—where the timbers of many a stout Sydney bark lay mouldering on the small islands which choke the passage. An overland route to the Gulf of Carpentaria would bring the Indian Archipelago almost to their door. With a practical route to the Gulf of Carpentaria, the whole commerce of Southern and Western Asia and its islands would be thrown open to the Australian colonies. What then appeared a golden dream is now accomplished. Burke and Wills have laid a way to the shores of the gulf; and but for the terrible mishap of a few hours, might have lived to see it occupied by the iron road and the electric wire.

Sir Thomas Mitchell, who was then Surveyor-General of the Colony of New South Wales, warmly advocated this project. He invited Leichhardt, who was already known by some explorations he had conducted in the neighbourhood of Moreton Bay, to the north of Sydney, and which eventually laid the foundations of the colony of Queensland, to accompany him on an expedition to the shores of the gulf. As there was no probability that Sir Thomas Mitchell could leave Sydney during that year, Leichhardt accepted the command of the expedition, and started on his way in August 1844, the same year in which Captain Sturt had already started from Adelaide. Leichhardt's journey was entirely a coast route, and though of enormous length—extending from Sydney to Port Essington, a distance along the coast of not less than three thousand miles—and leading the way to much excellent land, afterwards occupied by the colonists of New South Wales, it would possess little interest for us now, but for the impenetrable

mystery which enshrouds the fate of a succeeding expedition commanded by the same leader.

The eastern slope of the coast range, overlooking the Pacific, is well watered by numerous coast streams, and possesses extensive terraces of fine pastoral land, though every now and again interrupted by broken and almost impassable districts. Along these slopes Leichhardt led his party, with abundance of water and pasture for the cattle; but its position and the nature of the country render it, for a commercial high road, of little use. In the course of this toilsome expedition, the party suffered much from the natives; and on one occasion the naturalist, Mr Gilbert, was killed, and two others were dangerously wounded. In these sad circumstances Leichhardt exhibited great energy and presence of mind. The sufferings of the party also, from want of provisions and water, were very great. At length, after a journey of fifteen months, the expedition reached Port Essington on the 17th of December 1845, nearly famished and naked, their last bullock being nearly eaten, and with no stores left, nor any animals, except the horses upon which they rode.

After a month's stay at the settlement, the party returned by sea to Port Jackson. The people of Sydney were overjoyed to see them again, as it was begun to be looked upon as certain that they had all perished in the wilderness. Rewards were voted to the explorers by the legislative council, to which was added a sum of £1400, subscribed by the general public. It may here be added that the settlement at Port Essington was abandoned altogether in 1850, the place being found totally unfitted for the residence of Europeans.

Meantime the Barcoo was being discovered by Mitchell, and Leichhardt had been for some time making preparations for an expedition, even more important than his great overland expedition to Port Essington. He proposed to bisect the whole continent by taking the greatest diameter possible at a base route. Moreton Bay and Perth are the two extremities of such a diameter; and Leichhardt was preparing to cross from the Moreton Bay district to the capital of Western Australia, by a line passing through the centre of the continent. Kennedy had just brought the news from Sydney that the Barcoo had abandoned its northern course, and was coming round to the west. It seemed, therefore, to offer a passage into Central Australia; and Leichhardt determined to avail himself of it. Early in 1848, a month or so before Kennedy started for York Peninsula, he left Sydney with a large and well-equipped party under his command. Of the fate of himself and his whole party no certain traces have ever been discovered. The little that we know of the proceedings of the lost expedition may be told in very few words. It will be recollected that nothing was then known of the Barcoo beyond Cooper's Creek district, nor that the Barcoo was the Cooper's Creek of Sturt, except from Kennedy's conjectures. No one then imagined that the Barcoo, after its wanderings in Central Australia, would bring the traveller back again to settled districts. It is, at least, certain that Leichhardt made direct for the banks of the Barcoo. It is also certain that he abandoned the river when he found it leading him too much to the south. Kennedy, in his excursion down the Barcoo, had discovered a large and imposing tributary joining

it on the right-hand bank. This he called the Thomson. It then possessed a considerable body of water—indeed, was as large as the Barcoo itself. Leichhardt left Sydney in April, and would arrive at this portion of the river about the beginning of the spring. Gregory, some ten years afterwards, in 1857, shortly after his return from his explorations on the north-west coast, started from Sydney to discover, if possible, some traces of the lost expedition. Their marks were not yet obliterated on the banks of the Barcoo. So far into the interior as the 146th meridian, Gregory found a tree marked “L;” after which no further trace could be discovered on the Barcoo. The 146th meridian is, however, higher up the stream than the junction of the Thomson. Gregory accordingly arrived at the conclusion that the expedition had at this point abandoned the Barcoo and passed up the Thomson. Under this conjecture, he passed up the Thomson almost at the tropic. It was then summer, and the river at that point presented merely a dry and baked channel, without water or grass. It was evidently leading out into Sturt’s great desert, but offered no inducement to proceed. There can scarcely be a doubt that Leichhardt, passing up the Thomson at a more promising season of the year, launched out on that terrible country which had so nearly entombed Sturt and his men. Whether the impending summer cut off retreat, or a hostile tribe attacked them on the western borders, is left to conjecture. Long and anxiously did the Sydney people look out for the return of Leichhardt and his party, but their expectations were doomed to be sadly defeated.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FATE OF KENNEDY.

THE NORTHERN OVERLAND ROUTE—KENNEDY'S EXPEDITION IN 1848—JACKY JACKY—THE PARTY LANDED—AN ANXIOUS LOOK-OUT—THE SOLITARY NATIVE—A TERRIBLE STORY—HOSTILE NATIVES—KENNEDY WOUNDED—JACKY JACKY'S PATHETIC NARRATIVE—DEATH OF THE EXPLORER—A PERILOUS ESCAPE—TIMELY RESCUE—THE FRUITLESS SEARCH—THE LOST EXPLORERS—KENNEDY'S CHARACTER.

THOUGH unable to discover a practical overland route to the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, the people of Sydney were not inclined to abandon all hope of communication with its shores. York Peninsula is that enormous isosceles triangle which forms the eastern arm of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The base of this triangle is an imaginary line from Rockingham Bay to the head of the gulf. A land communication along this line would save a considerable distance of sea voyage, and would wholly escape Torres Strait. The Indian and Chinese traders, and the Dutch islanders, might then land their wares at the head of the gulf. A few coasters from Rockingham Bay to the colonies would complete the rest of the journey. But York Peninsula was a *terra incognita*; and Kennedy, some months after his return from the Barcoo River, was sent to explore it. He was to examine the peninsula on its Pacific side, from Rockingham Bay to Cape York. A colonial sloop was to lie off Cape York, to supply stores to the exploring party on its arrival there, where the exploring party was to turn, and examine the gulf side, down to its head.

In 1848 Kennedy and his party of twelve men including a native black, named Jacky Jacky, were landed at Rockingham Bay, and the colonial sloop "Albion" took up its post off Cape York. Month after month, the "Albion" lay off Cape York, but the man on the look-out reported no signal from the shore. At length, at the end of six months, the signalman called the officers to witness a strange appearance on the sea-beach. A native, naked, emaciated, and apparently dying, was seen to crawl from the dense woods which overhang Cape York. He held a bough in his hand. Gaining the beach, he waved the bough in the direction of the "Albion." A boat was immediately lowered, and the native brought on board. He proved to be Jacky Jacky, at death's door, from wounds and hunger. For fourteen days, he said, he had tasted nothing but water. His clothes, which he had received from the Government store at Sydney, he had used to bury Kennedy. While he greedily devoured the food placed before him, the officers and men of the "Albion" listened to his tale.

When the party landed at Rockingham Bay, they found the country covered with a dense and tall scrub. For four months they literally cut their way towards Cape York, through this scrub, with saws and hatchets, seldom making more than a mile or two a day. Their provisions became exhausted, and they ate their horses. When they had eaten their horses, they were still two hundred miles from Cape York. The soil, excluded from sun and air by the dense scrub, was found most unhealthy. Most of the men, from sickness and insufficiency of food, were too weak to proceed any farther. In this strait Kennedy placed eight of the men in camp, near the sea-shore at Weymouth Bay, and taking Jacky Jacky and three of the strongest men with him, set forward to procure assistance from the "Albion." A savage tribe appeared on their track. After some days' travelling a dangerous accident happened to one of the men from the explosion of a gun, and he could not be moved. Leaving the other two men to protect him, Kennedy again hurried on with Jacky Jacky. The blacks got ahead of them. At Escape River they showered their spears on them. Jacky was wounded in the face. Kennedy received several spears in the back, leg, and sides. He fell, but immediately stood up again, fired his gun, and then fell again. Jacky stood over him, with his gun cocked. It missed fire, but he still covered the savages. Kennedy's aim had been true—one savage was writhing in the agonies of death. The rest drew back, and peered from behind the trees. Jacky seized his master, and carried him down to the stream through a belt of the scrub.

"He said," continued the faithful fellow, "'Don't carry me far.' Then Mr Kennedy looked this way [imitating him], very bad. I said to him, 'Don't look far away,' as I thought he would be frightened. I asked him often, 'Are you well now?' and he said, 'I don't care for the spear wound in my leg, but for the other two spear wounds in my side and back,' and he said, 'I am bad inside, Jacky.' I told him, 'Black fellow always die, when he gets spear in there!' He said, 'I am out of wind, Jacky!' I asked him, 'Mr Kennedy, are you going to leave me?' and he said, 'Yes, my boy, I am going to leave you!' He said, 'I am very bad, Jacky; you take the books to the captain of the "Albion;" but not the big ones. The Governor of New South Wales will give anything for them.' I then tied up the papers. He then said, 'Jacky, give me paper, and I will write.' I gave him paper and pencil, and he tried to write; and he then fell back and died. And I caught as he fell, and held him; and I then turned round myself and cried. I was crying a good while until I got well. That was about an hour, and then I buried him. I dugged up the ground with a tomahawk, and covered him over with logs, then grass, and my shirt and trousers."

Jacky kept watch until dark. Then he slipped silently into the stream, and waded up its channel, keeping his head only above water, until he was sufficiently far to escape detection. From Escape River he crept on through the silent woods, exhausted by wounds and hunger, and falling asleep, as he said, for whole days beside ponds and water-holes, until at length he reached Cape York.

On hearing his story, the "Albion" was immediately got under way, and all haste made to relieve the remainder of the party. Jacky pointed out where the wounded man and his two companions had been left along the coast. Captain

Dobson landed, but could find none of them. Nor has their fate been yet discovered; though portions of European clothing were found among the savages in the neighbourhood, which left little doubt but they had been murdered. From this the "*Albion*" crowded all sail to Weymouth Bay, where the remainder of the men had been left in camp. On landing, the ship's officers discovered a European at a well side, sitting on his pitcher. They hastened to him, but he was quite dead. They proceeded to the camp. Five bodies were lying in their beds, and had lain for some weeks. Two beds showed signs of having been occupied within some hours. Their owners were looking for shell-fish on the beach. They had seen the "*Albion*," and now staggered back to camp—mere skin and bone, and so weak that they had been unable to drag their dead companions out of their beds to bury them. Search was next made for the body of Mr Kennedy, but his grave had been opened and the body removed. No trace of it, or of his papers, has ever been discovered. Jacky said he hid the papers in the hollow of a tree, but they could not be found.

Thus ended the disastrous expedition. Kennedy was an able and courageous explorer; but probably he was not strict enough as a disciplinarian. Yet, even if this were so, it is a consolation to think that Kennedy's sole fault proceeded from his generosity and kindness of heart. All his men loved him, and he earned their affection by his disinterestedness. They, one and all, fully believed that he would have freely given his life to save theirs; and this is the conviction that is impressed on the mind by a perusal of the melancholy narrative of the expedition.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FATE OF BURKE AND WILLS.

MR AMBROSE KYTE'S CONTRIBUTION—EXPEDITION OF 1860—BURKE AND WILLS—START FROM MELBOURNE—REACH COOPER'S CREEK—START FOR GULF OF CARPENTARIA—BRAHE LEFT AT DEPOT—WRIGHT'S CAMP ON THE DARLING—HIS FATAL NEGLIGENCE—HE STARTS FOR COOPER'S CREEK—TOO LATE—BURKE AND WILLS RETURNING—GRAY'S FATE—BRAHE FORSAKES THE CAMP—DESPAIR OF THE EXPLORERS—BRAVE EXERTIONS—FAILURES—SAD DEATH OF BURKE AND WILLS—KING'S ADVENTURES—NEWS REACHES MELBOURNE—HOWITT'S SEARCH—THE FUNERAL.

IN the year 1859, Mr Ambrose Kyte, a citizen of Melbourne, offered to contribute a sum of £1000 towards the equipment of a party to explore Central Australia. This generous offer was at once taken up by the colonists of Victoria, and a large amount was subscribed, the Government adding a donation of £3000 for the purchase of camels in India. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Robert O'Hara Burke, with William John Wills as surveyer and astronomical observer. Twenty-seven camels and a few horses accompanied the party, and several waggons. The expedition started from Melbourne on 20th August 1860, and by the end of the month the Darling was reached. Burke established his first depot at Menindie, on that river. The spring season was very far advanced, and the summer sun would soon wither the green grasses and dry up the surface water on the plains. Under these circumstances he resolved to divide his party; and having secured the services of Mr Wright as guide, he pushed on with seven companions to Cooper's Creek. The feed and water on the road were found to be good; and when half the distance had been traversed, Burke sent Wright back to Menindie to bring forward the rear party by easy stages to Cooper's Creek, Burke himself proceeding to that water with his seven associates.

On arrival at Cooper's Creek, where it was intended to establish the main depot, Burke wrote despatches announcing that all had hitherto gone well, and then subdividing his party, he himself started straight off for the Gulf of Carpentaria, accompanied by Wills and two men, Gray and King, taking with them six camels, one horse, and as much provisions as they could carry. The four men left on Cooper's Creek, under the charge of Brahe, were amply provisioned. About the time that Burke reached Cooper's Creek, a mounted man arrived at the main camp on the Darling, with the news that Macdouall Stuart had nearly

crossed the continent. It was of moment that Burke should know this ; for if every other route failed he could turn to the westward, strike Stuart's track, and continue his exploration northward. Two men were immediately despatched in the vain hope of overtaking him, and in place of proceeding towards Cooper's Creek with the remainder of the party and the great bulk of the provisions, Wright remained encamped on the Darling, awaiting the return of the two messengers. Weeks—precious weeks—passed away, during which the mid-summer and nearly vertical January sun poured down upon the parched ground, and scorched up the herbage on the plains, as though a fire had swept over them ; yet still Wright sat idle, looking for the two men he had despatched in quest of the leader. Great anxiety was created by their non-appearance, and in every direction men rode forth searching for the missing ones. With knocked-up horses, and weakened by privation, they returned at last, only to report that their mission was unaccomplished, that they had lost their way and wandered about, and had never seen the least sign of their leader.

Wright broke up the camp and tried to fulfil his instructions by making Cooper's Creek, but he was too late. The fervid Australian summer had cut him off from his destination, in the same way that it had, years before, pent up Sturt at his memorable Depot Camp. Men fell sick, horses broke down, camels wasted away, and advance was impossible.

Meanwhile Burke and his companions had pushed resolutely forward, had nobly fulfilled their mission by reaching the sea, and were now returning, foot-sore, weary, starving, to the spot where they hoped to find provisions in abundance, and recruit themselves after their desperate exertions. Onward they struggle, through shrub, swamp, and broken ridges ; and now they are reduced to three emaciated beings, for Gray has succumbed to exposure and dysentery, and sleeps in the wild bush. Still, the thoughts of the plenty awaiting them at Cooper's Creek cheer the survivors, and mutually encouraging and sustaining each other, they stagger feebly onward. They had left the sea on February the 10th ; and on April the 21st they reached their haven of rest, Cooper's Creek. Now all troubles and fatigue are forgotten, and they press forward to the encampment. How is this ? Are their eyes deceiving them, or is their bush lore at fault, and have they missed the camp ? There stands the stockade erected by Brahe and his companions, but where are the white tents that should have stood erect, gleaming in the evening sun ? The worn-out men look each other despairingly in the face, and hastening onward find a tree marked "DIG." On removing the earth, a bottle is found, and within it a paper notifying that Brahe and his three companions had quitted the camp that very morning !

The brave explorers, with one camel, made several attempts to reach the settled districts to the south, subsisting on the stores left by the party at Cooper's Creek ; and when these were exhausted, on a species of bread made from the *nardoo*, a native plant which answers the same purpose as flour amongst the natives. They were all in so enfeebled a state, through their long journeying and protracted privation, that they could only make a very little way. King remained faithful in his attendance on them to the last. At length Wills became

so weak that he could not any longer engage in the daily collection of the nardoo for food. After a consultation, it was agreed that Burke and King should go in search of some friendly natives who were near, leaving Wills in a rude native hut (or *gunyah*), with a supply of provisions, water, and firewood sufficient for eight days. On the third morning after starting, Burke died. King then returned to the hut where Wills had been left, and found him also dead. For about a month King lived with the natives, who treated him very kindly.

Wills kept his journal up to the last, and every line in the sad record indicates the courage, patience, endurance, and unabated cheerfulness of the devoted young man. He was only twenty-seven years of age at the time of his melancholy yet glorious death.

When the news arrived in Melbourne that Burke and his three companions were wandering about in the interior, the utmost anxiety prevailed, not only in Victoria, but in all the Australian colonies; and the noblest exertions were made to afford relief to the missing explorers. A party, headed by Howitt, rescued King, and buried the remains of poor Burke and Wills; but before it was known that their search had been successful, no less than four other expeditions were equipped with praiseworthy alacrity, and sallied forth from east, south, and north to the assistance of the lost explorers. Through their instrumentality the eastern portion of the continent was pierced in every direction, and our geographical knowledge of the country was proportionately extended. Those relief expeditions were commanded respectively by M'Kinlay, Norman, Landsborough, and Walker. The first-named traversed the entire continent, and reached the sea, whilst all did their work nobly and well.

Thus perished, after they had fully and faithfully accomplished the enterprise which they had volunteered to carry out, the brave explorers Burke and Wills. Their solution of the last problem of Australian exploration was perfect. From the shores of Port Phillip Bay to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, they laid down a direct and practicable route, and returned to their depot at Cooper's Creek—to find it abandoned and to die! In his despatch to the British Government, announcing the results of the expedition, Sir Henry Barkly, then Governor of Victoria, wrote of their fate in these terms: "So fell two as gallant spirits as ever sacrificed life for the extension of science, or the cause of mankind. Both were in their prime; both resigned comfort and competency to embark in an enterprise by which they hoped to render their names glorious; both died without a murmur, evincing their loyalty and devotion to their country to the last." When the remains of the brave explorers were subsequently brought back to Melbourne, to be buried in the cemetery there, the citizens gave them a grand funeral, and a monument, erected to their memory, stands in the centre of the chief street of the city.

CHAPTER XVI.

JOHN MACDOUALL STUART'S EXPLORATIONS.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN EXPLORERS—STUART'S FIRST EXPLORATION IN 1858—PENETRATES TO THE CENTRE OF THE CONTINENT—SPLENDID COUNTRY—EXPEDITION OF 1861—STUART CROSSES THE CONTINENT—SIX EXPEDITIONS—REWARDS.

SINCE the return of Captain Sturt from Central Australia, the people of Adelaide had sought in vain for an extension of territory. They always kept explorers in the field, and Messrs Flack, Swindon, Freeling, Warburton, and Babbage, had cleared up a good deal that was vague and uncertain in and around the Torrens basin. The large flockowners, too, were not idle, and many of them had eaten their way into the surrounding country as far as safety allowed. Yet the colony of South Australia was still little more than the Adelaide district in an immense and unknown wilderness. At length, in 1858, John Macdouall Stuart made some discoveries of great importance to the colonists. Penetrating to the west of Lake Torrens, with one white man and a native—who treacherously deserted them—he came upon an extensive district of country abounding in natural springs, and clothed with the kangaroo grass so highly prized by the Australian flockowners. For this discovery the Colonial Government presented him with a large tract of land within the district.

Towards the close of 1860, news arrived in Adelaide that Stuart and two men had reached the centre, and crossed over to the north coast; and in a few days Stuart himself arrived and lodged his maps and papers in the hands of the Government. The party had commenced their exploration on the 1st of March, from Chambers' Creek, and journeyed in the direction of the centre of the continent. On the 22d of April Stuart found, from his observations of the sun, that he was encamped in the very centre of Australia. On a high mount, about two miles to the northward, he planted the British flag, naming the spot Central Mount Stuart.

The country around the central station was found to be of a very different character from what had been supposed. Instead of a great desert, the land was well grassed, rich, and fertile, with an abundance of water—"as fine a pastoral country," wrote Stuart, "as a man would wish to possess." Beyond the centre, however, the difficulties of the party commenced. Stuart made three efforts to reach the coast by a north-west course, and each time was driven back on the centre by dense belts of scrub and scarcity of water; both men and horses suffering severely from illness and fatigue. A north-west passage to the sea was

at length abandoned, and the party attempted to reach the coast by a north-east course from the centre. On this course they were attacked by savages and obliged to retire. Stuart had arrived within a district already marked by the routes of Gregory, Captain Stokes, and Leichhardt. The attack by the natives occurred in June 1860, when the exploring expedition under Burke and Wills was still in Melbourne. With the first day of the year 1861, Stuart again started from Adelaide, with a party of twelve men under his command, for the purpose of actually reaching the sea-coast. And now the two expeditions were in the field. Burke's expedition had left Melbourne in August 1860; but Burke and Wills did not start from Cooper's Creek on their journey to the Gulf of Carpentaria until 14th December, just a fortnight before Stuart left Chambers' Creek. The two routes through Central Australia are pretty parallel—the distance of Cooper's Creek from Chambers' Creek, about three hundred miles, being mainly adhered to. On this occasion Stuart found no difficulty in making good his former route, and was able to advance nearly two degrees beyond its extremity. The continuation of his former route, also, opened up some fine country—wide grassy plains, “consisting of black alluvial soil from sixteen to twenty feet deep, and covered with luxuriant grasses four feet and five feet six inches high;” chains of lakes, some of them ten and twelve miles long, abounding with fish, and lined along the banks with troops of pelicans, white cranes, ibises, and native companions, and accessible to cattle from Adelaide at all seasons of the year. This fine country, however, towards the north was backed by belts of dense scrub, and from it attempts were made, in no less than fourteen different directions, to force a passage to the coast. In June 1861 the task was abandoned; while, in February, Burke and Wills had actually visited the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria by a more easterly and entirely independent route. But on the 25th July in the following year, Stuart was successful in reaching the shores of Van Diemen's Gulf, to the west of the larger gulf, and gazed on the waters of the Indian Ocean. This was his sixth journey. The return journey was very severe, owing to many of the waterholes having dried up, and on several occasions they suffered much from thirst. The leader himself was attacked by scurvy, which induced almost total blindness. On the 18th December Stuart arrived at Adelaide, and received a reward of £2000 from the Government; and shortly afterwards the Royal Geographical Society awarded him their gold medal and a watch.

Stuart's discoveries have been of inestimable benefit to South Australia. Owing to his favourable report of the northern territory, it was annexed to that colony; and along the route so laboriously traversed by him now stretches the magic telegraph-wire—the precursor of settlement and civilisation—by which her most distant colonies are brought into daily and hourly communication with the mother country. The vast utility of such a connecting link needs no demonstration; and of all the gallant men South Australia has sent forth, there is none of whom she has more reason to be proud than of John Macdougall Stuart.

CHAPTER XVII.

FORREST'S EXPLORATIONS.

JOHN FORREST—STARTS FROM PERTH—FRUITLESS SEARCH FOR LEICHHARDT—SECOND EXPEDITION—ROUND THE BIGHT—REACH ADELAIDE—THIRD EXPEDITION—POOR COUNTRY—AN OASIS—PRIVATIONS—REACH ADELAIDE—CHARACTER OF THE NEW COUNTRY—GOVERNOR WELD'S DESPATCH.

ANOTHER famous name in the annals of Australian exploration is that of John Forrest, who, by three several expeditions, has added much to our knowledge of the physical character of the interior. Prompted by an ardent desire to discover the fate of Leichhardt and his party, Forrest, then an officer in the survey department of Western Australia, accepted the leadership of an expedition sent out early in 1869 by the Government of that colony, to search for traces of the lost explorers. A report had reached Perth that some of the natives in the eastern district had repeatedly stated that, about twenty years before, a party of white men had been murdered by the blacks at a place they could point out. The party under Forrest's charge consisted of six men, of whom two were natives, and sixteen horses. They started from Perth on the 16th April 1869, and travelled in a north-easterly direction through about seven degrees of east longitude. No traces of Leichhardt's party were found, nor did the country traversed appear to possess any value for pastoral or agricultural purposes. Retracing their steps, the explorers reached Perth on the 4th of August, after an absence of 113 days.

A second expedition, designed to explore the coast of the Great Australian Bight—the country traversed by Eyre in his memorable journey, thirty years previously—was sent out by the Government of Western Australia in 1870. The leadership was given to John Forrest, with his brother Alexander as second in command, and four men, two of whom were natives. They started on the 30th of March, and keeping to the south-east, reached Esperance Bay on the 29th of April, where a small vessel, with provisions and stores, was awaiting them. Continuing their route along the coast, the party found some tracks of Eyre's encampments, and reached Port Eucla on the 2d of July, where they again found the vessel waiting for them. Adelaide was successfully reached on the 27th of August, although the line of country traversed was the same barren and waterless desert that Eyre had first penetrated.

A third expedition, headed by Forrest, started in March 1874, to explore the country lying between the western coast and the settled districts of South Australia. Taking a course almost due east, the explorers proceeded over a

country for the most part barren, but with occasional patches of good grassy soil. They met with few adventures, excepting a smart encounter with some natives in the vicinity of the Weld Springs, a most agreeable oasis in the desert, with a beautiful spring of pure water, fertilising a grassy tract, in which kangaroos, emus, and birds of various species were found to be numerous. On the 27th of September the party came in sight of the electric telegraph line from Adelaide to Port Darwin, and camped. Long and continued cheers were given by the little band, as they beheld at last the goal to which they had been travelling for so many weary months. All their provisions, excepting flour, had been exhausted some weeks before, so that they had been compelled to live entirely on "damper" and water. Three days later they reached one of the outlying stations in the settled districts of South Australia, where they were most hospitably entertained. All their hardships and privations were now at an end.

The account given by Forrest of the character of the country traversed in this last expedition states that, from the western coast, near Champion Bay, to the head of the Murchison River, there extends a tract well suited for pastoral purposes, but from thence to the boundary of Western Australia the country is a mere desert, wholly unfit for occupation. The only animals that tenant this desolate region are the kangaroo and emu; and wherever permanent water exists, myriads of bronze-winged pigeons, slate-coloured parrots, and scarlet-crested cockatoos are seen. At the few small sheets of water found in the desert, there are also vast numbers of black swans and wild ducks.

In a despatch to the Imperial Government, describing the condition of the colony of Western Australia in 1874, Governor Weld wrote: "Mr Forrest's expedition has bridged the gap that separated West Australia from the other colonies, has led to settlement on the shores of the Great Bight, and to the connection of this colony with the rest of the world by electric telegraph." These benefits, resulting from his arduous labours and explorations, conducted with remarkable courage and perseverance, place Forrest's name high on the roll of Australian explorers, and they were gratefully acknowledged by his fellow-colonists.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LATER EXPLORERS.

THE BROTHERS GREGORY—THEIR EXPLORATIONS—ERNEST GILES—COLONEL WARBURTON—A TERRIBLE JOURNEY—GILES'S SECOND EXPEDITION—EXPLORES WESTWARD—SUCCESS—REACHES PERTH—CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY EXPLORED—SPARE DIET—OTHER EXPLORERS—THE BROTHERS JARDINE—THE AUSTRALIAN ROLLS OF HEROES AND MARTYROLOGY.

IN 1861 Frank Gregory tried to penetrate the interior from the north-west coast, but was baffled by the arid red sand ridges, amidst which he and some of his party nearly lost their lives. He, however, discovered some extensive rivers, amongst which were the Fortescue, Ashburton, De Grey, and Oakover, and also a large extent of promising pastoral country, a portion of which is now settled.

The known state of the continent was now briefly this: Sturt had been stopped by sand ridges, numberless as the waves of the sea; Augustus Gregory, starting from the north, had encountered the same obstacle; and his brother, Frank Gregory, setting out from the north-west, had been foiled by precisely similar country. Yet between the farthest points attained by Sturt and A. Gregory, when the similarity of the barrier met by both appeared to indicate, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the intervening space was composed of arid desert, Stuart had discovered a well-grassed and watered route, that led from sea to sea through the very centre of the continent. The interior had been wrongly branded as an impenetrable wilderness, but Stuart had broken the charm, and it now naturally occurred to everybody that a similar belt of vegetation and water might extend from the centre to the westward. Both South and Western Australia were anxious to discover new pastoral territory, and the latter sent forth many minor expeditions, without any great return for her expense and trouble. At last the energetic South Australians engaged in the construction of the Trans-Continental Telegraph line (along Stuart's route), and this offered a new base for exploration. Taking a spot on the line as his point of departure, Ernest Giles struck westward, and discovered that the country was far from the desert it had been represented. All this stimulated the colonists to further exertion; and when Mr Elder, the owner of a large flock of camels, placed them at the disposal of the Government for exploring purposes, the offer was readily accepted, and preparations were immediately commenced.

The command of the new expedition was given to Colonel Peter Egerton

Warburton. He started on the 15th of April 1873, with seventeen camels (no horses), three Europeans, and two Afghans, beside himself. His route lay right across the fearful sandhills that had baffled the brothers Gregory; but, thanks to the camels, and his own indomitable energy, he arrived at last, more dead than alive, on the De Grey River, where stood a station belonging to some Western Australian squatters, from whom the travellers received every kindness and consideration. Nine months and a half had been occupied in making the terrible journey, of nine hundred miles as the crow flies, during the latter portion of which they subsisted on worn-out camel's flesh, and on rare occasions on a few wallaby that they got from the natives. Their vexatious hindrances, the tortures they suffered from thirst, and the hard battle they fought against starvation, are all set forth in the leader's journal.

In the year 1875 Ernest Giles again attempted to penetrate from South Australia to the western shores of the continent, and this time he was completely successful. The expedition, consisting of eight men, including an Afghan in charge of eighteen camels, and two intelligent native youths, started from South Australia early in May. They reached Perth, the capital of Western Australia, on the 10th November, having travelled a distance of 2575 miles in about five months.

Giles gives the following information regarding his journey: "The expedition has been successful, yet the country traversed for more than a thousand miles in a straight line was simply an undulating bed of dense scrub, except between the 125th and 127th meridians, the latitude being nearly the 30th parallel. Here an arm of the Great Southern Plain ran up and crossed our track, which, though grassy, was quite waterless. The waters were indeed few and far between throughout. On one occasion a stretch of desert was encountered, in which no water was obtainable for 325 miles, which only the marvellous sustaining powers of Mr Elder's all-enduring beasts enabled us to cross. The next desert was only 180 miles to a mass of granite, where I saw natives for the first time on the expedition. They attacked us there, but we managed to drive them off. Mount Churchman was now only 160 miles distant, and we found water again before reaching it. We struck in at Toora, an out-station, where the shepherd was very hospitable. At other homesteads we were most kindly welcomed." At Perth the party had a grand reception, and Mr Elder, at whose expense the expedition was undertaken, was greatly eulogised.

For the last month of their journey the party had mainly lived upon the eggs of the Mallee hen, a bird not unlike an English pheasant. Of these eggs from thirty to forty were sometimes found in a day. The general character of the ground traversed was sandy, and dry salt lagoons appeared frequently. The western part of the continent, which until recent years had been a mystery, has now been thoroughly explored, and its barrenness is established beyond a doubt.

Amongst Australian explorers the names of Landsborough, M'Kinlay, Howitt, and Walker deserve high and honourable mention. The records of these and other explorers, however, do not contain many striking elements of personal adventure, but are filled rather with descriptions of the country passed through.

Such descriptions become, of course, monotonous in the repetition, however interesting and valuable they may be from a practical point of view ; and it is not the less to the credit of the adventurers that they were more fortunate than some of their predecessors in escaping the perils of the wilderness and the desert. The list of gallant and devoted pioneers may fitly be closed with the names of the Brothers Jardine, two young bushmen, who, in the year 1864, traversed the country from Rockhampton to Cape York, in Northern Queensland, nearly in the track of the ill-fated Kennedy ; and who proved themselves, by their dauntless bravery, worthy associates of those great men whose achievements have here been briefly sketched. Honour to their memories ! When the future generation of Australians shall set about making up its roll of illustrious heroes, founders, and martyrs, there will be inscribed on it the immortal names of all the GREAT EXPLORERS.

BOOK V.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF AUSTRALASIA.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF AUSTRALIA.

VARIOUS NAMES OF THE CONTINENT—ITS GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION—RELATIVE SIZE—ITS EXTENT—TORRES STRAIT—GREAT BARRIER REEF—AREA OF THE CONTINENT—GENERAL SHAPE—BAYS—A VOYAGE ROUND AUSTRALIA—MOUNTAIN RANGES—MAGNIFICENT SCENERY—NO VOLCANOES—THE PLAINS—THE RIVERS—RIVER SCENERY—THE MIRAGE.

THE vast territory which two centuries of discovery and a subsequent half century of internal exploration have thrown open to settlement throughout its whole extent is now designated AUSTRALASIA, and comprises the great continent of AUSTRALIA with the adjacent islands of TASMANIA and NEW ZEALAND. Before it became familiarly known to European navigators, it was vaguely designated the GREAT UNKNOWN SOUTHERN LAND. The Spanish navigators, who had mistakenly supposed they had discovered the continent, gave to their new-found region the name of the LAND OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. The Dutch navigators named the continent NEW HOLLAND. European geographers subsequently noted it in their charts as TERRA AUSTRALIS, or the Southern Land. Flinders it was who first suggested the name AUSTRALIA—a designation now universally and finally adopted. The extended name AUSTRALASIA, or Southern Asia, is a purely geographical designation, framed to include Tasmania and New Zealand; but it might with propriety be taken to include the entire region lying between the southern shores of Asia and the South Pole.

The continent of Australia, with the adjacent islands, lies wholly within the southern hemisphere. It is situated to the south-eastward of the Asiatic continent, between which and its shores there intervene the countless islands of the East Indian Archipelago. It is a peculiar portion of the earth's surface, inasmuch as it has the essential characteristic of an island in being surrounded by the ocean, and thereby divided from the other portions of the globe—while its

vast magnitude equally entitles it to rank as a continent, and take its place as such among the greater divisions of the land.

Regarded as *insular*, Australia is by far the largest island on the globe: as *continental*, it is the smallest of the continents, being nearly one-fifth less than Europe in superficial extent. But although of somewhat smaller dimensions than Europe, yet the unbroken form and compact shape of Australia, with the vast extent of solid land which stretches between its opposite seas, impart to its climate and productions a much more truly continental character than belongs to the greater portion of the European mainland.

The most northern point of the continent is Cape York, which lies $10^{\circ} 42'$ to the south of the equator: its most southern extremity is Wilson's Promontory, in $39^{\circ} 9'$ south latitude. It stretches, therefore, in the direction of north and south through nearly $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of latitude—equivalent to a length of two thousand miles in a direct line, and involving, of course, a wide range of difference in climate, soil, and productions of the natural kingdom. But the dimensions of Australia from north to south are not uniformly so considerable—to the west of Cape York the northern shores are indented by the broad Gulf of Carpentaria, which advances a long way inland. The average breadth of the continent, however, is not less than twelve hundred miles, measured between its northern and its southern shores.

In the opposite direction—or from east to west—its dimensions are still more considerable, amounting to not less than 2400 miles in a direct line—a distance equal to that between London and the chain of the Ural Mountains, on the eastern limits of Europe, and nearly as great as that which intervenes between London and the banks of the river St Lawrence, upon the opposite side of the Atlantic. The Pacific Ocean washes the eastern shores of Australia, the Indian Ocean its western or north-western coasts; the sea which bounds it to the southward is generally known as the Southern Ocean.

The channel of Torres Strait, which is situated to the northward of Australia, off Cape York, connects the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and intervenes between the Australian mainland and the large island of New Guinea. Torres Strait is ninety miles wide in its narrowest part; it forms the most direct, though not the most frequented, route for the homeward voyage from the coasts of New South Wales to Britain, and is directly in the track of vessels sailing between India and Port Jackson. But the navigation of this channel, and also of the sea which adjoins it to the eastward, is rendered exceedingly dangerous by the numerous coral islets and reefs with which it is everywhere studded.

From the neighbourhood of Cape York a chain of coral reefs, known collectively as the "Great Barrier Reef," extends along the eastern coasts of Australia as far southward as the parallel of $24^{\circ} 30'$, and at an average distance of about thirty miles from the land, though in some places it approaches much nearer to the shore. Numerous vessels have been lost upon various parts of this reef, which has only within a late period been accurately surveyed; and the navigation of the adjacent seas requires the most extreme care. The narrow channel intervening between the reef and the shore affords a good and safe passage for

vessels, with anchorage in about twelve fathoms of water, and there are a few openings by which ships can pass through the reef, between its outer and its inner sides. Upon its outward or eastern side the reef rises perpendicularly from the waters of a deep sea.

The area of the Australian continent is calculated at about 3,000,000 square miles—or more accurately 2,983,263 square miles. The coast-line extends for 7750 miles. Its area is about one-half that of South America, as the next larger continent, and ten times that of Borneo, as the next smaller island. The whole of this immense mass of land is solid and compact, broken by few indentations of the ocean. The Gulf of Carpentaria on the north, and Spencer's Gulf on the south, are the most extensive sheets, but Shark's Bay and Hervey's Bay are also considerable. Numerous inlets, however—too small to be named as breaking the coast-line, but of noble dimensions nevertheless—afford easy approach to this otherwise iron-bound coast.

A mariner for the first time approaching Australia on its western coast finds little to allure the eye. A monotonous plain, bounded in the distance by a chain of bleak hills, stretches from the sea, and over the surface of this vast level are scattered sweeps of ground blackened by the passage of flames. The few wandering tribes leading a nomad life frequently, by accident or intentionally, kindle the tall dry grasses, or the low bush. The fire, seizing greedily on the parched vegetation, travels with great rapidity, and driven by the wind, spreads to the base of the hills, where the conflagration spends its fury. Generally, in one direction or another, the navigator may perceive the smoke or flame of one of these prairie fires. As we proceed farther northward the shores become strewn with enormous masses of rock, extending to some distance from the beach. It is supposed that formerly the land here was considerably more elevated than at present, and that the action of water has levelled it, leaving the more durable masses unremoved. Some eminences, covered with a vegetation richer than that of Brazil or Borneo, with occasional fertile plains, present themselves in marked contrast with the general aridity of this coast.

On the northern shores the same level prevails. Flinders sailed 175 leagues without seeing any hill higher than the mast of a sloop. Irregular cliffs rise from the sea, broken by the embouchures of several rivers, some of which—the Adelaide, the Victoria, and the Albert—were discovered during the surveying expedition of Captain Stokes. Along the Gulf of Carpentaria few elevations occur; but, reaching the eastern coast, the view is no longer monotonous or dreary. New scenes continually unfold themselves: forests, and open plains, and valleys, running up between the hills, and a more numerous population enlivening the country. Passing between the shore and that Great Barrier Reef which outlies the eastern coast of the continent for more than six hundred miles, we enter the principal field of British enterprise, where the coast is marked by a thousand fantastic irregularities. A line of precipitous cliffs extends far towards the south; a huge breach in this natural wall becomes apparent; and while the eye is resting on the grim magnificence of these granite barriers, the vessel glides between the rocks, and reposes in the superb harbour of Port Jackson. The

shore, sweeping in gentle slopes towards the hills, is covered with a natural growth of verdure. The sea, blue and brilliant, flows into beautiful bays, where vessels lie safe after their long voyage from Europe. White stone-built villas, with graceful gardens and groves, lend artificial charms to a landscape naturally picturesque; and Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, with its forts and lighthouses, its churches, hospitals, and custom-houses, full of traffic, and smoking in the heat of industry, appears like the creation of enchantment. The industry of Europe, planted in Australia, now ploughs the sea between Port Jackson and Moreton Bay with steamers, which prepare the mind for the scene presented within; but with this exception, the change from the outer view to the panorama of Sydney is as that from a lifeless desert to an English seaport.

Still proceeding southward towards Cape Howe, the coast wears a similar aspect, until, rounding the huge peak of Wilson's Promontory, with its inaccessible islets lying around, we enter Bass's Straits. Sailing along the fertile shores of Australia Felix, the eye of the mariner rests with delight on the scenery for many hundred miles. Towards the west the surface again becomes level; irregularities are few; tall sloping cliffs commence; and the country sinks into a plain covered with scrub, and extending as far as the south-western point of the island. There rises a range of low hills, continuing as far as Gantheaume Bay, where we reach again the desolate level from whence our circuit commenced.

The mountains of Australia are for the most part confined to the neighbourhood of the coasts. They appear to form a belt—not, however, continuous in every part—round nearly the entire continent. Between the hills and the sea there is in general an undulating and watered region, penetrated in many places by advanced spurs from the mountain-chain, and possessing a moderate degree of fertility. On their inland side the country forms a succession of upland downs, or table-lands, which gradually sink, towards the more distant interior, into wide-spread flat and level plains, with a slope so gradual as in many places scarcely to afford an outfall to the running waters. But there are exceptions to the generally hilly character of the coast districts; that portion of the southern coast which stretches westward from Spencer's Gulf to the neighbourhood of King George's Sound (or between the meridians of 118° and 134°) is almost uniformly flat, sandy, and barren, and the adjoining land is only elevated to a trifling height above the level of the sea.

The highest mountains in Australia are the Australian Alps, towards the south-east corner of the continent, and principally within the limits of the colony of Victoria. The boundary line between this province and the adjoining colony of New South Wales crosses the chain. They lie at a distance of between sixty and seventy miles from the coast; their most elevated summit (to which the heroic name of "Kosciusko" has been given) rises to 6500 feet above the sea-level, and is capped with perpetual snow. On all the higher portions of the chain, indeed, the snow lies during the greater portion of the year, and sometimes endures through the entire summer.

The Blue Mountains stretch to the northward of the Warragong range, parallel to the eastern coast, and in the same general direction; as also do the

heights still farther to the northward, and upon a portion of which the name of the Liverpool Range has been bestowed. Indeed, the whole of these ranges are obviously but portions of a great cordillera, or chain of heights, along which the same characteristics of mineral formation prevail. It is in the valleys on the western face of this cordillera, and amongst its detached and outlying summits, that gold has been found in such extraordinary abundance.

The elevation of the Blue Mountains is not considerable—their highest summit, Mount York, being less than four thousand feet above the level of the sea—but they are everywhere steep and rugged, intersected by deep and precipitous ravines, which exhibit in many places stupendous chasms enclosed between walls of rock on either side. Indeed, there is much in the scenery of New South Wales that rivals in grandeur the finest landscapes to be found in the mountain scenery of Europe.

Mr Charles Darwin, the celebrated naturalist, gives the following description of a scene in the Blue Mountains: “In the middle of the day we baited our horses at a little inn called the ‘Weatherboard.’ The country here is elevated 2800 feet above the sea. About a mile and a half from this place there is a view exceedingly well worth visiting. By following down a little valley and its tiny rill of water, an immense gulf is unexpectedly seen through the trees which border the pathway, at the depth of perhaps 1500 feet. Walking on a few yards, one stands on the brink of a vast precipice, and below is the grand bay or gulf (for I know not what other name to give it) thickly covered with forest. The point of view is situated as if at the head of a bay, the line of cliff diverging on each side, and showing headland behind headland, as on a bold sea-coast. These cliffs are composed of horizontal strata of whitish sandstone, and so absolutely vertical are they, that in many places a person standing on the edge, and throwing down a stone, can see it strike the trees in the abyss below; so unbroken is the line, that it is said, in order to reach the foot of the waterfall, formed by this little stream, it is necessary to go a distance of sixteen miles round. About five miles distant in front, another line of cliff extends, which thus appears completely to encircle the valley, and hence the name of bay is justified as applied to this grand amphitheatrical depression. If we imagine a winding harbour, with its deep water, surrounded by bold, cliff-like shores, laid dry, and a forest sprung up on its sandy bottom, we should then have the appearance and structure here exhibited. This kind of view was to me quite novel, and extremely magnificent.”

No active volcanoes have been discovered in Australia, nor have any serious shocks of earthquakes been experienced in the settled districts. Some extinct volcanoes, with distinctly-marked craters, occur in the neighbourhood of the south coast, near the river Glenelg (141° east longitude), and traces of volcanic action have been noticed in other parts. To the southward of the Liverpool Range, in the upper part of the district of Hunter's River, there is a bituminous hill, named Mount Wingen, which exhibits an intense degree of heat, and continually emits sulphureous vapours. These vapours arise from innumerable fissures on the surface of the mountain, and are accompanied by a brilliant flame,

visible from a considerable distance at night-time, though scarcely perceptible during the day. The margins of the different fissures are encrusted with beautiful crystals of sulphur, and there is a black, tarry, and bituminous substance on the edges of some of the chasms. But there is no appearance of any crater, no subterranean explosion or noise of any kind, and no trace of lava.

The region of the plains is of very varying character. On the western or landward side of the great eastern coast chain, are vast upland plains of undulating aspect, gradually declining into perfect levels towards the interior. Many of these tracts assume the form of downs; they present a series of detached, gentle, and round-topped protuberances, devoid of timber, but broken at intervals by woody ranges. In the flats between the more elevated grounds are deep ponds, filled by streams from the highlands, ordinarily supporting an almost inexhaustible range of cattle pasture at all seasons of the year. The grasses and herbage exhibit an extraordinary luxuriance of growth; the higher lands also are grassy, and being convenient to water, they form valuable and safe pastures for sheep, perfectly beyond the reach of those floods which take place on the flats in the rainy season. Such are the Bathurst Plains and Darling Downs, the Liverpool, Canning, and Peel Plains, great grazing grounds of New South Wales. Such also are the rich pasture lands of Victoria, and the entire region now called Riverina, lying between the Murray and the Murrumbidgee. Queensland and South Australia also possess vast tracts of grazing land; and the recent explorations of Burke and Wills, Macdougall Stuart, Landsborough, and others, have been the means of extending pastoral settlement up to the Gulf of Carpentaria. In fact, it can now be said that scarcely any available portion of the continent remains unoccupied by the adventurous squatter.

In other districts the pastures are thinly timbered, with three or four trees to the acre, and the country has the aspect of an English park, groves alternating with open lawns. By the margin of rivers, and on the alluvial soil visited by their inundations, the surface is clothed with dense forests of gigantic gum-trees, intermingled with cedar, rosewood, wild vines, and various parasitical plants, forming the "thick brush," or jungle, of colonial speech. In dry and sterile situations, as on rocky or sandy plains, there is often still a forest, but of stunted miserable-looking trees, to which the colonial term of "scrub" is applied, inhabited by the black snake and the lizard. The central region consists of vast levels, as truly desert as any on the face of the globe, but with here and there an oasis of great fertility and beauty.

It is in regard to rivers that the prime defect of Australian geography occurs. Not that they are by any means absent, or even otherwise than numerous, but the rivers of this southern continent are in general of trifling proportions and slender volume of water compared with those of most other parts of the globe. All the rivers of Australia, like those of the warmer latitudes in general, vary greatly in depth and body of water with the season of the year, even its larger streams being shrunk into greatly diminished proportions during the long and frequently intense heats of summer. The smaller streams become at this time wholly dried

up, or else converted into a chain of ponds, which occupy at intervals the deserted bed of the water-course.

The most extensive system of rivers on the continent belongs to the basin of the Murray. The river Murray rises upon the western slope of the Australian Alps, and flows for the greater portion of its course in a westerly direction. Nearly under the meridian of 140° it makes a great bend (or "elbow," as it is locally termed) to the southward, and finally enters the sea at Encounter Bay, passing immediately above its mouth through the extensive and shallow morass of Lake Alexandrina. In the upper and middle portions of its course the Murray forms the boundary between the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria; its lower course is within the province of South Australia. On its way to the sea, and in the westerly portion of its channel, it is joined from the northward by the rivers Murrumbidgee and Darling, the latter of which collects the waters of numerous tributary streams in its upper course. The Murrumbidgee, before joining the Murray, receives the waters of the Lachlan, a stream of considerable length.

This tributary, the "beautiful river," according to the meaning of the native name, which has been properly retained, descends from the mountains about 250 miles south-west of Sydney, and eighty miles from the coast of the Pacific. It follows a westerly direction at an average distance of a hundred miles or more from the Murray, till near the junction. The country between the two rivers includes some of the finest squatting-grounds of New South Wales. In the early part of its course, the Murrumbidgee answers to its name, flowing between steeply-sloping hills of sandstone, covered with herbage, vines, and creeping plants. "As I sat in the boat," says a tourist, "I could see above me small, very small, cattle, in single file, now lost in the foliage, now reappearing, as, by zigzag well-worn paths, they descended to the water to drink. So lofty and steep were the cliffs that I fancied they would fall down upon me; at length they made their appearance at the edge of the stream, drinking beneath bowers of overhanging creepers—a huge bull, and a mob of portly cows." The banks are fringed with the beautiful swamp-oak, a tree intermediate in its appearance between the spruce and Scotch fir, which has here its southern limit in the colony. Small alluvial flats are occasionally left on either hand, devoid of timber. Before quitting the hilly region, the river receives several affluents; it afterwards flows for upwards of three hundred miles without the slightest accession, passing by a tortuous channel through a low, flat, uninteresting country, exhibiting in many parts the aspect of absolute sterility and hopeless desolation. After losing some of its waters in marshes, the diminished current, about fifty feet wide, joins the Murray.

All the above-named rivers flow from the western side of the Blue Mountains or other ranges of the eastern coast, and have their upper courses directed towards the interior. The whole area of the country watered by the Murray is probably upwards of 200,000 square miles, and the length of the main channel exceeds 1200 miles.

Some of the rivers which flow from the highlands of the east coast towards

the interior are lost in the immense flats of the latter region, and terminate without reaching the sea—at least, by any direct channel. This is the case with the river Macquarie, which is formed by the union of several small streams rising on the western slope of the Blue Mountains, and, after flowing for three hundred miles in a north-westerly direction, is lost amidst a tract which consists alternately of extensive marshes or of an arid plain, according as the dry or the rainy season prevails. The superfluous water of the Macquarie marshes, however, eventually finds its way to the channel of the river Darling.

A colonial poet thus alludes to the changed aspect of the Hunter, one of the coast rivers, under its native name of the Coquun, at different seasons of the year :

“ Exhausted by the summer sun,
The schoolboy fords the broad Coquun ;
For then the slow meandering stream
Shrinks from the hot sun’s fiery beam,
And, like a wounded serpent, crawls
From Cumberoy to Maitland Falls ;
But when the autumnal deluge swells
Each little brook in yonder dells,
And twice ten thousand torrents pour
From cliff and rock with deafening roar,
Oh ! then he rolls with manly pride,
Nor stream nor storm can stem his tide ! ”

In the vast plains of the interior—as in the African and Arabian deserts—the phenomenon of the *mirage* is often witnessed, imaginary pools of water in the distance raising the expectations and exciting the hopes of the traveller, only to vanish from sight as he approaches them. The features of the landscape sometimes become inverted in an extraordinary manner, the distant trees appearing with their heads suspended in the air, and seemingly separated from their trunks by a watery medium. Occasionally, in the early morning, the apparent outline of a range of hills becomes distinctly visible on the verge of the horizon, their forms varying as the day advances, and the entire ridge at length gradually melting “into thin air”—the whole vision being, in fact, no more than “such stuff as dreams are made off.”

Similar phenomena are, indeed, not unfrequently witnessed in all parts of the Australian continent, the result of the varying densities in the strata of the air, produced by the powerful action of the solar rays reflected from its parched and heated soil. The mirage is frequently observed within the Port Phillip district, as well as in the neighbouring province of South Australia, both in the interior and near the coast.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF QUEENSLAND.

ALLAN CUNNINGHAM'S EXPLORATIONS—LEICHHARDT AND MITCHELL—MORETON BAY—PECULIARITIES OF QUEENSLAND—NATURAL FEATURES—SEABOARD—TROPICAL SCENERY—BAYS—THE BRISBANE RIVER—GREAT COAST RANGE—GREAT TABLE-LAND—VICTORIA RIVER—BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY—LATEST EXPLORATIONS—STURT'S DESERT—A FINE COLONY.

THE botanists of England are largely indebted for their knowledge of the Australian flora to the researches of Mr Allan Cunningham, who was sent out to New South Wales by the British Government in 1827, for the purpose of procuring specimens of the various productions of this continent. Mr Cunningham so endeared himself to the colonists by his amiable qualities and his indefatigable zeal in the cause of geographical discovery, then of vital importance to its mountain-locked population, that his virtues and early death are commemorated by a public statue adorning the beautiful botanical gardens of Sydney. In 1828 he returned to that city from a botanical exploration conducted in the previous year, and brought to its inhabitants the very welcome intelligence that upon an immense plateau, situated almost within the tropics, he had found the boundless waving pastures, the perennial streams, and the cool breezes so long sighed for by the flockowners of New South Wales. He proposed to call this region the Darling Downs, in honour of General Darling, then governor of the vast and as yet undivided British territories of the Western Pacific. Dr Leichhardt, whose fate is still involved in inscrutable mystery, pushed discovery, with equally happy results, still farther to the north, only a few months previous to that expedition of which all trace has been so strangely obliterated. Subsequently, Sir Thomas Mitchell, then Surveyor-General of New South Wales, reached the Fitzroy Downs, the Peak Downs, the Mantuan Downs, and various other portions of this vast table-land; advancing everywhere through a network of cool streams, and finding delicious breezes welcoming him to the torrid zone. The scene of these discoveries, passing for several years under the name of the Moreton Bay District, is now known as the Colony of Queensland.

That colony, the fifth of the offshoots from New South Wales, differs materially in soil, climate, and capabilities from all the other Australian colonies. It might, indeed, at first sight appear that the vast slopes and table-lands which constitute Queensland would most closely resemble those districts of New South

Wales and Victoria, through which the Great Coast Range of Eastern Australia continues its course. In reality, however, they have scarcely a natural feature in common. The hilly districts of Victoria, almost without soil or stream, as well as the contorted, broken, and impassable ranges of New South Wales, offer, each in its way, a strange contrast to the more tropical extension of the Australian Cordillera, as it expands in richly-clothed and well-watered table-lands, plains, and downs.

The natural features of this tract of Australian soil are strongly marked. They consist: (1.) of a seaboard of from fifty to a hundred miles broad; (2.) an elevated table-land, or, more strictly speaking, a succession of undulating downs or plains, situated some two thousand feet above the sea-level, and stretching back to the west for four or five hundred miles, without continuous rise or fall; and (3.) a succession of terraces descending, generally with rapidity, but in some places less perceptibly, until the more extended level of the interior of the continent is reached. There are thus three portions of territory, widely differing in their peculiar capabilities, which it may be of interest to examine a little more closely.

This seaboard owes its origin to the action of a network of streams, issuing from the more elevated table-land, and bringing down with them the disintegrated particles from the flanks of the great range. Indeed, the process may still be seen going on in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea-shore, and on a series of muddy and sandy islands lying off the coast, which are thus yearly growing in size. The more upland portions, however, nearer to the Great Range, have long ceased to derive any addition from this source, and now form most excellent districts for the growth of wheat, maize, and other cereals, which they produce in great luxuriance, yielding generally two crops in the year. Indeed, the deep alluvial character of the soil, and the plentiful supply of warm showers, caused by the influence of the Great Range, combine to produce a very remarkable degree of fertility, while the well-sustained slope of the whole seaboard prevents that accumulation of stagnant waters which communicates so unhealthy a feature to many similarly luxuriant regions within the tropics. The scenery throughout this whole tract, and more especially along the course of its numerous streams, is of the most delightful character. Dr Lang describes it in these words: "Close to the water's edge rises a complete wall of luxuriant foliage. Fig-trees, bean-trees, pines, and a variety of other trees, stand thickly set and overhung with a rich drapery of creepers, presenting the forms of turrets, buttresses, festoons, and stalactites, in endless variety, and bespangled with flowers and fruit. There is a purple convolvulus, wild roses, tulips, and other flowers, scattered high and low; and, close to the water's edge, a pure white lily. Cherries, figs, and mulberries overhang the water." More often, however, the course of these streams lies through a succession of thinly-treed plains.

As we descend this slope to the immediate borders of the sea-coast, much of the land assumes a more dreary aspect, consisting chiefly of mangrove swamps, sandbanks, and "drowned land" in actual process of formation. But, though less refreshing to the eye, there is reason to suppose that these tracts will prove

highly valuable for the cultivation of those varieties of the cotton plant which love "salt swamp."

The shore is well supplied with bays, some of considerable extent, as Moreton Bay, Wide Bay, Port Curtis, and numerous others. These bays, however, are not so much indentations of the coast-line as enclosures formed by the islands we have already mentioned. Moreton Bay itself is some sixty miles long and twenty wide; and they are all supplied with rivers navigable for fifty, sixty, and a hundred miles inland. Moreton Bay possesses no less than five such valuable rivers, besides some smaller ones. One of these, the Brisbane, gives its name to the capital city of the colony, situated twenty-two miles from its mouth. At this distance, however, the mangrove swamps are entirely passed, and the city stands upon a scene of surprising beauty. The noble river, which winds almost under foot, and appears, and disappears, and appears again, as it pursues its tortuous course through the dark forest to the bay, or is traced upwards to its sources, presents, ever and anon, points of view surpassingly beautiful; the thick brushes on its banks, with the majestic Moreton Bay pine overtopping all the other giants of the forest, merely indicating the spots of extraordinary fertility where the hand of man is perhaps erecting his future dwelling, and transforming the wilderness into smiling farms and fruitful fields.

The river here is a quarter of a mile wide, a width which it preserves for several miles upwards; indeed the Brisbane is navigable for 150 miles inland, and steamers now daily ply up its course. The population of the city is very large, and numerous handsome villas stand on a succession of terraces overlooking the town and commanding splendid views of the surrounding country. The city itself stands considerably above sea-level, and is distinguished for its very healthy climate, both in summer and winter. Indeed, excepting the neighbourhood of Sydney, which is perhaps the most beautiful city-site in the world, it would be difficult to select a more charming scene than that which has been chosen as the shipping port of a vast and wonderfully productive region, destined doubtless to supply the Old World with most of its wool, if not also of its cotton and other commodities. As these bays, too, abound with fish, turtle (of an excellence long known throughout the neighbouring colonies), and crabs of three and four pounds' weight, and very superior quality; and as the deep fisheries off the coast teem with several varieties of large fish of peculiar and most delicate flavour; it is difficult to assign bounds to the great natural resources of this whole line of seaboard.

From the seaboard we shall now proceed to the great table-land constituting the flat back of the Great Coast Range.

This range attains to its mean elevation at a distance of from fifty to a hundred miles from the sea-shore. Nor does it begin to descend into the interior with any marked or continuous depression until the sources of Mitchell's Victoria River, about the 147th meridian, are passed. We have thus, commencing from the southern bounds of the colony, an elevated region some 400 or 500 miles broad, stretching away thence to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria—a distance of over 1000 miles, giving an area of more than 400,000 square miles.

The whole of this area, with the exception of two partial interruptions, may be described as a succession of wild open downs, enclosed each within smaller subsidiary basaltic ranges traversing the great plateau. These downs are each of immense extent, and contain deep and most excellent agricultural soil, clothed with the richest grasses, growing in wonderful luxuriance. They are in a great measure destitute of trees, but the bases of their enclosing ranges are furnished with a very handsome and stately description of pine, behind which, and retiring into their recesses, are found some very valuable cedar-trees. These recesses are plentifully supplied with numerous rills and springs, which, trickling down the slopes of the ranges, and traversing the enclosed plains, unite and form the abundant network of rivers by which this immense plateau is watered. Some of these rivers—as the Clarence, the Brisbane, the Richmond, the Fitzroy, the Burdekin, the Maranoa, the Balonne, the Warrego, the Victoria—are of considerable extent, and traverse in their windings, peculiar to all Australian water-courses, immense tracts of country. Indeed, the Victoria, without taking into consideration its windings at all, possesses a curiously protracted length of some fifteen hundred miles. These streams, according as their main course tends to the east or the west, discharge themselves into the Pacific or the interior of the continent; and hence the term of “Great Dividing Range,” which has been applied to this vast table-land, as parting the eastern and western waters of the continent; though, as the range is entirely confined to the eastern seaboard, the term itself is somewhat misleading. Of course we may look in vain throughout Australia for anything approaching to the stupendous water system of America but it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of these streams to settlers dwelling on, and even within, the tropic.

Travellers throughout these vast plains all concur in their admiration of the luxuriance of the soil, the coolness and salubrity of the climate, and the loveliness of the entire landscape. We could fill pages with descriptions of countless rills issuing, cool and limpid, from their vine-clad slopes—of deep rivers stealing through waving meadows—of the golden sunlight, the rosy atmosphere, and the songs of innumerable birds, which give an additional charm to each scene. Sir George Bowen, the first Governor of Queensland, who had travelled much in Greece, stated that the district vividly reminded him of the classic plains of Thessaly.

The whole of this boundless plateau—extending within the tropics, but elevated two thousand feet above the sea-level—is particularly fitted for a wide range of crops. Indeed, as vegetation is continued during the whole year, the farmer has only to choose his various seasons for bringing most of the productions of the temperate and tropical zones to maturity. Thus wheat, oats, barley, maize, potatoes (and more especially the sweet potato, which here grows to the weight of twenty, and even thirty pounds), arrowroot, indigo, and more generally, all the productions of the kitchen garden, have already been cultivated with great success. At present, however, with the exception of some townships and their surrounding farms, these table-lands are clothed throughout their vast extent with the rich and luxuriant natural grasses of the country, and are

roamed over by the flocks and herds of some widely-scattered sheep and cattle owners.

Descending from the vast table-lands, we shall briefly trace the results of later explorations within the tract lying between the western slope of this elevated plateau and the 138th meridian (the western boundary of the colony), forming the third and last portion of Queensland territory. Immediately after the return of Mr Stuart, the explorer, the three colonies of South Australia, Victoria, and Queensland, alarmed for the safety of Messrs Burke and Wills, despatched three independent expeditions in search of them. Mr Walker's party started from Port Curtis, and crossing over the Great Coast Range, entered the tract we are now examining, and successfully crossed through to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Mr Landsborough, about the same time, left the shores of the gulf, and descending through the whole of the tract, reached its southern boundary in June 1862. Mr M'Kinlay, starting from the north of the Torrens basin, entered it from the south-west, and was equally successful in effecting a northern passage, returning in the following August. Thus, strangely enough, a region which for years had defied the attacks of such persistent and daring explorers as Sturt, Mitchell, and Leichhardt, was crossed, almost simultaneously, by no less than five separate and wholly independent routes. More strangely, and more lamentably, ere any of the searching parties had left their starting-points, Messrs Burke and Wills had already solved the great question of crossing the continent, and had returned to their depot to find it abandoned by those they had left in charge of it.

It is now known to be certain that Sturt's desert does not extend much farther than his extreme point in 1845 (latitude 26°), and that in its immediate vicinity there are numerous and apparently permanent fresh-water lakes. And though worthless tracts of country occasionally recur—in far smaller, however, and less rude patches—yet the whole territory is a valuable addition to the pastoral regions of the continent, interspersed even with excellent agricultural districts. None of it attains to the elevation of the table-lands on the summit of the Coast Range, though the mean depression of the interior is by no means so low as had been previously supposed, and is considerably relieved by the occurrence of short and apparently unconnected ranges of hills.

On every account, from its vast extent, its fertile soil, its extensive seaboard, and abundant water-courses, Queensland deserves to be regarded as one of the most interesting and promising of those youthful states with which the maritime and colonial genius of England has studded the globe.

CHAPTER III.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF TASMANIA.

A BEAUTIFUL ISLAND—D'ENTRECASTEAUX'S CHANNEL—MAGNIFICENT COAST SCENERY
—HOBART TOWN—MOUNT WELLINGTON—THE CAPUA OF THE AUSTRALIAS—
PHYSICAL CONFORMATION—MOUNTAINS—FORESTS—LAKES—RIVERS—SINGULAR
CAVES—SCENERY AT PORT SORELL.

To the voyager approaching Tasmania from any quarter, the island appears one of the loveliest in the world. If his destination be Hobart Town, after rounding the South Cape he comes upon the very magnificent estuary of D'Entrecasteaux's Channel, and scenery unequalled in the world is spread before his gaze: for, extending far away, this arm of the sea runs into the defiles; a beautifully undulating land stretches far away to the westward; and, in the background, Mount Wellington rises majestic over all, with its snow-capped peak. Again, to the eastward, is the thickly covered, beautifully green island of Bruni, and the entrance round its point to Storm Bay, which his bark is hastening to with a fresh and favourable breeze; for during nine months out of the twelve, fair breezes blow for the stranger coming to these shores.

Mrs Meredith, a lady long resident in Tasmania, thus describes the scenery of the south coast: "The coast rises considerably towards the south, where the mountain range terminates abruptly in the Cape Pillar, a grand basaltic precipice, or rather assemblage of precipices, which, seen from the sea, every moment assume a new and more picturesque aspect. Separated from the mainland by a strait of only half a mile in width is Tasman's Island, a scarcely less striking feature in this most grand scenery than Cape Pillar. Like it, the island is composed of basaltic columns, though on a less stupendous scale, but exceedingly fantastic in form, particularly on the southern side, where the slender spires and pinnacles seem a part of the ancient Gothic edifice, some Lindisfarne or Tintern of by-gone glory; whilst, as we gained a broader view of the cape, it assumed the appearance of a fortification, a wall and seaward tower at the north-east end being singularly well defined. When parallel with the strait, we gained through it a fine view of another high basaltic promontory, Cape Raoul, the entrance to Port Arthur being between the two; but this was soon lost, and the island seemed to fold in, as it were, with the westerly cliffs of the cape, until in a south view they formed one towering stupendous mass of dark rocks, most richly tinged with the changeful rose colour and purple and gold of the sunset's glorious hues, which shone forth in still greater lustre from contrast with the deep chasms

and ravines, which were in almost black shadow, and with the white-crested billows of the blue sea, that dashed their glittering spray high over the broken crags. It was a scene never to be forgotten ! I have heard much of the grandeur of the North Cape at midnight, but I would not lose my memory of Cape Pillar at sunset for all the icy glitter of the more renowned scene."

Hobart Town, the capital of the colony, is situated on the shores of a beautiful inlet called Sullivan's Cove, and very close to what may be properly styled the mouth of the Derwent River. The fine and perfectly land-locked harbour on which the city stands is everywhere deep, even close inshore, where there are four or five fathoms of water, and which, according to the Admiralty chart, deepens to ten or twelve in the stream. The harbour and also the great inlet by which it is approached, namely, Storm Bay, is without rock, shoal, or impediment of any kind whatever to navigation, unless, indeed, the Iron Pot rock be taken as an exception to this statement ; but as this rock lies very close inshore, and is moreover guarded by its own lighthouse, it is rather an advantage to the mariner than otherwise. But Mount Wellington (or Table Mountain) forms the crowning glory of the landscape. Rising immediately behind the town to the height of 4200 feet, with its summit of basaltic columns covered with snow more than half the year, its aspect is one of ever-varying, but never decreasing grandeur. Whether it is wreathed in fleecy vapours, dark with rolling clouds, or standing out clear and sunlit against the blue morning sky, the visitor is never weary of gazing on this magnificent object.

This quiet city, like Tasmania generally, has to visitors a very English air and character. Probably its temperate climate greatly contributes to this impression, exempt as it happily is from all extremes of heat or cold ; whilst the fall of rain being usually more equable than in the northern colonies, vegetation preserves its freshness and verdure to a degree more analogous to the old country. An English traveller writes thus of the island :

"It is the Capua of the Australias. Snow scarcely falls except to ornament the summits of Mount Wellington and of the distant ranges of the uninhabited and almost unexplored west coast. The frosts are seldom fatal even to the tenderest plant. The stifling hot winds of the continent are cooled by a hundred miles of sea before they reach the island. Nor is the air stagnant or sultry. Hot as the sun is by day, the summer nights are cooler than in England. English trees, flowers, and fruits flourish with a rare luxuriance side by side with pines from Norfolk Island and New Zealand. Geraniums blaze out in huge pink and scarlet masses, growing in almost wild profusion. The English sweet-brier has been introduced, and has spread of itself till in its luxuriance it has become a noxious weed to the farmers. Fruit follows fruit so fast under the early summer sun that apples ripen almost before strawberries are over. It is in such profusion that it lies rotting on the ground for want of mouths to eat it. Can any country be more perfectly delightful ? Once mounted (and, rich or poor, there are few who cannot possess or borrow a horse of some sort in Tasmania), one is free with a freedom known only in dreams to dwellers in the old country of Hedges and Enclosure Acts, where to quit the dreary flint roads is to trespass

and break the law. One's first reflection is on the astonishing folly of humanity in neglecting to inhabit it. Surely there must be many wearied with the crowd and strife and ugliness of English cities, who, brought to a virgin forest such as this, would be ready to sing their *Nunc dimittis* in thankfulness that it had been permitted them to exist in such beauty, to have their dreams helped to the imagination of the glory of the new heavens and the new earth."

In respect to its physical conformation, there is a considerable portion of the surface of the island mountainous. The loftiest eminences, however, do not reach six thousand feet elevation; and those portions of the territory that are not occupied by primary ranges are generally, though not uniformly, very hilly, the surface swelling into long and lofty ridges, called by the colonists "tiers," which, if viewed from any commanding ground, give to the landscape a very unequal and undulatory aspect. The great range that traverses nearly the whole of Central Tasmania, from Hobart Town to the extreme western bluff, in a north and south direction (and which might be appropriately called the Wellington range), is of greenstone formation, and in its upheaval has burst through those more recent rocks of sandstone, clay slate, and limestone that once overlaid it, and which are now found around its bases and in its depressions in quantities so vast as to spread over a very considerable extent of country. "The great north and south range," says an eloquent writer, "which bounds the principal vale of settlement on the west terminates abruptly when within forty miles of Bass's Strait, and, wheeling to the west, at a right angle with its former course, extends as far as the Mersey in that direction, presenting to the north a wall of precipitous faces, and thus limiting the enterprise of farmers to the country extending from its bases to the sea."

The forests, notwithstanding the awe-inspiring magnitude of their trees, and the nearly impenetrable closeness of their underwood, often present the traveller with scenes which it is impossible to contemplate without satisfaction. The foliage of many of the lesser trees and flowering shrubs, unlike that of the larger kinds, is exquisitely brilliant and beautiful; and the depressing influence so often felt when pushing through them is frequently relieved by the agreeable but circumscribed scenery of the forest. The musk-tree, sassafras, silver wattle, the laurel, the fern-tree, and the palm flourish in these situations in the closest association, and are as superbly grouped as their combinations are pleasing and agreeable.

There are numerous lakes in Tasmania, lying principally, indeed almost wholly, on the high central table-lands of the island, which are part of the great chain before spoken of under the name of the Wellington range. Each lake may be considered as a large natural reservoir, in which the waters of many small streams are collected, and their overflowings form some of the principal rivers. The united area of those lakes that lie on the plateau just referred to is about 75,000 acres. The Great Lake, which is about thirteen miles long with a maximum width of eight miles and an average of three or four, covers about 28,000 acres. The Queen's description of the scenery of Loch Inch seems to suit that of this beautiful sheet of water very nicely: "It is not a wild lake, quite the contrary, no high rocks, but woods and blue hills as a background."

Lake St Clair excepted, these expansive sheets of water are mostly encompassed by beautiful grass lands, which in summer support many thousands of sheep. The height of the Great Lake above the level of the sea exceeds 3800 feet, while the many small lakes that lie on the great plain of the Nineteen Lagoons, about seven miles off, in the west, are still higher.

Tasmania, from its many mountains, is better supplied with rivers than any of the continental colonies. Her first and second class streams are very numerous, and the lesser water-courses are wholly beyond numbering. These rivers, with the exception of about three of rather inferior magnitude, are ever-flowing ones. Those that discharge into Bass's Strait are the Montagu, Leven, Gawler, Forth, Mersey, Tamar, and many inferior streams. Of these, the Tamar, on which Launceston is built, is the largest and on all accounts the most important, and though not so large a river as the Derwent, in the south, its tributaries drain a much greater extent of territory. Its earliest waters almost touch the east coast at one point, and in a westerly direction they reach much more than half-way across the island, while its southernmost supplies are even met with at less than thirty-five miles from Hobart Town. It is formed of two large rivers called the North Esk and the South Esk, each having very numerous and considerable tributaries. By the west coast are discharged the Davey, Gordon, King, Arthur, and some others. The principal of the south coast rivers are the D'Entrecasteaux, Southport, Huon, Derwent, and Coal rivers. The largest and most important of these is the Derwent, on which Hobart Town stands. The surface whose rainfall is carried off by the Derwent and its tributaries is about 2,300,000 acres. Almost all this area is hilly or mountainous in a high degree, and as it receives fully six-sevenths of the waters that are collected in the lakes of the great table-lands of Central Tasmania, its volume of water is greater than that of any other river, not excepting the Tamar, which, generally speaking, flows through a flatter country. Its affluents, which mostly rise in the mountains of Central Tasmania or else in the principal lakes, are the Nive, Dee, Shannon, and several others. The Huon River flows through a region that is almost uninhabited until its tidal waters are reached, or nearly so, a region which is made up of mountains, heavily-wooded tiers, and very extensive open levels, the drainage of which is very considerable, and where rivers are very readily formed.

There are some very singular caves at the village of Chudleigh, forty miles from Launceston. They are thus described by the Rev. John West in his "History of Tasmania:" "The entrance of the principal cave, which is considerably more than two miles in length, is in the limestone rock, at the upper extremity of a narrow ravine, down which flows the stream which issues from the mouth of the cave, and extends throughout its whole length. The opening is thirty feet high, and fifty or sixty in width. At a considerable distance from the entrance light is admitted by two openings in the roof, the only ones throughout the whole extent of the cave, and when they are passed, the full beauty of the scene breaks upon the view of the visitor. Stalactites of every form hang like icicles from the roof, some presenting the appearance of inverted

cones, others that of glistening semi-transparent tubes, about the thickness of a pipe stem, and several yards in length. In some parts the stalactites, meeting with their opposite stalagmites, form pillars, in appearance supporting a roof of immense height. In other places they assume the form of elegant and flowing drapery thrown over the huge rocks that project from the sides of the cavern. The fringes of this drapery, when struck by any hard substance, give forth a ringing sound, and every variety of note, high or low, according to their respective length. The floor is covered with stalagmites of every form, and it sparkles as if paved with diamonds. If the visitor extinguish his torch, myriads of glow-worms are seen to cover the roof and walls, emitting a faint blue light, and making the stalactites appear like spectres in the gloom. As the spectator proceeds, new objects of wonder appear. In some places the stalactites, shooting out in all directions, into innumerable small fibres, appear like fur-work along the roof; in others, like masses of elegant drapery, extending fold above fold, to the height of thirty or forty feet, from the floor to the roof. Near the entrance of the cave they are of a grey or brownish colour, but in the interior they are of a pure white. There are several chambers, some of great beauty, which branch off from the main passage, and have been formed by the rivulet which passes through the cave."

This account of a very beautiful island may be fitly concluded with a poetical extract from Mrs Meredith's work entitled "Some of my Bush Friends in Tasmania," descriptive of the scenery around Port Sorell :

"Flowers in legions bloomed around in forest, scrub, and marsh,
 Dropping soft petals o'er the brook, or on rocky ridges harsh,
 Nestling in crevices and chinks, like jewels in the mine,
 Or peering out with merry eyes into the noonday shine.
 There grew the 'helmets' green, like elfin knights together;
 Some wore their armour plain, some with a flaunting feather.
 And caladenias quaint, with hoods and fringes rare,
 Couched by old mossy trees 'midst delicate maiden-hair.
 Acres of peaty swamps glowed purple with the shimmer
 Of gay rush-lilies; and in dells where the forest shades fell dimmer—
 In deep, green, silent glens—silent, except the fall
 Of tinkling streams that made a monotone most musical—
 The feathery fern-trees dwelt, with palmy crests outspread,
 Close interweaved and overlapped in canopies o'erhead;
 Upborne on massy columns whence taper ribs upspring,
 And leafy traceries flow from their mazy clustering,
 While round each pillar, wreaths of polished verdure cling
 With long and shining fronds, in graceful garlands drooping
 Adown, and down, till into the spray of the tiny cascade they're stooping.
 But the rill goes wimpling on, round island-rocks all mossy,
 By groves of fragrant sassafras, and myrtles, dark and glossy,
 'Neath bridges of great fallen trunks, under whose dark shadow slipping,
 It whirls to the deep and silent pool where the miner-birds are dipping;
 And parrots, skimming to and fro, through a sunny gleam together,
 Are bright, as though the sun had set a rainbow in each feather!"

CHAPTER IV.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF NEW ZEALAND.

THE THREE ISLANDS—EXTENT AND AREA—NAMES—DESCRIPTION OF SOUTHERN NEW ZEALAND—OTAGO AND CANTERBURY—NELSON AND MARLBOROUGH—CANTERBURY PLAINS—THE NORTHERN ISLAND—MOUNTAINS—LAKES—VOLCANIC CRATERS—RIVERS—STEWART'S ISLAND—THE SEA-COAST—EARTHQUAKES—GEYSERS OR BOILING SPRINGS—MUD VOLCANOES—VEGETATION—THE FORESTS—FERNS AND FLAX.

NEW ZEALAND comprises two large islands, named the North and South Islands, with one of smaller size called Stewart's Island. It lies in the Southern Ocean, nearly at the antipodes to Great Britain, between $34^{\circ} 15'$ and $47^{\circ} 30'$ of south latitude, and at about twelve hundred miles' distance south-east from the continent of Australia. The islands form one extended line of about twelve hundred miles' length, and are of very irregular width, varying from five to three hundred miles. Their aggregate area is about 100,000 square miles, or 65,000,000 of acres. This is nearly the same area as Great Britain. In shape New Zealand somewhat resembles the peninsula or "boot" of Italy. The coast-line extends over a length of 3120 miles. Around the coasts are many islands, some of considerable extent; and among them Durville's, the Kauau, and the Great Barrier are celebrated for containing copper ore.

Of the three islands forming the group, Rakiura, or the small South Island, is the only one which possesses a native name. Since the days of Cook, the North Island has been named on old maps Eaheinomawe, and the Middle Island Tavai-poenammo. These names originated thus: When the great navigator asked the natives the name of the North Island, he was told that it was "a thing fished from the sea by Maui"—*He mea hi no Maui*; and that the Middle Island was *Te wahi pounamu*, or "the place of the greenstone."

When New Zealand became a British colony, the first governor, who was an Irishman, proclaimed that the North, Middle, and South Islands were thenceforth to be denominated respectively New Ulster, New Munster, and New Leinster; and these names he selected for the colony because New Zealand, like Ireland, had no toads. The Constitution Act of 1852 discarded this unsuitable nomenclature. Stewart's Island is named in honour of the sealer who, in 1808, discovered its insularity.

Scientific men have often remarked the contrasted physical features of the two large islands of New Zealand. Passing through Cook's Strait, to the south

is a country of low swelling hill-ranges or table-lands, broken by isolated volcanic peaks. This land is covered with luxuriant forests, except in a central region of lakes and hot springs, or geysers, depositing silica and sulphur beds, like that of the Yellowstone region in North America. The climate, at its north end, has a languid semi-tropical warmth. To the south is a very different country. From end to end along its western side this island presents a continuous backbone of massive Alpine mountains, ranging from 11,000 feet to 13,200 feet in height, with a dense forest hanging in gloom upon their seaward slopes, beneath the eternal snows. But on the other side, facing eastward, this range displays vast snow-fields and glaciers, and immense beds of loose shattered rock, with clefts and gorges of terrible depth, whence the icy rivers are poured out into the lakes of an upland plain. The lofty plateau which occupies the middle breadth of the South Island is buttressed on its eastern side by a lower parallel range of mountains, through frequent breaks in which its rivers descend, and cross many successive terraces or steps to the eastern sea-coast. The nether terraces, from an elevation of fifteen hundred feet downwards, and the strip of low-lying shore intersected by those variable rivers, compose what are called the Canterbury Plains. That province is divided from Otago, its southern neighbour, by the larger Waitaki River, flowing out of three lakes at the feet of the central mountains. In the contour of its shores this island is also very remarkable. Its south-western extremity is, by glacier action no doubt, indented with deep fjords, like those of Norway. The north-eastern shore, in Cook's Strait, is wonderfully pierced and contorted, forming a maze of inlets; but the east coast is an unbroken low beach of shingle, saving two exceptional instances. These are the two harbours of Port Lyttleton and Port Chalmers, the sea-doors respectively of Christchurch and Dunedin. They owe their existence to peninsular blocks of volcanic formation enclosing small pieces of water.

Such is the natural structure of Southern New Zealand. It is evidently so laid out that the Canterbury and Otago territories share between them most of the agricultural and pastoral opportunities, with their habitable and fertile eastward plains open to the two convenient seaports. The two northern provinces, indeed, Nelson and Marlborough, possess their own advantages. The former has thick beds of good coal, as well as some gold, copper, and iron; the latter, in its Wairau district, has the richest soil. But for the growth of wheat, meat, and wool, upon which, in the first instance, the wealth of a new country mainly depends, the middle and southern parts of this island combine all favouring conditions. Their climate, less mild and tranquil than that of sheltered Nelson, is better suited than any other in the world both to the cattle and the cultivated plants of Britain, as well as to the health of English people and their children. It is like the best English climate, kept dry and ever clear of fog, with much less frost in winter. Seasonable airs of wholesome cold are inhaled from the inland snowy heights, or wafted from the antarctic icebergs. Only an incessant windiness is complained of, but that serves to purify the air, and to brace the nerves. Every vegetable product or domestic animal of English rearing there grows and multiplies with amazing quickness and equal vigour. The soil is good,

though somewhat light, and responds to manure, it is said, in a manner that seems miraculous. There are no swamps and no forests in these broad plains east of the Alpine range.

Three million of acres in the Canterbury Plains are fit for the agriculturist, the sheep-breeder, or the stock-owner, besides the extensive highlands and mountain runs. Otago, including Southland, can show nearly as much open land, with a soil even better for wheat. From thirty-five to fifty-five bushels an acre is obtained in the most southern district. The merino sheep, imported from Australia, grows much bigger; his fleece here weighs, instead of two pounds and a half, three and a half; the wool, though not so fine, is softer, with longer staple. New Zealand sheep-feeding obtains a greater advantage, as the coarse native grass, and the rude squatting management of vast open runs, are superseded by laying down succulent English grasses in the fenced meadows of purchased estates. The yearly produce of the colony exceeds three million bushels of wheat and forty million pounds of wool, chiefly from the two great southern provinces. The mineral riches, too, of this Southern Island are great, though surpassed by Auckland in the north. Manufactures have also been commenced in the towns. In short, there is none of the colonies which has a finer future opened to it than New Zealand.

The centre of the Northern Island is occupied by broad and lofty mountains, which send off spurs in various directions to the sea-coast; the valleys formed by these diverging mountain ranges are at first gullies which open out as they approach the coast into fertile districts, through the centres of which flow the rivers Waikato, Thames, Waipa, Mokau, Wanganui, Rangitikei, Tara Wera, and other streams. It is the abrupt configuration of these mountain chains which renders the land communication between Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, and Hawke's Bay so difficult. Ruapahu, the highest mountain in this central range, has an elevation of about nine thousand feet, and its summit is covered with perpetual snow. Tongariro, one of Ruapahu's peaks, rising upwards of six thousand feet above the sea, is an active volcano, and discharges from its crater smoke and cinders. Primeval forests cover nearly the whole of these mountain ranges from their bases to their summits.

In the interior of the North Island are numerous fresh-water lakes, which beautify the districts, and furnish easy means of communication and abundance of small delicate fish. One of these lakes, the largest, called Lake Taupo, is thirty miles long and twenty broad; another, named Rotomahana, is in parts boiling hot. Several of these lakes are of great depth, and the natives, seeing no outlet for the water, and ignorant of the powerful influence of evaporation, suppose it to be carried off by subterranean passages.

Three lines of volcanic craters, with high cones, stretch across the North Island; one occurs at the Bay of Islands, another at Auckland, and the third extends from Mount Egmont near Taranaki to White Island, an active volcano in the centre of the Bay of Plenty. Between these two last igneous points, the district abounds in lakes, boiling springs, and other volcanic products.

Rivers and tidal creeks are the distinguishing features of the North Island,

and with their aid the innermost districts are of easy access. The largest river, the Waikato, rises in the Taupo Lake, runs a tortuous course of two hundred miles, and pours into the sea on the west coast a large quantity of water with much pumice-stone. Sudden rises of all the rivers of New Zealand occasionally occur, causing much damage to property, with sometimes loss of life.

Stewart's Island, like most of the other parts of New Zealand, is of a mountainous character; the highest mountain attaining an elevation of three thousand feet. The whole island is well wooded and watered. Cook considered it a portion of the Middle Island, and this erroneous opinion continued among Europeans until the year 1808, when the sealer Stewart discovered its insularity. The coast line of the North Island measures nearly fifteen hundred miles; its harbours are not numerous, the best and greatest number lying between the North Cape and Cape Colville. In this district are found the magnificent harbours of Mongonui, the Bay of Islands, Wangarei, and Auckland. Within two hundred miles south from Cape Colville there are only two safe anchorages; one of these is at Mercury Bay and the other at Tauranga, both difficult of access, and the former unfit for large vessels. From the East Cape to the excellent Wellington Harbour, a distance of 350 miles, except Port Napier in Hawke's Bay, which is safe with off-shore winds, there is no secure harbour. On the west coast of the North Island they have all sandbars at their entrances. The sea-worn features of the coasts in the northern and the extreme southern portions of the islands surprise all navigators; and settlers sailing round Cape Horn have remarked some resemblance between the features of this solitary promontory and parts of New Zealand.

Eight feet is the average rise of the tide around the eastern coasts; on the western coasts it rises higher than this, and at some other places the average rise is upwards of ten feet. So great is the rise at Nelson, that vessels of 500 tons burthen have been beached and repaired. Extraordinary tides occur once in two or three years all round the coasts, covering lands which for years have been far above high water.

Ever since the arrival of the aborigines slight earthquakes have been occurring in the country between White Island and Banks's Peninsula; in other words, between latitude 37° and 43° . European evidence of the occurrence of these phenomena is abundant. In 1769 Captain Cook felt an earthquake in Queen Charlotte's Sound. In 1843 an earthquake was felt at Wanganui, but the Wairau massacre then engrossed all men's minds and no notice was taken of it. In 1848 and 1855 the city of Wellington was shaken to its very foundation by an earthquake shock, and since then these phenomena have been of frequent occurrence.

New Zealand is an admirable geological school: there travellers may see the form of Vesuvius, the dome-shaped summits of Auvergne, the elevated craters of the Caraccas, and the geysers of Iceland. Above the entombed village of Te Rapa, on the border of the Taupo Lake, basaltic rocks may be seen in the process of conversion into soft clay by heat and chemical action; where the Tongariro river falls into the lake, travellers may observe how rapidly pumice-stone and other deposits are lessening the size of this inland sea. Grand and

beautiful geysers, ejecting water two degrees above the boiling-point of pure water, and holding various silicates in solution, are found around the lakes of Rotomahana and Rotorua. This water on cooling incrusts every substance it comes in contact with, and birds thrown into it are brought out like pieces of flint. On looking down through the clear smooth water of the Te Tarata geyser on Lake Rotomahana, the siliceous matter is observed deposited at the bottom like the hills on the eastern side of Lake Taupo, a formation which, when seen from a canoe on the lake, suggests to the eye waves of lava suddenly cooled. Near the geysers at Rotomahana, a noise is heard similar to the sound in a large steam-engine room. Adventurous travellers may sail on the lake on hot water, and luxurious ones swim in baths of various temperatures, the sides of which are lined with flint, white as snow and smooth as glass.

Between two smouldering hills at Rotomahana there is a quantity of mud having a temperature far above the boiling-point of water. In certain places this clay is cool on the surface and of a firm consistence, and here a number of Liliputian mud-volcanoes, several in a state of great activity, may be seen. Some of these mud-cones are half-a-foot high, others six feet, and the bubbling spluttering hot mud is to be observed on looking down their craters. All these miniature volcanoes, like the giant Tongariro, have the lips of their craters lower on one side than the other. On this mud-flat, fissures may be seen in the surface, and dome-shaped cones caused by pressure from below. While contemplating this strange scene, an impression steals over the mind that it is all artificial, and the apparent ebullition the result of successful imitation; but the delusion is removed by the sad story of an infant's creeping into a circular hole pointed out by the natives, into which its sister also fell in endeavouring to extricate it; the poor children were both stewed alive in the molten clay.

At the village of Ohinemotu, on the Rotorua Lake, the natives may be seen cooking their food at the hot springs, sleeping in huts placed for warmth over the hot soil, and smoking and gambling for hours in the hot baths.

New Zealand is luxuriantly clothed with vegetation, and the flora of the country is characterised by the comparatively large number of trees and ferns, the paucity of herbaceous plants, and the almost total want of annuals. In England there are forty indigenous trees, in New Zealand 120. Two thousand species of plants have already been collected, and Dr Hooker anticipates that two thousand more will yet be discovered. Thus, it will be seen that European travellers find themselves surrounded in New Zealand with a new vegetation; the landscape is not soft or gay, but grand and sombre. It presents to the eye a dark green colour, and, except in the tree-ferns, little that is striking. Unfortunately for the beauty of the floral scenery, the tree-fern shuns observation, avoids the sun, lives in solitary places, and flourishes best in stagnant air. Almost all the New Zealand trees are evergreens; forests are consequently never leafless, and the change of seasons makes little difference in their appearance; in winter they are greener than in the summer, and the luxuriance of the vegetation, the palm-like tree-fern, the nikau, the cabbage-tree, and the obscure green flowers of the ferns, give to them a somewhat tropical appearance.

Indescribable is the charm of New Zealand forests for the lovers of nature. There generations of noble trees are seen decaying, and fresh generations rising up around the moss-covered trunks of fallen patriarchs. The profound silence which reigns in these regions produces a pleasing gloom on the mind, and the scene displays better than the most classic architecture the grandeur of repose. No sound is heard save the falling of trees, or the parrot's shrill screech, as birds which enliven the outskirts of forests are mute in their interior. Around the graves of past generations of trees the air is hushed into stillness, while the tops of the living generation are agitated with gales and breezes. At Christmas the pohutukaua is covered with scarlet flowers, and is then the most gaudy of forest trees; and the rimu possesses a melancholy beauty and an indescribable grandeur. Few of the pines recall to the settler's eyes the same trees in England, and singular to relate, unlike their congeners, the majority of them grow intermixed with other trees. The celebrated and beautiful kauri is the only pine bearing a cone, and the male and female cones are found on the same tree.

Travellers talk of the solitude of the forests, but there is society in trees which men miss on immense plains; it is on the prairie alone that the solitary traveller has a sensation of loneliness, feels that he is in the world and does not belong to it, that he is a solitary wanderer on a vast oceanless desert without landmarks.

On the coast plains in the North Island ferns and flax plants supply the place of grasses. The sight of an immense district covered with short fern fills the mind with an idea of sterility, while the long grass covering the Middle Island plains, and parts of the interior of the North Island, looks like hay.

CHAPTER V.

CLIMATE OF AUSTRALASIA.

VARIETY OF CLIMATES—THE TORRID ZONE—WARM, BUT EXHILIRATING—SUDDEN CHANGES—EASTERN COAST CLIMATE—HOT WINDS—BRICKFIELDERS—TEMPERATURE AT MELBOURNE, ADELAIDE, AND PERTH—SEA BREEZES—RAINS—SNOW—DROUGHTS—THUNDERSTORMS—HURRICANES—THE SEASONS IN AUSTRALIA—CHRISTMAS AT THE ANTIPODES—A HEALTHFUL CLIMATE—CLIMATE OF NEW ZEALAND—SNOW AND RAIN—FERTILISING INFLUENCES—A HEALTHFUL CLIMATE.

THE climate of Australasia is of the most varied kind, the variations being due to difference of latitude, as well as to the different circumstances of inland or maritime position, with many other considerations. All the northern portion of the Australian continent—embracing not much less than the half of its entire extent—falls within the limits of the torrid zone. We find here an intensely-heated atmosphere, and a climate which is strictly tropical. But in the southern and south-eastern portions of the continent the average temperature, in the coast districts, is not higher than that experienced in the south of Europe, though in some portions of the distant interior a greater degree of heat is not unfrequently felt.

Measured by an English standard, however, the climate of every part of Australia is hot—though it is a kind of heat to which the settler soon becomes accustomed, and learns to bear, not only without inconvenience, but even with a large amount of positive gratification. It is not a heat productive of lassitude—like that of India or of tropical America: instead of deadening the active faculties, it rather raises them (except under the influence of particular and temporary circumstances) to the highest amount of vigorous enjoyment. Outdoor occupations which, under a similar temperature, it would in most parts of the globe be found nearly impracticable to pursue, are there carried on without the smallest injury to the constitutions of those engaged in them. This results, in a great degree, from the extreme dryness of the atmosphere—a quality which is one of its most essential characteristics. Hence the general healthiness of an Australian climate, and the almost uniform freedom from pulmonary and other complaints which a humid atmosphere is so liable to engender.

Another circumstance which contributes to the healthiness of this portion of the globe is the general uniformity of temperature enjoyed during the greater part of the year, although this is less conspicuous at the maritime localities, where changes from extreme heat to comparative cold are by no means unfre-

quent. But even there the range of the thermometer is much less than that experienced in most countries on the northern side of the equator, especially within the temperate latitudes. With the exception, indeed, of the intense and almost overpowering heat of the summer season, an Australian climate is for the most part remarkably equable in its degree of warmth.

In so far as temperature is concerned, the coast regions of New South Wales present no material difference from Lisbon, Gibraltar, or other places in the south of Europe. Lisbon has a mean annual temperature of 61°, Gibraltar of 67°; and in both places the amount of difference between the mean heat experienced at the opposite seasons of the year exactly coincides with that of Sydney. The summer heat of Sydney is as high as that of Naples, Constantinople, and Algiers, on the Mediterranean coasts, and higher than that of Philadelphia or Baltimore, on the opposite side of the Atlantic; while its winter coincides with that of Sicily, or with the correspondent season at the Cape of Good Hope.

During nine months of the year, indeed, the climate of the southern colonies is in the highest degree healthful, agreeable, and even invigorating; the perfect clearness and dryness of the atmosphere being productive of an elasticity of frame which influences pleasantly both mind and body. It is only during the summer that the heat is felt to be oppressive, and then it is only intense during the prevalence of the hot winds. These winds generally occur about four times in each succeeding summer, and blow for a period of from twenty-four to thirty-six hours each time. In their origin and character they are probably analogous to similar winds experienced in other parts of the globe (as in Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and elsewhere), and are, perhaps, connected with a great and widely-extended system of atmospheric currents moving in rotary courses, and the laws regulating which are as yet only imperfectly traced.

The hot wind of Australia and Van Diemen's Land (for a similar phenomenon is of occasional occurrence in that island) exerts an extremely injurious influence upon vegetation, both indigenous and exotic, during its brief prevalence. All the grasses and leguminous plants are parched by it, and the fruit of the fig, as well as that of the vine, is destroyed. The red and blue grapes commonly lose their colour and their watery elements; the green leaves turn yellow and wither; the quality of the crops is generally deteriorated; and whole fields of promising wheat and potatoes are often laid waste. Its effects on the human frame partake somewhat of the character of those produced by the sirocco or simoom of Egypt and the Mediterranean coasts—a feverish heat and determination of blood to the head, with a difficulty of breathing. These hot winds are popularly known as “brickfielders,” and the Sydney people call them “southerly busters.” Similarly heated blasts from the interior are of occasional occurrence in the other continental colonies—their direction varying in some degree with the respective situation of particular places. At Adelaide, and also at Melbourne, the hot winds blow from the northward, and raise the temperature of the air like the blast of a furnace. Victoria, which lies in a more southern latitude than either New South Wales or South Australia, enjoys in general a milder temperature; but even here the settler occasionally experiences

a day of tremendous heat—the hot wind blowing in a continuous and steady breeze, during the whole day and night, and keeping up the thermometer at 110° in the shade.

The mean annual temperature of Melbourne is 57° , the mean of summer 65° , and that of winter 48° . Adelaide has a mean yearly temperature of 65° , with a mean summer of 82° , and a winter of 56° . Western Australia—or that portion of it which includes the Swan River settlement—resembles the other parts of the Australian continent in the general purity and dryness of the atmosphere, and is unusually exempt from the hot winds which are found to occur elsewhere. Westerly winds prevail on this portion of the coast, and are cooled by their passage over the waters of the Indian Ocean. In a similar manner, on the coast of New South Wales and Victoria, winds which blow from the eastern and southern quarters of the heavens, charged with the cooling vapours derived from the immense expanse of the Pacific, are the most refreshing and invigorating in their influence.

On all parts of the Australian coast—especially those which are situated near, or within, the tropic—alternate land and sea breezes prevail during the warm portion of the year. The cooling sea-breeze, which generally sets in during the earlier portion of the day, and becomes more steady and powerful towards the afternoon, serves to temper the otherwise intense heat of an Australian summer. In the mornings and evenings, too, the air is nearly always calm and pleasant, and the nights almost uniformly cool and refreshing. Owing to the perfect dryness of the air, a person may sleep beneath the open sky almost throughout the year, without experiencing any injurious consequences.

In respect of its rains the Australian climate exhibits one of its most strongly marked features. The rainy season coincides generally with the winter months; that is, from May to September. In fact an Australian winter bears considerable resemblance to a wet English summer, and is distinguished much more by the circumstance of its heavy rains, than by any very striking difference of temperature from the months by which it is preceded and followed. During this brief portion of the year, the rain comes down in torrents—forming *sheets*, rather than showers, of rain—filling all the water-courses with inconceivable rapidity—swelling insignificant (and almost dried-up) brooks into deep and powerful rivers, and frequently rendering extensive tracts of country altogether impassable, until the waters have subsided. In the towns, every highway becomes, for the time, a river—every by-way is converted into a torrent, and every bank into a cataract.

Snow is, as a rule, never seen in the lower country neighbouring the ocean, although it is frequent enough in the Alpine region, where some of the mountains are snow-capped the year round.

Distressing droughts sometimes occur in all parts of the continent, but less frequently in Victoria than elsewhere. Not a drop of rain falls for months and months in succession, and the face of the country becomes completely parched. At such times the cattle perish by hundreds, from inability either to find water or to extract any nutriment from the surface of the dried and burnt-up soil.

Instances have even occurred in this province of no rain (or scarcely any) falling within periods of two or three years' duration.

Terrific thunderstorms sometimes occur in the height of summer, especially in the highlands, where they far exceed in violence the electrical explosions known in the interior of the United States of America. A traveller in the mountain region of New South Wales gives the following vivid description of a storm he encountered there: "I once passed a night far away from any house, among the mountains beyond Liverpool Plains, during one of the most awful thunderstorms ever experienced in this colony. The repeated flashes of lightning rendered darkness visible. The coruscations and lurid glare made it appear as if the atmosphere was on fire. The air was tainted with a sulphuric smell; the loud and rapid peals of thunder, reverberated from mountain to mountain, seemed like the artillery of heaven let loose to accomplish nature's dissolution. I was surrounded by a range of lofty mountains, every one of which seemed to 'have got a tongue.' This war among the elements was succeeded by torrents of rain, to which I was completely exposed; for soon after the thunderstorm had begun, I took the precaution of removing my bed from under the trees, for fear of their attracting the lightning. Many a tree was that night struck, and instantly shivered to atoms. I slept none; my horses, which stood near me, refused to feed. When daylight appeared, extensive and fearful was the havoc effected by the combined power of the lightning and whirlwind. Trees which happened to attract the electric fluid were completely stripped of their bark, and split down the centre from top to bottom; while their branches, some of them a ton weight, were rent from the main trunk, and scattered in all directions, often to the distance of one hundred yards." These storms are frequently accompanied with hailstones of extraordinary dimensions. Hurricanes, ending in whirlwinds, followed by torrents of rain, sometimes display tremendous power in certain localities, utterly devastating the tracts they visit. A traveller journeying from Bathurst Plains to the Murrumbidgee, encountered one of these fearful blasts in a wild region covered almost entirely with forests of lofty gum-trees. Happily for himself, he was not in its path, though close to the very edge. The morning had been gusty and threatening. As the day advanced the air became warm, and a few flashes of lightning, accompanied by loud thunder, betokened the approach of a storm. In a short time a strange, loud, rushing noise was heard; the atmosphere rapidly grew thick and dark, and the horse of the traveller trembled violently under the influence of intense fear. He had scarcely time to leap off his back, and involuntarily exclaim, "This is a hurricane," before it swept by in front. The roaring, crashing sound was deafening. Everything was in total darkness. But the furious tempest was almost instantly over; the atmosphere rapidly cleared, and in what a few seconds before had been a high and dense forest, the track of the storm was indicated by every exposed tree being prostrate, either broken or uprooted. These hurricanes appear to follow a direct route, have a very narrow sweep in proportion to the length of their course, and are remarkably well defined. Trees on the boundary have been entirely stripped of their branches on one side, while the trunks have remained standing

with the branches on the other side uninjured, being just without the limit of the blast. On following the path of a hurricane, the evidence of its having terminated in a whirlwind has been observed, the fallen timber forming a circle, with the trunks directed to different points of the compass.

The seasons in Australia occur at precisely the opposite periods of the year to the English. It is summer in Australia when it is winter in England, and *vice versa*. The hottest months in the year are December, January, and February, and the coldest June, July, and August. The English spring corresponds to the Australian autumn. Again, the intense heat of the mid-day sun comes from the northern, instead of the southern, point of the sky; the south wind is cooling in its influences, and the northerly gales, instead of being associated with influences proper to "rude Boreas," are almost suffocatingly hot. These peculiarities of climate, of course, powerfully attract the notice of one who visits the southern hemisphere for the first time, and interfere strangely with the accustomed and cherished associations of an English mind. The festivities of Christmas take place during the intensest heat of the Australian summer; and the ball-room, filled with a company assembled in honour of the commencing year, is decorated with the gayest and brightest of flowers, freshly-plucked, in their fullest bloom. The antipodal Christmas is, indeed, completely un-English. "Sitting in a thorough draught, clad in a holland blouse, you may see men and boys dragging from the neighbouring bush piles of green stuff (oak branches in full leaf and acorn, and a handsome shrub with a pink flower and pale green leaf—the Christmas of Australia) for the decoration of churches and dwellings, and stopping every fifty yards to wipe their perspiring brows."

But the colonist soon grows accustomed to these and similar anomalies, and gladly reconciles himself to even the admitted drawbacks to the charms of an Australian climate (in the shape of excessive heat, dust, drought, and, worse than all, countless swarms of flies, mosquitoes, and other insect plagues), in consideration of its many advantages, and, foremost among them, its almost uniformly bright and glowing sky, its pure and transparent atmosphere. For at least three hundred days of the year fair weather may, with almost perfect certainty, be reckoned on, and whatever of out-door work or pastime may have been planned for the morrow is pretty certain of meeting with no "skiey" impediments to its performance. Sunshine is the rule, clouds the rare exception, and the clause of "weather permitting" never forms part of any treaty in which out-of-door arrangements are included. It is, in fine, as Campbell beautifully expresses it, "A delightful land, in wildness even benign."

New Zealand has been rendered famous by its climate, but, like other things in this world, the climate has been injured by injudicious praise. It has been styled delightful and pleasant, terms which convey the idea of an atmosphere rarely disturbed by wind or rain, whereas there are few countries on the globe where wind and rain are so frequent and so uncertain; they are, indeed, for pleasure-seekers, the two great faults of the climate.

No single locality in Europe has a temperature during the whole year like that experienced in New Zealand. The North Island possesses the summer heat,

tempered with a sea-breeze, of Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam, with the winter cold of Rome; while the Middle Island has a Jersey summer, and a winter in mildness resembling that at Montpellier. New Zealand is said to possess an Italian climate. But there are marked points of difference between the seasons and those of Italy. Thus, in Italy there is a sort of summer-winter when cattle must be provided for indoors as in winter, and during which for several hours of the day all out-door work is interrupted by heat. There is no similar summer-winter in New Zealand, and it is the opinion of persons who have sojourned in different parts of the world, that the Anglo-Saxon race can work and expose themselves to the climate without injury, during more days in the year, and for more hours in the day, than in any other country.

Snow seldom lies on the ground at the level of the sea in the North Island, and not very often in the Middle Island. But all round the year the summit of the highest mountain in the North Island, Ruapahu, nine thousand feet above the level of the sea, and the great mountain chains in the Middle Island, are covered with snow. Ice is occasionally seen in winter from one extremity of the islands to the other, but frosts are comparatively slight to the north of Auckland, although the North Cape is occasionally covered with hoar-frost. More rain falls in New Zealand than at London, but less than that which falls on the west coast of England. There is more moisture in the atmosphere surrounding the islands than in that surrounding England. Proofs of its presence are given in the luxuriance of the vegetation, the heavy night-dews, and the mould which collects on unused shoes and wearing apparel. But it must not be confounded with raw dampness, for it produces an exquisite softness of the skin, and settlers rarely have that unpleasant glazed feeling of the skin so often experienced in dry climates.

These are the elements of the climate of New Zealand, and under its fertilising influence every European plant grows in the colony, while the geranium, arum, fuschia, balsam, myrtle, heliotrope, and Cape bulbs live in the open air. Flowers blow quickly, but the fragrance of the lily and the rose are not equal to that exhaled from lilies and roses in England. Figs, peaches, grapes, nectarines, plums, and melons ripen in the open air side by side with apples and pears; but the temperature in summer is not sufficiently warm in the southern parts of the colony to bring these delicate fruits to high perfection. At Nelson, melons, grapes, and nectarines ripen better than in any other part of New Zealand.

An idea of the seasons may be drawn from English strawberries being ripe in November, December, and January; cherries and gooseberries in January; apples, pears, plums, and peaches in February; and melons, figs, and grapes in March and April. The summer mornings, even in the warmest parts of the colony, are sufficiently fresh to exhilarate without chilling, and the seasons glide imperceptibly into each other. The days are an hour shorter at each end of the day in summer, and an hour longer in winter, than in England. The beauty of the day is in the early morning, and at this hour, away from the settlements of men, a solemn stillness pervades the air, which is only broken by the shrill and tinkling voices of birds. Summer nights are often singularly beautiful and mild,

and on such occasions the settlers are frequently enticed from their houses to wander about in the open air.

Happily the climate is as favourable to the health of the settlers as it is to vegetation and beauty. Captain Cook remarked the healthy state of his ship's crew while beating about the coasts of the colony, and subsequent experience has furnished convincing proofs that Anglo-Saxon settlers live longer here than in any other part of the world. This remarkable salubrity of the climate to Anglo-Saxons probably arises from the evenness of the temperature at all seasons, the constant agitation the wind produces in the atmosphere, and the circumstance that, from whatever quarter the wind blows, it passes over a wide expanse of ocean; in addition to which, the country contains few physical sources of disease.

CHAPTER VI.

NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF AUSTRALIA.

THE LAND OF ANOMALIES—SYDNEY SMITH'S JOKES—A RECENT CONTINENT—NATIVE PRODUCTIONS—TREES AND FORESTS—NATIVE GRASSES—NATIVE FRUITS AND FLOWERS—ACCLIMATISED PRODUCTS—ZOOLOGY OF AUSTRALIA—BIRDS—WATER-FOWL—REPTILES—SNAKES—INSECTS—FISHES—WHITE ANTS—ZOOLOGY OF NEW ZEALAND—BIRDS—FISHES—THE MOA.

AUSTRALIA has been called the Land of Anomalies. Within its limits are comprehended regions of the most diverse features, both in respect of natural characteristics and of climate. It is, indeed, a land of contrasts and novelties, and, if measured by the personal experiences which are acquired on the northern side of our planet, of contradictions manifold and extraordinary. "It is New Holland (says an accurate and acute English observer), where it is summer with us when it is winter in Europe, and *vice versâ*; where the barometer rises before bad weather, and falls before good; where the north is the hot wind, and the south the cold; where the humblest house is fitted up with cedar; where the fields are fenced with mahogany, and myrtle-trees are burned for fuel; where the swans are black, and the eagles are white; where the kangaroo, an animal between the squirrel and the deer, has five claws on its fore-paws, and three talons on its hind legs, like a bird, and yet hops on its tail; where the mole lays eggs, and has a duck's bill; where there is a bird with a broom in its mouth instead of a tongue; where the pears are made of wood, with the stalk at the broader end; and the cherry grows with the stone on the outside. Truly a strange land, where pigs are fattened on peaches, and hundreds of thousands of fat sheep and oxen are annually boiled down for the sake of their tallow—to the waste of untold quantities of excellent mutton and beef!"

These striking contrasts between the region which English people still call the Antipodes and their own northern country, was long a theme of jocular remark for writers in the periodical literature of London and Edinburgh. Sydney Smith, for example, was never more entirely at his best as a brilliantly witty essayist than when he was dealing with a book of Australian travels in the *Edinburgh Review*. Thus, he writes on one occasion: "Such is the climate of Australia, and in this remote part of the earth Nature (having made horses, oxen, ducks, geese, oaks, elms, and all regular and useful productions for the rest of the world) seems determined to have a bit of play and to amuse herself as she pleases. Accordingly, she makes cherries with the stone on the outside, and

a monstrous animal, as tall as a grenadier, with the head of a rabbit, and a tail as big as a bed-post, hopping along at the rate of five hops to a mile, with three or four young kangaroos looking out of its false uterus to see what is passing. Then comes a quadruped as big as a large cat, with the eyes, colour, and skin of a mole, and the bill and web-feet of a duck—puzzling Dr Shaw, and rendering the latter half of his life miserable from his utter inability to determine whether it was a bird or a beast. Add to this a parrot with the legs of a sea-gull; a skate with the head of a shark; and a bird of such monstrous dimensions that a side bone of it will dine three real carnivorous Englishmen; together with many other productions that agitate Sir Joseph Banks and fill him with mingled emotions of distress and delight.”

But if we accept the theory of the recent formation of the continent, all these phenomena become intelligible. All its features indicate an origin dating not far back in the history of creation. Its physical structure, as we have shown, is incomplete and peculiar; its indigenous vegetation is of the scantiest description; in many parts its soil is raw and unproductive; while its fauna belongs to the lowest orders in the animal kingdom. All is rough and crude—a mass of disordered elements unmoulded into the beauty of perfect nature. In the river system the same irregularity prevails. Violent inundations, however, certainly do occur, when the springs in the mountains discharge volumes of water, converting small streams into torrents, and spreading the waters over whole tracts of country. Deceived by these ephemeral floods, travellers have brought home accounts of immense lakes extending beyond the reach of sight, in places where the next explorer has found a grassy plain, covered with the traces of a dried-up deluge. In South Australia are several sheets of water, but few of them large or permanent. The salt Lake Torrens, discovered by Eyre, lies at a distance of four hundred miles from the sea, almost enclosing a circular tract of land nearly two hundred miles across; Lake Alexandrina, which receives the waters of the Murray River, is the most extensive of the fresh-water basins; while scattered along the banks of several streams in South Australia, and Australia the Happy, are considerable expanses of water, which do not in all cases bestow on the land that fertility to be expected from such an abundance of irrigation. In other countries rivers are the great fertilisers, and throughout their course clothe their borders with verdure. In Australia only the higher lands thus watered are verdant, and the streams spread themselves over a barren sandy waste, which they are powerless to reclaim.

Nor do the phenomena of social life which Australia exhibits differ less widely from those of other lands, than its external features or its natural productions. Civilised and savage life there stand side by side; amidst the highest evidences of social refinement and luxury, even amidst the crowded streets of the populous and busy city, is seen the scarcely half-clothed form of the native Australian—the “black fellow,” who was at no distant period the sole inhabitant of the Great Southern Land, and who (like the Indian of the New World) is gradually passing away before the advancing footsteps of his white brethren.

The native productions of Australia, vegetable and animal alike, are almost

all strikingly dissimilar from those of any other part of the globe. The forest-trees are all evergreens, and consist chiefly of the genus *Eucalyptus*, embracing a vast variety of gum-trees, many of them of gigantic growth. Acacias are also numerous, together with tree-ferns and nettles of enormous magnitude, besides many similar plants which in Europe only attain the size of ordinary weeds. The trees of an Australian forest have in general fewer branches, and spread out laterally in a less degree, than those of Europe, shooting upwards more directly into the air, and possessing comparatively a smaller number of leaves. Both the eucalyptus and the acacia likewise present their leaves in a vertical instead of a horizontal direction, affording hence a less density of shade than is given by the forest trees of other parts of the globe.

The woods have, therefore, no sombre shadows—no glades of profound gloom—but are comparatively light and airy scenes. If this is a disadvantage to the traveller needing a “shadow in the day-time from the heat,” it is a gain to the farmer, as it allows the grass to grow where it otherwise would not. In common with the prevailing character of vegetation in the southern hemisphere, South America and South Africa, the trees are not of the deciduous class, or those which cast their leaves periodically. Thus one of the most glorious spectacles of nature is entirely wanting in the landscape, the gradual and general change of the forest from leaflessness to foliage in the vernal season. But though technically “evergreens,” the term is a misnomer with reference to the colour. “Never-green,” or “ever-brown,” is far more true to the reality; dull reddish, brownish, and leaden hues prevailing, corresponding to those of an English autumn. Owing to these tints, and the leaves being without gloss, the woods have not that bright, reviving external aspect, so characteristic of their appearance in the spring and summer of a northern climate. They have also a desolate, untidy, and ragged air, arising from the bark of several species falling annually, or hanging down in long shreds waving to the breeze.

The only portions of Australia in which the native vegetation resembles that of other countries are its northern and north-eastern coasts, where the numerous palms and other tropical plants remind the observer of the botanical productions of the adjacent Indian Archipelago. Palms occur in greater or less abundance along nearly the entire eastern coast of the Australian continent, as far south as the district of Illawara, to the southward of Sydney. But they are found farther either to the south or the westward.

Several of the gum-trees afford valuable timber, and are extensively used for building purposes. That called the stringy bark—from the old bark peeling off annually, and hanging in loose flakes and stripes about the tree—is one of the most generally useful, on account of its easy splitting. The red and white gums are also used for building and for making furniture, and, though rather heavy, they are well adapted for shipbuilding. The acacia, or wattle, is, however, most generally used in the construction of the dwellings of the settlers in the interior, as well as for a variety of domestic purposes. Early in the morning, when the dew is yet on the leaf, a peculiar (and not unpleasing) odour, which bears some faint resemblance to that of camphor, arises from the gum-forest. From one

species of the tribe a sweet-tasting substance like *manna* (and so called by the colonists) is produced: it is found lying on the ground in the early morning, as well as adhering to the leaves and branches of the trees, presenting an appearance not unlike that of hoar-frost; but the heat of the sun soon causes it to dissolve. Intermixed with the immense gum-trees are the tall and cypress-like casuarinas, with numerous cedars, and a vast number of plants of a smaller growth which fill up the interstices of the forest, or attach themselves as parasites to the larger trees. Of the casuarina thirteen different species are known; and there are numerous other plants which form some of the rarer ornaments of English green-houses.

The cedar affords a valuable and highly ornamental wood, beautiful in colour as Spanish mahogany, though inferior in solidity and closeness of grain. It grows abundantly on alluvial lands by the borders of rivers, yields a soft, light wood of beautiful texture, which takes a fine polish, and in colour resembles Honduras mahogany. Churches, chapels, and other places of public resort, are generally fitted up with this wood, and have a very elegant appearance.

The Norfolk Island pine, the most noble and stately member of its family, occurs in various parts, and has been seen 270 feet high, by twelve feet in diameter. Another species, the Moreton Bay pine, abundant on alluvial lands, and the sides of hills in that district, is remarkable for the slenderness of the stem in proportion to its height. Individuals have been measured 170 feet along the trunk, with only a diameter of two feet. A third species, the bunya-bunya, is distinguished by its great peculiarity of outline, limited range, and utility to the native tribes. The outline of the tree is like that of a large umbrella, upon an exceedingly long stick. It rises often to the height of 150 feet, with a diameter of five or six feet, which is maintained to a considerable altitude, the trunk not tapering in a perceptible manner for sixty or seventy feet from the ground.

The native grasses are abundant, and are spread over boundless tracts of the interior. The principal ones are the oat grass and kangaroo grass, with two species of rye grass, and other varieties. Of these, the oat grass is the most generally diffused. It affords excellent pasturage, is eaten by all kinds of stock, but does not stand the winter. The seeds, bruised between stones and baked with cakes, form an article of diet to the natives. The kangaroo grass abounds in low warm places, and is remarkable for its succulent properties. But the grasses do not uniformly clothe the surface, as in the instance of English pastures. They grow in tufts, with spaces of bare ground between them, and hence a very considerable area of country is required to sustain a flock of sheep or drove of cattle.

There are few edible fruits or plants, indigenous to the soil, of any great importance. The native cherry is famed for having the stone outside, an instance commonly quoted to illustrate the contrarieties of the country. The fruit resembles the yew berry, but is less pleasant to the taste, with a hard seed growing from the end, fancifully styled the stone. The wooden-pear tree is apparently clothed with enticing produce, about the size of a jargonelle pear;

but it is really a hard structure encasing the seed vessels. In barren scrubs and brushes, the dwarf honeysuckle is abundant, yielding at certain seasons an immense quantity of beautiful transparent honey, which stands in large drops among the filaments of the flower cone. Small shrubs, with yellow and golden blossoms, abound; climbers, with rich crimson and other colours, are numerous in the woods; and humble plants make the earth gay with blue and golden dyes. But nearly all the native flowers are without odour. One of the most magnificent of the floral tribe is the waratah or native tulip, a tall, stately, regal plant, straight as an arrow, with a woody stem from three to six feet in height, growing on the slopes of the hills. It bears leaves of the richest green all the way up, in shape resembling those of the oak, but considerably larger. The flower at the top of the stem is entirely of the most vivid crimson, and looks like a flambeau lighted in the forest. The gigantic lily, or spear-flower, is another splendid indigenous production of vegetable nature. From the centre of an immense group of long, broad, curving leaves, the stalk rises to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, and of proportionate thickness, crowned with a huge cluster of gorgeous crimson lilies.

But if Australian botany be distinguished rather by the novelty—and, in many cases, the beauty—of its forms than by their utility to man, it is owing to no deficiency in the soil or climate of the southern continent. All the food-plants of Europe, as well as many of those native to other regions, are cultivated with the greatest success: and the fruits of Southern Europe, with those proper to the warmer latitudes in general, are found to flourish wherever they have hitherto been tried. There seems, indeed, to be scarcely any limit to the adaptability of the Australian soil to the growth of nearly all the more valuable productions of foreign lands. The cotton-plant succeeds on parts of the eastern coast, tobacco is cultivated successfully in all the Australian colonies, and indigo is found to grow in particular localities. The tea-plant has been tried, with every promise of success, in parts of New South Wales. The vine flourishes in the greatest luxuriance, together with numerous other fruits, including the fig, orange, mulberry, peach, *et hoc omne genus*. Corn-crops and orchards abound in all the colonised districts. Every species of grain, including maize, is cultivated with success; oranges, lemons, citrons, nectarines, apricots, peaches, plums, cherries, figs, mulberries, quinces, bananas, guavas, pine-apples, grapes, and many others, the produce of Australian soil, are sold cheaply in the markets; and doubtless the luscious fruits of India will all follow. The sugar-cane is now one of the staple products of Queensland.

It is justly remarked by Strzelecki, that the climatic condition of Southern Australia and Van Diemen's Land is represented in the most favourable light by its rich and vigorous flora, and by the healthy condition of its aborigines and indigenous animals. "Looking, indeed, at the singular and distinctive features by which its organic life is characterised, making this continent, as it were, a world apart, we cannot but wonder that the same climate under which that life appears should be likewise so well adapted to the maintenance of the vegetation and the animals of other hemispheres. The effect produced by the appearance

of the plantain growing in company with the vine, apple, peach, and the English oak, which is the case at Tahlee, the head station of the Australian Agricultural Company, and these again flourishing in the close vicinity of the *eucalyptæ* and *mimosæ*, is indeed surprising; nor is it less surprising to behold the kangaroo, sheep, emu, and the horned cattle roaming together in the same forest, and seeking sustenance from the same herbage."

The zoology of Australia, like every other department of its natural history, also presents extraordinary features. The number of known species of mammalia is about one thousand. Fifty-eight are found in Australia, of which forty-six are peculiar to it, leaving twelve only which it contains in common with other regions. Even of these five are whales and four seals; another is the strong winged bat of Madagascar; another like the jerboa of America; and the last the dog—an animal found always where man exists, and rarely, if ever, where he does not. Three of the great orders of mammiferous animals are altogether unrepresented in the zoology; namely, the quadrumana, the pachydermata, and the ruminating quadrupeds. That is to say, this continent has none of the monkey tribe native to it (unless, indeed, they be of the biped variety); nor any of the thick-skinned animals, as the elephant, rhinoceros, horse, etc.; nor any oxen, deer, sheep, or similar animals.

Among the marsupials, the kangaroo takes the first rank. The kangaroos are a numerous family, containing many species. They are vegetable-feeding animals, browsing upon herbage, and in some cases chewing the cud like the ruminants. They move by a succession of springs, compassing twenty feet or more at a single bound; they clear broad gullies and the lower brushwood with surprising agility, and proceed by this singular mode of locomotion at a rate which outstrips for a time the fleetest horse. Some are of great size, being nearly as tall as a man when in their common erect position; others are as small as the common hare, and strongly resemble it in their general appearance. The kangaroo is timid and inoffensive, but will defend itself with great vigour when closely pursued in the chase, having a formidable weapon in its claws. The natives hunt it for food, and the colonists for sport. But this is only at the very outskirts of the settled districts, and even there the animal has become strange. Two or three, or even six, large strong greyhounds are put upon its track, and a smart chase is the result. If water is near at hand, the kangaroos make for it, and take possession of the deepest part in order to keep their pursuers at bay. In some cases they drown the dogs, seizing them with their fore arms and keeping them under the water. Frequently they take up a position with their back against a tree, and show fight for a considerable time, occasionally with success, by ripping up or wounding the dogs in a severe manner with their hind claws. Reptiles and rapacious birds are other enemies. A traveller relates having had his attention drawn to a curious misshapen mass, which came advancing from some bushes with a novel and uncouth motion. He fired, and it fell. On going up to the object, he found it to be a small kangaroo, enveloped in the folds of a large snake. The kangaroo was quite dead, and flattened by the close embrace of the reptile.

There are numerous *flying squirrels*, of a beautiful slate colour, with delicate fur; *opossums* of many varieties; *bandicoots* and *wombats*, burrowing animals, feeding on grass and roots. The opossums live in hollow trees, usually at a considerable height from the ground, and are rarely visible by day. At night they descend to make their meal on the herbage or on the corn of the settler, and may be seen gambolling among the branches around their habitations. A full-grown individual is larger than the common cat, with an innocent-looking face, dark brilliant eyes, monkey-like feet, and a long tapering tail about the thickness of a sable boa at the base. The tail is strongly prehensile, and holds so tightly, that they often swing their whole weight upon it; and when shot dead, sometimes hang for a minute by it before falling. On fine moonlight nights they are killed by scores, either for the sake of their warm skins for rugs, or to check their ravages among the rising grain.

There is a *native bear*, or *sloth*, about the size of a poodle dog, with shaggy, dirty-looking fur. It climbs trees with facility, and feeds on their leaves, getting very fat and unwieldy; the flesh is esteemed by the natives. The *porcupine*, or *Australian hedgehog*, of which there are two varieties, serves for another native dish, as does also the *wombat*.

The incident has already been mentioned of one of Cook's sailors, who had gone a short distance into the forests of the eastern coast, coming back to his companions in great terror, telling them that he had certainly seen the devil, though his alarm had prevented him from making any further observations on "the prince of darkness" than that he had horns, and was about as big as a one-gallon keg! The creature which had—and not unnaturally—occasioned so much affright to the honest tar was doubtless a huge bat, of horribly ugly appearance, and commonly distinguished by the colonists of New South Wales as "the flying fox."

Among smaller animals of this continent are the native cat, besides several rats and mice, jerboas, ant-eaters, and a few others. But the most remarkable production of Australian zoology is the *ornithorhynchus*, or *platypus*, a curious semi-aquatic creature, which has the body of an otter, with a bill like that of a duck, and lays eggs. So perfectly anomalous in appearance is this animal that its existence was long doubted, and when a stuffed specimen was first brought to England, it was at first regarded by a learned zoologist to whom it was shown as an attempt to impose on his credulity. The platypus frequents the margins of creeks and rivers, rising above the surface of the water for the purpose of breathing, but it is only seen with difficulty, from the extreme shyness of its habits. The natives spear and trap them, and they may be easily shot when they rise bubbling to the surface of the stream. The fur of the platypus is soft, and prettily shaded from black to silver-grey. This singular creature, which is equally fitted by its organisation for living in the elements proper to two distinct classes of animals, approximates in some respects to the reptile genus, and has been found by naturalists to have something in common with the extinct races of *ichthyosauri*, or *fish-lizard* species.

There are no beasts of prey of importance except the *dingo*, or wild dog, the

“warragal” of the natives. It is about the size of a small fox-hound, partaking in form of many of the characteristics of both dog and wolf, and not unlike the cross produced by the intermixture of those two races. Its body is covered with shaggy hair, it has a long and bushy tail, prick ears, large head, and slightly tapering nose—in look and size not unlike a Scotch collie. Two or more of them frequently pursue their prey in company. On breaking in amongst a flock of sheep the dingo occasions fearful havoc, biting a piece out of every one that he can seize, until sometimes as many as twenty or thirty have fallen victims to his ferocity. The colonists hunt the dingo, besides adopting other means for the destruction of so formidable a foe, and he has been altogether extirpated from the island of Van Diemen’s Land. The dingo is easily rendered tolerably tame, but is never to be trusted; for the lessons of years will be forgotten in a moment on escaping from confinement, and ferocious habits be immediately resumed. The dingo never, or very rarely, barks, but howls or yells at night with a most dismal, unearthly kind of tone. This animal is remarkably tenacious of life, an obstinate fighter, contends in silence, utters no cry of pain, and, like the grim wolf, dies as hardly as he has lived. Remarkable instances are related of this power of endurance. Mr George Bennett mentions the case of one, which had been beaten so severely that it was supposed all its bones were broken, and it was left for dead; but after the person had walked away some distance, upon accidentally looking back, he was astonished to see the dingo rise, shake himself, and march into the bush, evading all pursuit.

Among the native birds of Australia, the most numerous are those of the parrot tribe, comprising paroquets, *cockatoos*, *lories*, and many others, most of them distinguished by the most beautiful plumage. There are both black and white cockatoos—two species of the former. The yellow-crested white cockatoo is very numerous, and is a great pest to the farmer, ripping up the ripe cobs of maize with his strong hooked beak, and destroying much more than he eats. Sitting perched upon the tops of the highest gum-trees, so as to be almost out of reach of gunshot, these birds keep up a succession of screams, intended to warn one another of the approach of danger. The *lories* are the most brilliant of the parrot tribe. The back and upper portion of the body are a bright gleaming blue, while the breast and under parts are the most intense rose colour. Seen for the first time, it is scarcely possible to believe them real, as they rise in a flock from the ground, brightening the sunshine with their glorious hues. The Australian *robin* is another exquisitely lovely member of the feathered tribe, having some correspondence to his English namesake, the same brisk air and quick manner. The breast is the most vivid geranium colour, softening to a paler shade toward the wings, which are glossy black, with clear white markings across them. The back is also black, with a white spot on the crown of the head, and the tail-feathers are also barred with white. These colours are so distinct and sharply defined, as to convey the idea of different garments, arranged with extreme care, and fitting with the utmost precision. A small bird, the *blue wren*, is remarkable for the change which its appearance undergoes. In the

winter months, the garb worn is plain and unassuming, and the sexes correspond in costume; but as spring advances, the male exhibits a complete transformation, not only in the hue, but in the texture of the plumage. It is hardly surpassed for resplendent beauty by any of the feathered race, except perhaps the humming-birds of America.

The *lyre-bird*, so called from the graceful form of the tail in the male, which resembles that of a lyre, is peculiar to the south-eastern coast. But little is known of its habits, as it very rarely approaches the abode of civilised man, and is so excessively shy, that even a sight of it can with difficulty be obtained. "While among the bushes," says Mr Gould, "I have been surrounded by these birds pouring forth their loud and liquid calls for days together, without being able to get a sight of them; and it was only by the most determined perseverance and extreme caution that I was enabled to effect this desirable object, which was rendered the more difficult by their often frequenting the most inaccessible and precipitous sides of gullies and ravines, covered with tangled masses of creepers and umbrageous trees. The cracking of a stick, the rolling down of a small stone, or any other noise, however slight, is sufficient to alarm them; and none but those who have traversed these rugged, hot, and suffocating brushes, can fully understand the excessive labour attendant on the pursuit. Independently of climbing over rocks and fallen trunks of trees, the sportsman has to creep and crawl beneath and among the branches with the utmost caution, taking care only to advance when the bird's attention is occupied in singing, or scratching up the leaves in search of food. To watch its actions, it is necessary to remain perfectly motionless, not venturing to move even in the slightest degree, or it vanishes from sight as if by magic. The lyre-bird is capable of performing extraordinary leaps, and will spring ten feet perpendicularly from the ground.

Of rapacious birds, there are eagles, falcons, and hawks, besides several owls. But the most extraordinary of all is a large species of woodpecker, to which the name of the *laughing jackass* is given. But in this case, the name "jackass" comes from the French word *jacasser*, to chatter. This bird is of black and grey colour, with little or no tail, and a head and beak enormously disproportioned to the size of the body, altogether a curiously ugly and strange-looking fellow. But his chant is the most laughter-provoking of sounds. It is, indeed, impossible to hear with a grave face the jocularities of this feathered jester. He commences by a low cackling sound, gradually growing louder, like that of a hen in a fuss. Then suddenly changing his note, he so closely imitates Punch's penny trumpet that you would almost affirm it was indeed the "roo-too-too" of that public favourite you heard. Next comes the prolonged bray of an ass, done to the life, followed by an articulate exclamation, apparently addressed to the listener, sounding very like "Oh, what a Guy!" and the whole winds up with a suppressed chuckle, ending in an uproarious burst of laughter. Where many of these merry birds congregate together, the effect is droll in the extreme, provoking the most gloomy-minded listener to laugh in concert. First one begins alone, and laughs lustily at the top of his voice; a second, third, and fourth then take up the strain like glee-singers, till the whole party are fairly off, and the very trees seem to peal out

along with them. The bird is one of the parrot tribe, useful as an adroit destroyer of snakes, guanos, and other reptiles.

The family of honey-suckers, which here takes the place of the humming-birds of America, is also numerous ; all of these have the tongue terminating in a brush-like bundle of very slender filaments, with which they suck the nectar of flowers. Upon the northern coasts are found the beautiful birds of paradise, of similar species to those of the neighbouring East Indian Archipelago.

The largest among the feathered tribes of Australia is the emu, or cassowary—a bird of the ostrich kind, though of somewhat inferior size to the African ostrich. The emu is found chiefly in the southern part of the continent, but is yearly becoming scarcer, and will doubtless be in course of time altogether extirpated by the advance of the settlers. This bird often stands nearly as high as a man, varying from five to seven feet, and is of a dark grey colour ; it has no wings (or only miniature resemblances of them), and is covered with a substance which is neither hair nor feathers, but something between both. It runs with great fleetness, easily outstripping a swift horse ; and is hunted with dogs by the settlers, in the same way as the kangaroo. The hind quarters of the emu somewhat resemble beef, both in appearance and taste ; but the flesh is rarely eaten by the whites, though the natives are very fond of it. The eggs, which are of large size, thirteen inches round, are good and nutritious. When several of these majestic birds are seen from a distance, striding across the plain, they look at first view like a party of the natives.

Another fine specimen of Australian ornithology is the native bustard, a bird of large size—sometimes weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds. Like the emu, this bird lives chiefly in the open plains bordering on the forests, and is very shy of approach. The bustard forms a tempting object to the colonial sportsman, and—though a powerful bird, and swift of flight—is occasionally brought down by his gun. The bustard and the brush-turkey are the only gallinaceous birds native to the continent. The latter is a large bird, about the size of a domestic turkey, with blackish-brown plumage. It is easy game to the sportsman, and its flesh is excellent eating. But the most remarkable point in the habits of the brush-turkey is the manner in which it constructs its nest. Mr Gould tells us that it “collects together an immense heap of decaying vegetable matter as a depository for the eggs, and trusts to the heat engendered by the process of decomposition for the development of the young. The heap employed for this purpose is collected by the birds during several weeks previous to the period of laying ; it varies in size from two to four cart-loads, and is of a perfectly pyramidal form. The construction of the mound is not the work of one pair of birds, but is effected by the united labours of several ; the same site appears to me from the great size and entire decomposition of the lower part, to be resorted to for several years in succession, the birds adding a fresh supply of materials on each occasion previous to laying. The mode in which the materials comprising these mounds are accumulated is equally singular, the bird never using its bill, but always grasping a quantity in its foot, throwing it backwards to one common centre, and thus clearing the surface of the ground for a considerable

distance so completely, that scarcely a leaf or a blade of grass is left. The heap being accumulated, and time allowed for a sufficient heat to be engendered, the eggs are deposited, not side by side, as is ordinarily the case, but planted at the distance of nine or twelve inches from each other, and buried at nearly an arm's depth, perfectly upright, with the large end upwards ; they are covered up as they are laid, and allowed to remain until hatched. I have been credibly informed, both by natives and settlers living near their haunts, that it is not an unusual event to obtain nearly a bushel of eggs at one time from a single heap ; and as they are delicious eating, they are eagerly sought after."

Water-fowl are abundant on the tranquil creeks and silent lagoons along the coast, consisting of wild ducks, wild geese, and the majestic black swan with glossy and exquisite plumage. The frequency of the latter in certain districts disproves the well-known title of "*rara avis*" applied to it. Its occurrence originated the name of the Swan River, called so by the Dutch and by the French. Vast flocks of sea-birds visit the adjacent islands of Australia, among which the *sooty petrel*, better known by the name of "sheerwater," and "mutton-bird," is conspicuous in Bass's Strait for its astonishing numbers. Flinders computed a flock which he observed at sea to be forty miles long, and to contain as many birds as would require an area of sixteen square miles for their nests, at a yard asunder.

The various kinds of domestic poultry which belong to other regions have all been introduced, and are numerously reared.

The reptile tribe is represented by harmless lizards, hideous-looking guanas, larger members of the same family, scorpions, centipedes, and snakes. The latter are numerous, and of many species, as well as very varying size. A large kind, called the diamond snake, exquisitely adorned with different colours like mosaic work, has been met with nearly twenty feet long, and is commonly eaten by the natives. Some are so highly venomous, that a bite produces speedy death, unless suction, cauterisation, or other remedies are promptly applied. But fatal occurrences of the kind are rare, as all the formidable reptiles are as glad to retire from the approach of man as he can be to avoid them. The great danger arises from some of the smaller snakes being so exactly similar in colour to the dead sticks and leaves on the ground, that they may be accidentally trodden on while indolently reposing, and inflict a wound before the passenger is aware of their presence. Cunningham mentions the case of a man well known in New South Wales, at the time of his residence there, by the appellation of the "snake man," who had become so familiar with these reptiles as to have acquired an absolute fondness for them, seldom travelling without some of them (and those of the venomous kind) coiled in his bare bosom, or stuffed into the crown of his hat ! While in the service of a clergyman resident at Paramatta, this serpent-lover came home one day with the tail of a good-sized snake hanging out from under his hat, curling over his brow like a love-lock ; and, when told of it by the lady of the house, he very coolly gave the tail a sharp pinch between his finger and thumb to make the snake draw its stray member in !

Insect life is intensely prolific, and abundantly annoying in various districts.

In the summer mosquitoes swarm in low situations near water, and in the neighbourhood of thick woods—new-comers being specially exposed to their attacks. Flies are also everywhere a perfect pest, and fleas are often a special torment. There are stingless bees, living in hollow trees, yielding a fine honey; giant ants, called “colonial bulldogs,” from their ferocity, which inflict a sting as sharp as that of a wasp; and marsh-leeches, insatiably drawing blood as opportunity offers. To guard against these annoyances, strong leathern leggings are commonly worn in travelling on foot through unfrequented parts of the country.

The coasts abound with fish, denominated by English names, as cod, bream, mullet, whiting, and mackerel, though of different species. Rock and bed oysters, lobsters, crayfish, and prawns, are also found in various places. The rivers and lagoons have plenty of perch and eels, with fresh-water shrimps in abundance. The “Murray cod,” a beautiful and well-flavoured fish of large size, is caught in considerable quantities at certain seasons in that river. The English salmon has been acclimatised, and is now frequent in some of the southern rivers.

On the northern coasts, in the neighbourhood of Cape York, there are ant-hills of enormous size—sometimes twelve feet in height. The ants which inhabit them are of a pale brown colour, and a quarter of an inch in length. Mention has already been made of these strange insect habitations, in the narratives of the early navigators.

New Zealand is a country singularly deficient in indigenous animal life. There are only two specimens of land mammals found in the islands, and these are two small bats. Neither serpents nor snakes inhabit New Zealand. There are six kinds of small harmless lizards, which are held in terror by the natives, from a superstition that within their bodies the spirits of their deified ancestors revisit the earth. Green and yellow are the prevalent colours of these lizards; but their colours change according to the colour of the locality they live in. One guana (the *tuatara* of the natives) is now only found on rocky islands, although it was formerly numerous on the mainland, until pigs, dogs, and cats almost extirpated it. In such terror do the New Zealanders hold all the above reptiles, that the very pronunciation of the word *ngarara*, a general term for the whole race, makes the bravest warrior tremble.

England has 273 species of birds, New Zealand possesses only eighty-three. This scarcity of the feathered race is rendered very obvious, as with two or three exceptions the individuals of no species are numerous, a result partly produced by the activity of owls and falcons. Land-birds are more numerous in species than sea-birds, but the individuals of each species of sea-birds are more numerous than land-birds. There is a great deficiency of active insectivorous birds, a peculiarity which has led farmers to propose the introduction of hedge-sparrows and crows. With a few exceptions, the plumage of the birds, like their country's foliage, is dull. The vocal powers of some of them have, however, obtained high praise; and at a quarter of a mile from the shore Captain Cook relates he was awoken by the singing of birds, which he compared to the sound of exquisitely hung bells. Town settlers have often doubted the accuracy of this remark, as

the feathered songsters are only heard at dawn and at sunset, in the neighbourhood of clumps of trees or the outskirts of forests.

In the lakes of New Zealand are a large number of delicate fish, not unlike white-bait, called *inanga*; and in the rivers and lakes there are numerous eels, occasionally weighing fifty pounds. These are the only two kinds of fresh-water fish which can properly be said to form a part of the food of the natives. The lamprey (*pipihara*) is, properly speaking, a salt-water fish which enters the river to spawn. The fresh-water mussel and the crayfish are plentiful in some places.

The absence of indigenous quadrupeds from New Zealand is the most remarkable feature in its fauna, and a feeling allied to wonder steals over the mind when it is found that their places were supplied by a gigantic race of birds destitute of wings. The manner in which the former existence of these birds became known is a great triumph of mental reasoning, and exhibits in a very remarkable manner the value of scientific inquiry. To Professor Owen the world is indebted for the first hint that such birds ever existed. The discovery was made in this manner. In 1839 Mr Rule brought to England a portion of a thigh bone of a moa, from which specimen Mr Owen drew up a wonderfully correct notice of the bird. The conclusions arrived at were so improbable that Mr Owen's friends tried to suppress the publication of the paper, from an impression that it would shipwreck his scientific reputation. Since then Professor Owen has established, on the evidence of fossil remains sent to England by various settlers, the former existence of fourteen species of wingless birds in New Zealand; and not the least curious objects to be seen in London are the skeletons in the Royal College of Surgeons and the British Museum of two of New Zealand's feathered giants. The British Museum skeleton was built up by Professor Owen from bones sent from the Middle Island; it belongs to a species distinguished from all its gigantic kindred by having a foot resembling that of the elephant.

One living specimen of the last species of moa was caught alive by sealers in the year 1850; and several others have been seen since then in unfrequented parts of the Middle Island near Dusky Bay. Thirteen feet was the average height of the largest moas; none of them were able to fly, and, unlike all other birds, their leg bones were filled with marrow in place of air. According to native tradition, moas were decked out in a gaudy plumage; and the present New Zealanders describe a cochineal fowl as what they conceive to have been the shape and the appearance of moas. One rather perfect egg of this gigantic bird was found with a human skeleton. It was nine inches in diameter, twenty-seven in circumference, and twelve long; and numerous other portions of eggs have been discovered, sufficient to show that a man's hat would not have been a large enough cup for a moa's egg. It is whispered in the colony that gigantic moas still live in the solitudes of the Middle Island, an idle story, as no large moas have been seen alive since 1650. From all accounts, the moas were extirpated by natural causes, and the arrival of the aborigines in the country, who slaughtered them for their flesh, bones, and feathers; the flesh and eggs were eaten, the bones were converted into fish-hooks, the skulls were used for holding tattooing-powder, and the feathers were celebrated as ornaments for the hair.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ABORIGINES OF AUSTRALASIA.

THE ETHIOPIC RACE—PAPUANS—PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL—UTTER BARBARISM—HABITS—SAVAGE NATURE—SOME HUMAN ELEMENTS—SUPERSTITIONS—"COROBBORY"—STRANGE BELIEFS—NATIVE ART—GRADES IN SOCIETY—INTELLIGENCE—NATIVE RACE DYING OUT—NEW ZEALANDERS—THEIR ORIGIN—CHARACTERISTICS—TRIBAL WARS—INTELLECTUAL STANDARD—HABITS AND MANNERS—NATIVE DRESS—AGRICULTURE—NATIVE PROVERBS—THEIR TREATMENT BY THE WHITE SETTLERS.

THE aboriginal inhabitants of Australia belong to the Ethiopic, which is the lowest family of the human race. They are ranked by ethnologists in the Papuan or Austral-negro scale, but as being decidedly inferior to the African negro in both physical and mental attributes.

Many writers, with great ingenuity, have attempted to trace the original colonisation of Australia to a horde of Malays passing over in canoes from the Indian Archipelago, across Torres Straits, to the unknown Southern Land. The colour of the skin, however, the formation of the skull and the limbs, with the genius, the habits, and the general character of the Australians, identify them with the negro race of New Guinea. The weapons they employ are similar, and their progress in the industrial arts, as well as their mental qualities and conditions of existence, being infinitely lower than those of the Malay, and closely similar to those of the Papuan, destroy the theory of their Malayan origin. Traditions they have few, and those but faint and incoherent. It is probable, however, that the wild savages of the Indian Archipelago, driven from their original homes by the superior civilisation of the Malays, put to sea in rude canoes, and reaching the mysterious Southern Land, debarked, and gradually peopled the wilderness. They left their own rich islands to the conquering Malays, deserting a contested heritage for one where security and peace made up for the loss of a soil spontaneously productive. Liberty, even to the wild savage, is sweet, and life more cherished still, so that doubtless, if Australia was unpeopled at so late a period, the growth of the Malay empire in the East scattered the swarms of Papua along its desert coast.

The native man of Australia is of a dark, sooty-brown complexion, the colour of the skin varying in particular localities from a colour like that of chocolate to a deep earthy-black; with long black hair, and a stature rather below that of the European. The height of the males generally ranges between four and a half

and five and a half feet ; the head is small, the trunk slender, the breast commonly arched and well-developed, the arms and legs of a rounded and muscular form, the foot flat, and the heel somewhat protruding. The hair is generally black, rough, lank, and course ; though with some tribes it is soft and curling, and with others approaches to a woolly texture, like that of the negro. The facial angle is ordinarily between 75° and 85° ; the forehead low ; the eyes large, far apart, and half covered by the upper lid, the iris being invariably of a deep brown, the pupil large and of a jet black ; the nose broad and flat, with wide-spread nostrils ; the cheeks hollow ; the mouth wide, with thick lips and large white teeth, the lower jaw being unusually short and widely expanded anteriorly.

Measured by a European standard of taste, the aborigines of Australia constitute, on the whole, a very ugly race—perhaps more unprepossessing in appearance than almost any other branch of the human family. Yet there are not a few exceptions to be taken to this judgment, in so far as some of the tribes are concerned, and especially in relation to those who have remained most free from the deteriorative influence of intercourse with the whites. The limbs of a well-formed Australian exhibit considerable symmetry, and a well-defined muscular development ; his agility and flexibility of body, when running or otherwise actively engaged, are advantageously displayed ; and when beheld in the posture of striking, or throwing his spear, his attitude leaves nothing to be desired in point of manly grace.

The native people of this continent are, however, almost universally sunk in the lowest and most degraded condition of barbarism, and—though by no means devoid of intelligence—they have never made any effort to raise themselves above the rudest condition of natural life.

In a few cases the natives are found clothed with opossum skins, or with coarse matting, and construct temporary huts of the branches and leaves of trees ; but in general they are entirely destitute of clothing. Those in the neighbourhood of the white settlements are now, however, compelled to wear a blanket, these articles being distributed amongst them at certain seasons by an agent of the Colonial Government. They have nowhere any fixed habitations, but wander along the coasts—or, in the interior, along the creeks and rivers—in search of food ; each tribe, however, confining its range within certain limits, and never transgressing—unless compelled by unusual circumstances—the bounds between itself and the neighbouring tribes.

As a race the aborigine is a savage in the strongest sense of that term. Alike cruel and treacherous, he loses no occasion of wreaking his vengeance on an enemy, and indulges in the most bloodthirsty propensities. The practice of cannibalism is general among the natives : for a long time this was doubted, but it has been proved, beyond the reach of question, and the practice often found accompanied by the most revolting ferocity—as the sacrifice of an infant by its own mother for the mere pleasure of eating its flesh ! The different tribes are always on hostile terms with one another, and any wanderer from his fellows is sure of meeting with death if he falls in with any party of natives. Their superstitions aid in the maintenance of this condition of hostility, since they believe

that death never proceeds from natural causes, but always has its origin in some practice of witchcraft or sorcery on the part of an enemy, whose discovery they eagerly seek for the purpose of revenge. In some cases, the direction which the worms that first issue from the corrupting and putrefying corpse are observed to take is held to be that in which the guilty person will be found, and the first native who is met with in the search has his life sacrificed by the relatives of the deceased. This again engenders a desire for retaliation, and thus a perpetual condition of warfare is maintained between the individuals of different tribes, the tendency of which is of course to keep down the numbers of each. The cruel treatment to which the women are subjected—they being regarded merely as the slaves of the stronger sex, to be used for the purpose of carrying burdens and performing all requisite labours of whatever kind, and to be rewarded only with blows, often consummated by having their brains beaten out with the native clubs, or *waddies*—together with the not uncommon practice of infanticide, also assist in preventing the increase of the native population.

With some tribes, however, different ideas prevail, and shipwrecked men, hungry and naked, have in the worst hour of their need learned to bless the rude but honest hospitality of an Australian savage. Among themselves a crude social system exists. Ideas of property are very distinct, and one man respects the roasted fish and fried frogs of another with scrupulous integrity. Murders are rare, and when they occur, are punished. It is the opinion of certain philosophers that these wild men will never be reclaimed, but will be driven deeper into the wilderness as colonisation proceeds, until ultimately all will perish under the breath of English civilisation. It is hard to accept this theory, though there is unfortunately much in the history of modern times to lead to its adoption. We would rather cling to the philosophy of the poet T. K. Hervey, who writes in the spirit of humanity, in language of the loftiest eloquence, for the wild man of the Australian desert :

“ Yet on his forehead sits the seal sublime
That marks him monarch of his lovely clime,
And in his torpid spirit lurk the seeds
Of manly virtues and of lofty deeds.
Within that breast where savage shadows roll,
Philosophy discerns a noble soul,
That, like the lamp within an Eastern tomb,
But looks more sickly 'mid surrounding gloom.
Full many a feeling trembles through his frame,
For which he never knew or sought a name ;
And many a holy thought but half suppress
Still lurks 'mid all the tempest of his breast.
Pants not his heart with human hopes and fears,
And is he not the child of smiles and tears ?
'Tis love that links him to his native woods,
And pride that fires him while he breasts the floods,
And glory guides him, felt but undefined,
To battle with the breakers and the wind,

To tempt the torrent, or in arms to claim
The savage splendours of a warrior's name.
True, through their souls all fiercer passions run—
These fiery ones, these children of the sun.
But gentler thoughts redeem the frenzied mood;
Repress, but quenchless, hid, but unsubdued.
Theirs is the spell of home, where'er they rove;
The maiden loves with all a maiden's love;
And the dark mother, as she rocks her boy,
Feels in her bosom all a mother's joy!"

Where the human heart is warm with these feelings, it is surely susceptible of some refinement. An anecdote will show that the mind of the Australian savage is not blunt to all the better passions of humanity. A native named Tonquin, dwelling on the banks of the Swan River, stabbed one of his comrades. The murderer fled into the desert, remaining there for fifteen days alone with the memory of his crime. When he reappeared among the people of his tribe he was a maniac—heartbroken by remorse.

The Australians recognise a benignant god and a variety of evil spirits, especially one in the form of a gigantic serpent. When the winds groan over the hills and woods, they imagine it to be the voice of this monster, and illuminate the plain with fires, repeating magic spells to scare the evil one away. Notwithstanding this timidity, they are brave in battle, though trembling in the presence of death. A grave placed before the door of a house is a perpetual safeguard against thieves. The dwelling of a lonely settler was once attacked by the natives, of whom two were slain. Their bodies were buried in front of the house, and the two low mounds, haunted with the idea of death, were more formidable than the loftiest walls. Some of the tribes enclose their dead in wrappings of leaves and bark, placing them among the branches of solitary trees, near which the vulture sits immovable, with drooping wings, waiting for the last covering to drop from the corpse. Captain Stokes saw one woman who continually bore, hanging from her neck, a net containing the bones of a little child whom, during its short term, she had loved, and over whose dear remains she lingered with tearful eyes, imagining, in the warmth of her maternal fondness, that they rose before her clothed again with the lineaments of life. The Australians regard the white men as their former brethren, whose spirits, purified after death, have passed into superior forms. At Perth, one of the colonists was twice visited by a strange native, who had heard that there had come to his land a lost brother. The savage travelled through a long extent of hostile country to behold again a cherished friend blessed with the glory of a second life, who had left his paradise beyond the sea to revisit the scene of his earthly career.

The natives have a strange custom of occasionally celebrating a war-dance, or *corobory*, as they term it. The celebration invariably takes place at night-time, and by the light of huge blazing fires, kindled in some open space in the forest. The following amusing description of the *corobory* is given by a traveller: "In the dusky distance sat a crowd of indistinct figures, while on one side of the fire

squatted a party of *ginns* (that is, native women), who, after some preparations, commenced drumming upon a skin tightly stretched over their knees, assisting the dull cadence with a monotonous song, or rather scream. This had continued a few minutes, gradually increasing in loudness and energy, when the men, uttering a wild howl, sprang upon their feet and began the dance. They were all naked, or nearly so, and painted from top to toe in fantastic fashion—the pattern most in vogue being an imitation of a skeleton, contrived by chalking out the position of the spine and ribs with a white pigment. Their legs were uniformly striped downwards with broad white lines. The first performance was a war-dance, wherein a variety of complicated evolutions and savage antics were gone through, accompanied by a brandishing of clubs, spears, boomerangs, and shields. Suddenly the crowd divided into two parties, and after a chorus of deafening yells and fierce exhortations, as if for the purpose of adding to their own and each other's excitement, they rushed together in close fight. One division, shortly giving way, was driven from the field, and pursued into the dark wood, where roars and groans, and the sound of blows left but little to be imagined on the score of a bloody massacre. Presently the whole corps re-appeared close to the fire, and having deployed into lines and 'proved distance' (as it is called in sword exercise), the time of the music was changed, and a slow measure was commenced by the dancers, every step being enforced by a heavy stamp, and a noise like a paviour's grunt. As the drum waxed faster, so did the dance, until, at length, the movements were as rapid as the human frame could possibly endure. At some passages they all sprang into the air a wonderful height, and as their feet again touched the ground, with their legs wide astride, the muscles of the thighs were set a-quivering in a singular manner, and the straight white lines on the limbs being thus put in oscillation, each stripe for the moment became a writhing serpent, while the air was filled with loud hissings. This particular *tour de force*, which had a singular effect in the fire-light, requires great practice. I remarked that the front-rank men only were adepts at it, and I was told that some could never acquire it—as sundry of my countrymen can never unravel with their feet the mysteries of the waltz and polka. The most amusing part of the ceremony was the imitation of the dingo, kangaroo, and emu. When all were springing together in emulation of a scared troop of their own marsupial brutes, nothing could be more laughable, nor a more ingenious piece of mimicry. As usual in savage dances, the time was kept with an accuracy never at fault."

Circumcision is a general practice among the natives, and is regarded as a religious rite. Among many strange customs, one of the most extraordinary is that of knocking out either one or two of the front teeth of all the males, on their arrival at the age of puberty; until this ceremony has been performed, they are not admitted among the warriors of the tribe. Girls are usually deprived of the first joint of the little finger. Several of the native superstitions are in the highest degree curious; a vague and mystic adoration of the serpent, that universal symbol of spiritual power, plays an important part in their rude mythology. They believe in the existence of an immense serpent, invisible to mortal eyes,

but resident in high and rocky mountains, and with the worship of which mysterious rites are connected.

During the surveying voyage of the "Beagle," Captain Stokes discovered on Depuch Island, on the north-west coast, numerous drawings on the rock, the work of native artists. They were executed by removing, according to the figure desired, the hard outer coating of red colour, and baring to view the bright greenstone beneath. In many of these representations much ability was displayed, and enormous numbers of them were observed, some fresh, others weather-worn, representing human figures, animals, birds, weapons, domestic implements, and scenes of savage life. This lonely picture-gallery was uninhabited, but the natives frequent it at a certain season of the year, to admire their forefathers' skill, and leave monuments of their own. Doubtless the Australian chiselling the stone expended on his work as much labour and patience, and felt in it as much pride, as the famed artists of Italy decorating the walls of St Peter's or the Vatican. Doubtless, also, there are critics among them, whose verdict is eagerly looked for; and the savage probably delights as deeply in the admiration of his rude countrymen as man in civilised regions enjoys the approbation of his. "Wherever we discern," says Captain Stokes, "the faintest indication that such a principle is at work, there we may hope that development will ultimately take place. Until we find a nation which has never attempted to emerge from the circle of its mere animal wants—which has never exhibited the least inclination to develop the most ordinary arts—which not only rejects clothing, but is absolutely indifferent to ornament—which leaves its weapons unadorned, its skin unpainted, free from tattoo—we must not despair of the general efficacy of civilisation. These savages of Australia, as we call them, who have adorned the rocks of Depuch Island with their drawings, have in one thing proved themselves superior to the Egyptian and the Etruscan, whose works have elicited so much admiration, and afforded food to so many speculations—namely, there is not in them to be observed the slightest trace of indecency."

Three ranks of society prevail among the aborigines: the young men, the warriors, and the aged—the hierarchy of the Australian commonwealth. Simplicity degenerate is their characteristic. Four slender poles planted in the ground, and roofed with wattled boughs, form a palace for one of these lords of the creation; and at night, when cold winds blow, the savage, burying himself neck deep in the sand, warms himself literally in the bosom of mother earth.

Yet the aborigines are far from devoid of intelligence; they readily acquire the arts of reading and writing, and adopt, *for a time*, the usages of civilised life. Efforts have been made to induce them to adopt settled habits, and permanent stations have been erected for their use; but after a while they have always deserted these, seemingly without any immediate cause, and have returned to their native forests and their wandering life. The experiment which has met with most success—doubtless because most in accordance with their previous habits of activity and change—has been that of enrolling a native mounted police, under English officers, to act as a border force against bushrangers and

other depredators. Many of the natives are employed in the service of the settlers, particularly in the squatting districts of the interior, where they act as shepherds and farm labourers; and, *where treated with kindness and forbearance*, they invariably prove faithful, and even valuable servants. But the "black fellow" of Australia has little for which to thank his white brethren. He has been driven from his native grounds—prevented from following the chase of the kangaroo, and other animals on which he was accustomed to depend for food—and afterwards, when impelled by hunger to make inroads on the flocks of the settler, hunted down and shot, as though he were a beast of prey.

The aboriginal race is rapidly dying out on the continent, and in Tasmania it has already quite disappeared. The number still existent in Victoria and South Australia may be counted by hundreds. The tribes comprise in general but few individuals—often not more than forty or fifty, and rarely exceeding a hundred in number; and they are scattered widely over large tracts of country. There are probably nowhere more than a few thousands within the neighbourhood of either one of the white settlements, and these are fast diminishing in number. The Australian—like the Indian, and the islander of the South Seas, and at even a more rapid rate than either of those races—is fast passing away from the face of the land. Unlike the native inhabitant of the New World, he will leave no memorial behind to tell of his existence to future generations. No temples, tombs, palaces, sculptured shrines, or colossal images! Nothing but the native names (pity that so few of them have been retained in the nomenclature of colonial geography) to tell that such a race of beings ever inhabited the "Great Southern Land!" No records of native warriors and conquerors—no memorials of the past! The future history of Australia will date its commencement from the time when Britain's exiles first landed upon its shores.

The New Zealanders are supposed to have emigrated originally from the Navigator's Islands, or Hawaiki, as they name the latter. No light is thrown on their origin from the name Maori which they call themselves. This word, rendered by linguists "native," is used in contradistinction to *pakeha*, or stranger. The motives which caused the New Zealanders to migrate are not forgotten. There is a tradition that a civil war in Hawaiki caused a chief named Ngahue to flee from the country, who after a long voyage reached New Zealand, and returned to Hawaiki with pieces of greenstone, and the bones of a gigantic moa slain near Tauranga. Received by his kindred as one risen from the dead, Ngahue was held in high estimation, and like other travellers he spread abroad glowing accounts of the fertility of the soil in New Zealand, the excellence of the fish in the sea, the immense size of the eels in the rivers, and the number of birds and plants suitable for food in the woods. Strife had not ceased when Ngahue returned to Hawaiki, and the weaker party, in order to save their lives, determined to migrate to this newly-discovered land. Other traditions make Kupe the Columbus of the country.

The Hawaiki fleet reached New Zealand when the pohutukaua and rata trees were covered with blossoms. It was consequently summer, and the emigrants, like the survivors of a wreck, scattered themselves over the country. To

appease the spirit of the land for their intrusion, humiliating prayers were said ; one uttered by a chief on this celebrated occasion is still preserved as a modern charm :

“ I arrive where an unknown earth is under my feet,
I arrive where a new sky is above me,
I arrive at this land

A resting-place for me.

O spirit of the earth ! the stranger humbly offers his heart as food for thee.”

The natives are represented as by nature brave and warlike, quick to avenge fancied or real insults, and capable of adapting themselves to the new ways introduced by Europeans. From the time of the earliest traditions the Maori has been a cultivator of the soil. He was well versed in the nature of the lands best fitted for the esculent roots he planted—the sweet potato and yam. Their original condition was one of incessant wars of tribe against tribe, and their numbers have greatly diminished in consequence. When Cook visited the islands a century ago, their numbers certainly did not exceed 150,000. The same self-inflicted evils operating on them for the period of seventy years which elapsed between Cook’s time and the commencement of our colonisation of the country in 1840, further reduced their numbers to 80,000 ; and though, after this date, tribal wars virtually ceased in New Zealand, yet such have been the continued depopulating effects of the natives’ piggish mode of life, of the semi-promiscuous intercourse of the sexes before marriage, and of other barbarous customs to which they cling, that they have now reduced themselves to a mere handful of people, numbering only about 40,000—divided, though, into no fewer than eighteen tribes, and all, save a few hundreds, located in the North Island. They are still decreasing, and there is reason to think that in another decade or two the Maori race will not be more an element of population in New Zealand, not more a “power” in the state, than the gipsy race is found to be in our own isles ; and that half a century hence, the Maori, like the moa, may be *extinct*.

The New Zealanders of the present generation have two characters ; one towards Europeans, which varies as Europeans are missionaries or traders, and another towards their own race. The former character is acquired, the latter is natural, and both characters are difficult to describe without referring to the higher faculties of the human mind.

It was ascertained, by weighing the quantity of millet seed skulls contained, and by measurements with tapes and compasses, that New Zealanders’ heads are smaller than the heads of Englishmen, consequently they are inferior to the English in mental capacity. This comparative smallness of the brain is produced by neglecting to exercise the higher faculties of the mind, for as muscles shrink from want of use, it is only natural that generations of mental indolence should lessen the size of brains. In support of this inference, intelligent travellers have already detected that the heads of the negro race in the United States are becoming more developed from the intellectual career they are now pursuing.

The New Zealanders hold the head extremely sacred, but they do not suppose

it contains the sole intellectual organ ; as joy, fear, and sorrow, spring, according to their notions, from the stomach and bowels.

Dr Thomson, who studied the character of these people thoroughly, gives the following account of them :

“The New Zealanders have the minds of children and the passions of men. They respect ancient laws and customs, but are ready to embrace new opinions given out by men in authority. So constituted are their minds that it is impossible to decide how certain circumstances will affect them. Futurity is seldom looked into, although, like all mankind, they long for what is unknown, and remember with regret what is lost. Without genius for discovery, and incapable of generalising, they are nevertheless apt at acquiring the rudiments of learning. They are confident in accomplishing whatever they undertake. Fondness for novelty is a passion, but it is almost impossible to excite wonder. In imitation they are strong, and from mimicry derive pleasure. Vanity, arrogance, and independence are universal, but they are more vain than proud. In all their actions they are alive to their own interest, and in seeking this are not overburdened with conscientiousness. Solomon said, ‘It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence,’ but the New Zealanders could not brook in word or deed an insult when witnessed by others. Wounded vanity caused much strife, and cruelty and cannibalism were occasionally produced by a love of notoriety. They are deficient in that sort of moral courage which causes men to execute the commands of reason and conscience. They value life, but die with indifference when death is inevitable. They have little benevolence towards others : long-absent friends are greeted with a profusion of tears ; but, as with children, this grief is destitute of impression.

“Gratitude is unknown, and no word expressive of this feeling is found in their language. Theft is rare among them. Revenge is their strongest passion, and this feeling is kept alive for generations. They are jealous of each other, and love to excite terror. When excited, they derive pleasure from cruelty and bloodshed. Tried by the European standard, their conversations are sensual and their ideas unclean. Secrets are kept with difficulty. Of their deeds they are boastful. They accost their equals without levity, and their superiors without awe, and it is reckoned disgraceful to give way to anger. Cheerfulness, more than laughter, predominates. They are liberal in giving presents, but presents are merely modes of trade, as returns are always expected. They possess a great flow of words, and are fond of eloquence and oratory. They are dirty and indolent. *They are strong against the weak, but weak against the strong.* When mastered, either physically or mentally, they become as manageable as children ; but this power must be exerted in the right way, for, like their own supple-jack, they are more easily overcome by gentle and skilful management, than by ill-directed force. This character of the New Zealanders is less favourable than that usually given. It is, however, drawn up from the history of the people, and from personal observation among them in their days of happiness and sorrow, and in their hours of sickness and death.”

The New Zealanders worshipped no Supreme Being. According to them

heaven and earth have individual existences, and their tradition about the creation of the world shows a degree of thought far above the present ideas of the people. They believed that several high chiefs after death became deified, and that from them all punishments in this world for evil doings were sent. Each nation possessed its own deified men, and to them offerings were made and prayers addressed. These deified men were supposed to be intimately acquainted with every event passing among the people on the earth. But the deified ancestors of one nation never interfered in the affairs of other nations.

Whether or not cannibalism commenced immediately after the advent of the New Zealanders from Hawaiki, it is nevertheless certain that one of Tasman's sailors was eaten in 1642; that Captain Cook had a boat's crew eaten in 1774; that Marion du Fresne, and many other navigators, met this horrible end; and that the pioneers of civilisation, and successive missionaries, have all borne testimony to the universal prevalence of cannibalism in New Zealand up to the year 1840. It is impossible to state how many were annually devoured; that the number was not small may be inferred from two facts authenticated by European witnesses. In 1822 Hongi's army ate three hundred persons after the capture of Totara, on the river Thames; and in 1836, during the Rotorua war, sixty human beings were cooked and eaten in two days. The persons eaten were enemies slain in battle, and men, women, and children taken prisoners. The bodies of the last two were seldom eaten, and cannibalism was rarely practised during peace. When slaves were eaten in peaceful times by chiefs, political motives were the secret causes of this unusual occurrence. There are few New Zealanders above forty years of age who have not partaken of human flesh, a sure proof of the former prevalence of cannibalism in the country.

Tattooing is now no longer the fashion, and the fairest and best looking of the young people are not much unlike English gipsies—often, though, presenting a little of the *Tartar*, and, here and there, a little of the *Jewish* type. The old and middle-aged women, bent and broken by toil, are terribly weird and witch-like in appearance; but some of the girls are beautiful brunettes, and the alliances formerly contracted between these and the early settlers have produced Anglo-Maories, who, in regard to physical gifts, are among the handsomest races in the Southern Ocean. The English blanket, often of fine quality, and gracefully worn in the old Roman toga fashion, is still their favourite apparel; but despite the sufferings of smartness, the Maori will occasionally array himself in fine coat, stiff collar, and tight boots, and stand forth—the “swell.” The chief dress of the women is the coloured cotton “roundabout,” a short bedgown sort of garment; but on high days and holidays, the Maori belle may sometimes be seen glistening in silk and satin, with crinoline and parasol.

They still, for the most part, dwell in wretched little rush-hut, pig-sty villages, dotted over the country, perched, for the most part, on hill-tops, “odoriferous in the gale,” and often fortified by earth-works, rifle-pits, and double lines of fence and ditch; and the difficulty of getting them to live in any more sanatory, model-village fashion is one of the chief obstacles the colonists have to encounter in their efforts to preserve the race.

The New Zealanders are not a hunting people, and that for the very sufficient reason that there is nothing in the islands to hunt. Three-fourths of their food is derived from potatoes, maize, wheat, kumeras, taro, melons and fruit, raised by rude cultivation in patches of garden-ground, and from pigs, cows, and poultry, feeding in and around their villages. The remaining portion of their larder is supplied mainly by fish, many of their largest villages being on the coast, and their inland settlements generally within easy access of some creek, lake, or teeming eel weir. To their plenteous garden produce, their pigs, fowls, and fish, they now and then add, by way of dessert, a bit of stranded whale, a pigeon or wild duck, a luscious grub or two, a truffle, or a handful of hinau berries—picked up, for the most part, within gunshot of their dwelling-places.

They are not destitute of a certain rude poetry, and they are fond of narrating fables, singing love-songs, and telling wild stories around the evening fire. They are also very apt at proverbs, of which the following are specimens :

“The man who gets up to work will be satisfied, but he who sits idle will want food.”

“He who is valiant in fight is apt to stumble, but he who is valiant in cultivating food will die of old age.”

“Food given tickles the throat, but food gained by one’s labour is the food which satisfies.”

“He works little, but his throat is deep.”

“You are forward to eat, but not to work.”

“You keep away at planting time, but stick close in harvest.”

“Potaka was a lazy fellow, who commenced working when others were leaving off.”

“Industry,” says the proverb, “should be rewarded, lest idleness get the advantage.”

“This tribe will become extinct like the moa,” is a proverb used to announce the extinction of a race.

“The spider is not seen when hid in his web, so men’s real intentions are concealed in their hearts.”

“The slightest movement of the reed is seen, but not that of the heart.”

“We can search every corner of a house, but the corner of the heart we cannot.”

“Passing clouds can be seen, but passing thoughts cannot.”

The feeling of the English colonists towards the Maori has long been this—that though his nature be well portrayed in the sketch given of it by Dr Thomson, yet that he is, nevertheless, entitled to be held a “splendid savage”—that his military merits are great, and that he would make a noble addition to that self-reliant “defensive force” which all British colonies should keep up—that his presence in the country imparts a warmth, a variety, a piquancy, a “picturesqueness” to its fields and forests far superior to that shed by red deer or any noble game—that there is land enough in New Zealand to sustain millions of either race in easy plenty—and that the most practically humane and curative school for him is that which he would find in his own fields and gardens, in his

model cottage, in his carpenter's shop. That these views of the Maori, these wishes for his good, are not so strong as they once were is undoubtedly true. The "Hau Hau" superstition to which some of the tribes have abandoned themselves has led many a colonist to entertain a profound contempt for the *intellect* of a people who could so brutalise themselves, and in a moment renounce the missionary teachings of fifty years. Nevertheless, even now, the great bulk of the colonists would gladly let bygones be bygones, would rejoice to save and civilise the remnant of the Maori race, and to continue to merit the following eulogium passed on them by Bishop Selwyn, now of Lichfield: "In defence of the colonists of New Zealand, of whom I am one, I say most distinctly and solemnly, that I have never known, since the colony began, a single act of wilful injustice or oppression committed by any one in authority against a New Zealander."

BOOK VI.

HISTORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

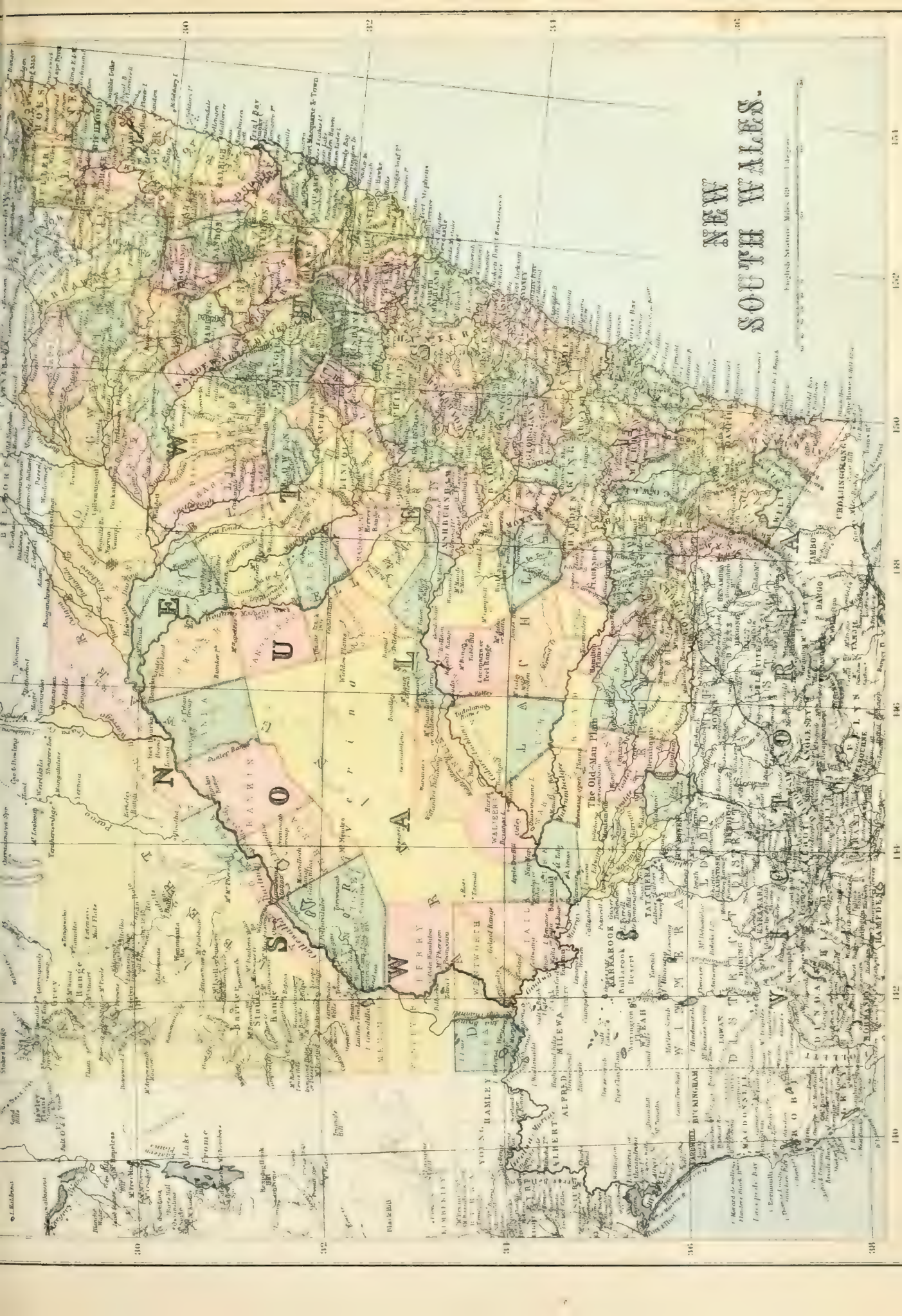
CHAPTER I.

GOVERNOR PHILLIP'S ADMINISTRATION.

FOUNDING OF NEW SOUTH WALES—THE FIRST FLEET—GOVERNOR PHILLIP—LANDING AT BOTANY BAY—REMOVAL TO PORT JACKSON—THE ABORIGINES—APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY—THE FRENCH SHIPS—TAKING POSSESSION OF THE TERRITORY—DARWIN'S LINES ON SYDNEY COVE.

THE order to establish a British settlement in the new territory in the far-off Southern Ocean which Cook had discovered and named, was issued by the Privy Council on the 6th of December 1786. The selection of settlers made by the British Government was a great mistake, bespeaking in those who suggested it very small talents for statesmanship and extreme blindness to the grandeur of the opportunity which Divine Providence had opened up to the nation. Politically considered, it was no less than a crime, and dire were the evils which it inflicted on humanity. But it may as well be stated at the outset of the history of New South Wales that those earlier and darker chapters in her annals will be only very lightly touched on here. The past is past. Common prudence dictates that the memory of hateful and disgraceful deeds should not be preserved. It is the righteous amongst men, and they alone, who deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance. The Government of New South Wales has wisely destroyed all the records of the old penal days, and it is fitting that all recollection of the events of those times should perish for ever.

Early in the year 1787 the vessels selected for the first fleet bound for New Holland assembled at the Isle of Wight, in the south of England. There were eleven ships, named as follows: the "Sirius," frigate; the "Supply," armed tender; the "Golden Grove," "Fishburn," and "Barrowdale," storeships; and the "Scarborough," "Lady Penrhyn," "Friendship," "Charlotte," "Prince of Wales," and "Alexander," transports. The officers of the new colony were Captain Arthur Phillip, who was styled Governor and Commander-in-Chief of New South Wales; Major Robert Ross, lieutenant-governor; Richard Johnson,



NEW SOUTH WALES.

English Statute Miles 0 100

chaplain; Andrew Miller, commissary; David Collins, Judge-Advocate; John Long, adjutant; James Furzer, quartermaster; John White, surgeon; Thomas Arndell and William Balmain, assistant-surgeons; John Hunter, captain of the "Sirius;" Lieutenant H. L. Ball, in command of the "Supply;" Lieutenant John Shortland, agent for transports. The garrison consisted of two hundred marines, with the following officers: Captains Campbell, Shea, Meredith, and Tench; Lieutenants Johnston, Collins, Kellow, Morrison, Clarke, Faddy, Cresswell, Poulden, Sharp, Davey, and Timmins. The persons under their charge, who were to remain in the settlement, were, besides the two hundred soldiers, forty of whom were allowed to take their wives and families, eighty-one free persons, and 696 prisoners. The founders of the colony therefore consisted of one free person to every two prisoners. The precise number of people embarked was 1044, viz.: Civil officers, 10; military, including officers, 212; wives and families of military (28 women and 17 children), 45; other free persons, 81; total free persons, 348; prisoners, 696. Of this number 1030 were safely landed in the colony. What proportion of the whole were women has not been ascertained.

Of Governor Arthur Phillip some account has already been given. He was in his fiftieth year when he was chosen by the British Government to preside over the founding of the young colony, and his previous services in the navy had proved him to be a man possessed of many great qualities. Brave, active, and persevering, he had won his way in the service from the first grade to the rank of post-captain. He was in all respects fitted for the post conferred upon him.

The fleet sailed on the 13th May 1787, and having touched at Teneriffe, Rio Janeiro, and the Cape of Good Hope, for water and provisions, the first ship, the "Supply," with Governor Phillip on board, sighted the coast of New South Wales on the 3d January 1788. She anchored in Botany Bay on the 18th, and was followed on the 19th and 20th by the other ships. On landing the strangers were met in a most peaceable and friendly manner by the aborigines, who, on seeing Captain Phillip approach unarmed, immediately threw down their spears and other weapons and readily accepted some trifling presents which he offered them.

The following account of Governor Phillip's landing at Botany Bay is from the history of his voyage published in 1789: "At the very first landing of Governor Phillip on the shore of Botany Bay, 18th January 1788, an interview with the natives took place. They were all armed, but on seeing the governor approach with signs of friendship, alone and unarmed, they readily returned his confidence by laying down their weapons. They were perfectly devoid of clothing, yet seemed fond of ornaments, putting the beads and red baize that were given them on their heads or necks, and appearing pleased to wear them. The presents offered by their new visitors were all readily accepted, nor did any kind of disagreement arise while the ships remained in Botany Bay. This very pleasing effect was produced in no small degree by the personal address, as well as by the great care and attention of the governor. Nor were the orders which enforced a conduct so humane, more honourable to the persons from whom they originated than the punctual execution of them was to the officers sent out; it

was evident their wishes coincided with their duty; and that a sanguinary temper was no longer to disgrace the European settlers in countries newly discovered.

“The next care after landing was the examination of the bay itself, from which it appeared that, though extensive, it did not afford a shelter from the easterly winds; and that, in consequence of its shallowness, ships even of a moderate draught would always be obliged to anchor with the entrance of the bay open, where they must be exposed to a heavy sea, that rolls in whenever it blows hard from the eastward.

“Several runs of fresh water were found in different parts of the bay, but there did not appear to be any situation to which there was not some very strong objection. In the northern part of it is a small creek, which runs a considerable way into the country, but it has water only for a boat, the sides of it are frequently overflowed, and the lowlands near it are a perfect swamp. The western branch of the bay is continued to a great extent, but the officers sent to examine it could not find there any supply of fresh water, except in very small drains.

“Point Sutherland offered the most eligible situation, having a run of good water, though not in very great abundance. But to this part of the harbour the ships could not approach, and the ground near it, even in the higher parts, was in general damp and spongy. Smaller numbers might indeed in several spots have found a comfortable residence, but no place was discovered in the whole circuit of Botany Bay which seemed at all calculated for the reception of so large a settlement. While this examination was carried on, the whole fleet had arrived. The ‘Supply’ had not so much outsailed the other ships as to give Governor Phillip the advantage he had expected in point of time. On the 19th of January 1788, the ‘Alexander,’ ‘Scarborough,’ and ‘Friendship,’ cast anchor in Botany Bay; and on the 20th, the ‘Sirius,’ with the remainder of the convoy. These ships had all continued very healthy; they had not, however, yet arrived at their final station.”

Proceedings were immediately commenced for landing the people and stores; and men were set to work to clear a piece of land on the south side of the bay about a mile from the entrance, and near the spot where Cook had first stepped on shore eighteen years before.

The place, however, did not at all answer the expectations which the governor and his officers had been led to form from the description given by Cook; and no time was lost in making an examination of the surrounding country in search of a more favourable site. The first place to which attention was directed was the harbour which Cook had described as existing a few miles north of Botany Bay, and which he had called Port Jackson, after the seaman who had descried it from the mast-head of the “Endeavour.” The governor proceeded to examine this harbour on the 23d; and was as much gratified with its magnificent appearance, its sheltered position, deep water, and almost innumerable bays and bold headlands, as he had been disappointed with the place where he had at first landed. He thereupon decided on removing the settlement to Port Jackson, and fixed on a position about six miles inside the entrance, where he discovered “a

fine run of fresh water stealing silently through a thick wood " and falling into a little bay, which he named Sydney Cove, in honour of Viscount Sydney, who was at that time at the head of the Colonial Office, and who had taken great interest in the welfare of the expedition.

The aborigines at Sydney Cove at first showed signs of opposition towards the new-comers ; but they were quickly pacified by the tact and conciliatory conduct of the governor. The leading men of the tribe, after their first surprise was over, behaved with a manly frankness, and evinced such an intelligent yet unobtrusive curiosity, as greatly raised them in the estimation of the intending colonists.

Captain Collins, in his account, says : " The coast, as we drew near Port Jackson, wore a most unpromising appearance, and the natives everywhere greeted the little fleet with shouts of defiance and prohibition, the words *Warra, warra* ('Go away, go away'), resounding wherever they appeared. The governor's utmost expectation as he drew near the harbour being to find what Captain Cook, as he passed by, thought might be found shelter for a boat ; he was most agreeably surprised at discovering on his entrance, a harbour capable of affording security for a much larger fleet, than would probably ever seek shelter within its limits."

The historical account of the voyage continues : " On the arrival of the boats at Port Jackson, a second party of the natives made its appearance near the place of landing. These also were armed with lances, and at first were very vociferous ; but the same gentle means used towards the others easily persuaded them to discard their suspicions, and to accept whatsoever was offered. One man in particular, who appeared to be the chief of this tribe, showed very singular marks both of confidence in his new friends, and of determined resolution. Under the guidance of Governor Phillip, to whom he voluntarily entrusted himself, he went to a part of the beach where the men belonging to the boats were then boiling their meat ; when he approached the marines, who were drawn up near that place, and saw that by proceeding he should be separated from his companions, who remained with several of the officers at some distance, he stopped, and with great firmness, seemed by words and gestures to threaten revenge if any advantage should be taken of his situation.

" In passing near a point of land in this harbour, the boats were perceived by a number of the natives, twenty of whom waded into the water unarmed, received what was offered them, and examined the boat with a curiosity which impressed a higher idea of them than any former account of their manners had suggested. This confidence and manly behaviour induced Governor Phillip, who was highly pleased with it, to give the place the name of Manly Cove. The same people afterwards joined the party at the place where they had landed to dine. They were then armed, two of them with shields and swords, the rest with lances only. The swords [boomerangs] were made of wood, small in the gripe, and apparently less formidable than a good stick. One of these men had a kind of white clay rubbed upon the upper part of his face, so as to have the appearance of a mask. This ornament, if it can be called such, is not common

among them, and is probably assumed only on particular occasions, or as a distinction to a few individuals. One woman had been seen on the rocks as the boats passed with her face, neck, and breasts thus painted, and to our people appeared the most disgusting figure imaginable; her own countrymen were perhaps delighted by the beauty of the effect.

“During the preparation for dinner, the curiosity of these visitors rendered them very troublesome, but an innocent contrivance altogether removed the inconvenience. Governor Phillip drew a circle round the place where the English were, and without much difficulty made the natives understand that they were not to pass that line; after which they sat down in perfect quietness. Another proof how tractable these people are, when no insult or injury is offered, and when proper means are employed to influence the simplicity of their minds.

“On the 24th of January 1788, Governor Phillip, having sufficiently explored Port Jackson, and found it in all respects highly calculated to receive such a settlement as he was appointed to establish, returned to Botany Bay. On his arrival there, the reports made to him, both of the ground which the people were clearing, and of the upper parts of the bay, which in this interval had been more particularly examined, were in the greatest degree unfavourable. It was impossible after this to hesitate concerning the choice of a situation; and orders were accordingly issued for the removal of the whole fleet to Port Jackson.”

On the two following days the ships and all the people, with the exception of a few left in charge of the stores which had been landed at Botany, were brought round to Sydney Cove. The day before this transfer took place, considerable alarm was created by the sudden appearance, off Botany Heads, of the two large ships under the command of La Pérouse, who, with his officers and men, at once entered into the most friendly relations with Captain Phillip and the people whom they had so unexpectedly found in occupation of the place.

On the evening of the 26th, all the ships having come round to Port Jackson, and being safely anchored at Sydney Cove, the governor took formal possession of the country by hoisting British colours on a flagstaff erected on the site now occupied by Dawes' Battery. The king's health was then drunk by the governor and officials around the flagstaff, and this proceeding was followed by enthusiastic cheering and much excitement on the part of the people.

On the following day the work of clearing a spot on which tents might be fixed and stores landed was commenced. The place was so heavily timbered that many trees had to be cut down before room could be obtained for the accommodation of so large a number of persons; and while the English were thus busily engaged at Sydney Cove in making preparations for their accommodation on shore, the French mariners were similarly employed at Botany Bay. The pathetic story of La Pérouse has already been narrated in a previous part of this volume.

The following almost prophetic lines, by Darwin, author of the “*Botanic Garden*,” were prefixed to the earlier editions of the history of Governor Phillip's voyage to New South Wales:

"SYDNEY COVE.

"Where Sydney Cove her lucid bosom swells,
Courts her young navies, and the storm repels ;
High on a rock amid the troubled air
Hope stood sublime, and waved her golden hair ;
Calmed with her rosy smile the tossing deep,
And with sweet accents charmed the winds to sleep ;
To each wild plain she stretched her snowy hand,
High-waving wood, and sea-encircled strand.
'Hear me,' she cried, 'ye rising realms ! record
Time's opening scenes, and Truth's unerring word—
There shall broad streets their stately walls extend,
The circus widen, and the crescent bend ;
There, rayed from cities o'er the cultured land,
Shall bright canals, and solid roads expand.
There the proud arch, Colossus-like, bestride
You glittering streams, and bound the chasing tide ;
Embellished villas crown the landscape-scene,
Farms wave with gold, and orchards blush between.
There shall tall spires, and dome-capped towers ascend,
And piers and quays their massy structures blend ;
While with each breeze approaching vessels glide,
And northern treasures dance on every tide !'
Then ceased the nymph—tumultuous echoes roar,
And Joy's loud voice was heard from shore to shore—
Her graceful steps descending pressed the plain,
And Peace, and Art, and Labour, joined her train."

CHAPTER II.

GOVERNOR PHILLIP'S ADMINISTRATION—*Continued.*

REGULAR GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED—PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS—PARAMATTA—MEANS OF LIVING—THE NATIVES—CAPTAIN HUNTER'S ACCOUNT—FATAL ENCOUNTERS—NORFOLK ISLAND—FIRST DISCOVERY OF GOLD—DARK TIMES—SHORT RATIONS—PHILLIP'S NOBLE CONDUCT—RETURN OF THE "SIRIUS"—HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTHDAY—DISCOVERY OF THE HAWKESBURY—STATE OF THE COLONY IN 1790—TIMELY ARRIVALS—THE GOVERNOR'S NARROW ESCAPE—FIRST FRUITS—ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE—GRANTS OF LAND—GOOD MORALS—PHILLIP'S DEPARTURE—HIS CHARACTER—FIRST FOREIGN VESSEL—GEORGE BARRINGTON.

THE solemn ceremony of establishing a regular government in the newly-founded colony was performed on the 7th of February 1788. On that day, a sufficient space having been cleared for the tents and stores, the people were all landed on the shores of Sydney Cove, and assembled on the western side of the cove, then named Point Maskelyne, but afterwards known as Dawes' Battery; the military were drawn up under arms; the prisoners stationed apart; and, near the person of the governor, the gentlemen who were to fill the principal offices. The royal commission was then read by the Judge-Advocate; afterwards the Act of Parliament authorising the establishment of the courts of judicature; and lastly the patents under the Great Seal empowering the proper officers to convene and hold those courts. Three rounds of musketry concluded this part of the ceremony. Governor Phillip then advanced and addressed the soldiers, thanking them for their steady good conduct. Turning to the prisoners, he explained to them the nature of their position. He reminded them that they were now so placed that by industry and good behaviour they might soon regain the advantages which for a time they had forfeited, and promised that every encouragement should be held out to induce them to make the effort to regain that place in the estimation of society of which they had deprived themselves by their offences. To all offenders against the law he promised no mercy; and in order to promote as much as possible the cause of morality, he recommended marriage to as many as were in a position to enter into the state of matrimony, promising every kind of countenance and assistance to those who took a course so likely to promote the cause of good order and the well-being of the community. He concluded by declaring his earnest desire to promote the welfare and happiness of all who were placed under his control; and his determination,

with the help of the Almighty, to render the colonisation of New South Wales advantageous and honourable to the country.

The government having been thus formally established, energetic means were at once adopted for erecting storehouses, and such other buildings as were most urgently required for the health of the people and the safety and preservation of the large amount of provisions, seed, animals, and implements, which had been sent out for their use. The live stock landed consisted of one bull, five cows, a bull calf, an entire horse, three mares, three colts, twenty-nine sheep, nineteen goats, seventy-four pigs, and about three hundred turkeys, geese, and fowls. The cattle and horses were the property of the Government, the smaller animals and poultry belonged to private persons.

The work of constructing the necessary buildings was much impeded by various causes. There were very few skilled mechanics amongst the people; the materials for building were not abundant; nor were there any suitable appliances in the way of machinery and implements for turning those that were available to profitable use. Temporary huts were patched together with branches and twigs plastered with clay. A small house was built for the governor, with materials brought out from England, on the spot which now forms the intersection of Pitt and Hunter Streets. A site for a large town was laid out, with streets two hundred feet in width, and spacious reserves for air and exercise; but the plan was not followed in the subsequent erection of buildings. An attempt was made to cultivate a small farm by sowing wheat and maize. The governor, however, was not satisfied with the situation, and after a short time it was determined to remove most of the men employed in clearing land for cultivation to a spot about fifteen miles distant, at the head of the navigation of the harbour. The new farm was named at first the Crescent, and afterwards Rose Hill, by the governor, but the native name of Paramatta, signifying a place abounding in eels (literally "eels sit down"), was retained by the people, and was at last officially adopted.

A large number of fruit and ornamental trees had been procured at Rio Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope by Governor Phillip, and these were carefully planted in and about the Camp, as the settlement at Sydney Cove was for a long time called. They were all found to succeed well, but especially the vines, oranges, and peaches. The soil was very suitable for vegetables, of which such a supply was furnished to the people, after a few months, that the scurvy and other diseases, which (as they were obliged to live on salt provisions) continued to afflict them even after their landing, at length disappeared. This desirable result was facilitated by the quantities of game and fish which, after places for shelter had been erected, were procured by men who were specially employed in shooting and fishing.

The natives, who, at first, had been exceedingly peaceful and confiding, after a short time completely altered in their conduct. The knowledge that their white friends intended to remain and to keep possession of their country rendered them at once so suspicious and so shy, that after the first few days the utmost difficulty was experienced by the governor in procuring an interview with them.

One circumstance, which rendered them extremely averse to the presence of the whites, was the rapid disappearance of the kangaroos and other animals on which they had depended for food, and also to a great extent of the fish from the waters of the harbour. Of their numbers, no very reliable calculation could be made. Governor Phillip, who always took great interest in their welfare, and who made many attempts to secure their confidence, at first thought that the district around Port Jackson, including a coast-line of about twenty-five miles, did not contain more than about fifteen hundred people. This estimate, however, he afterwards considered to be much too low, for going one day to procure an interview with some of them, he was able to approach a camp on the coast unobserved, and he counted 212 men, besides women and children. At the next bay he counted forty men, and at other places saw so many that he was convinced he had at first much under-estimated their numbers. On the same day, at another place in Botany Bay, he found upwards of a hundred canoes on the beach, although not a single native was to be seen; the whole tribe having taken alarm, and fled at his approach. In Port Jackson as many as sixty-seven canoes were counted at one time.

Captain Hunter, who commanded the "Sirius" frigate in the first fleet, and succeeded Captain Phillip in the government of the colony, published in London in 1793, in a large quarto volume, "An Historical Account of Transactions at Port Jackson," etc. Like his friend, Governor Phillip, he felt a warm interest in the welfare of the unfortunate aborigines, and zealously seconded all endeavours to bring about a good understanding between them and the colonists. Captain Hunter, in his work, gives many interesting details as to their character and habits, and his estimate of their intellectual and physical abilities is far more favourable than the one generally prevalent in the present day. He was employed soon after the formation of the settlement in making a survey of the harbour, and while employed in this manner was often brought in contact with these unfortunate people. He says:

"During the time we were employed on the survey of Port Jackson, we had frequent meetings with different parties of the natives, whom we found at this time very numerous; a circumstance which I confess I was a little surprised to find, after what had been said of them in the voyage of the 'Endeavour;' for I think it is observed, in the account of that voyage, that at Botany Bay they had seen very few of the natives, and that they appeared a very stupid race of people, who were void of curiosity. We saw them in considerable numbers, and they appeared to us to be a very lively and inquisitive race; they are a straight, thin, but well-made people, rather small in their limbs, but very active; they examined with the greatest attention, and expressed the utmost astonishment at the different coverings we had on; for they certainly considered our clothes as so many different skins, and the hat as a part of the head; they were pleased with such trifles as we had to give them, and always appeared cheerful and in good humour; they danced and sang with us, and imitated our words and motions as we did theirs. They generally appeared armed with a lance, and a short stick which assists in throwing it; this stick is about three feet long, is flattened on

one side, has a hook of wood at one end, and a flat shell let into a split in the stick at the other end and fastened with gum; upon the flat side of this stick the lance is laid, in the upper end of which is a small hole, into which the point of the hook of the throwing-stick is fixed; this retains the lance on the flat side of the stick; then poising the lance, thus fixed, in one hand, with the fore-finger and thumb over it, to prevent its falling off sideways, at the same time holding fast the throwing-stick, they discharge it with considerable force, and in a very good direction, to the distance of about sixty or seventy yards. I have since seen a strong young man throw the lance full ninety yards; which, till then, I did not believe possible. I measured the distance. Their lances are in general about ten feet long; the shell at one end of the throwing-stick is intended for sharpening the point of the lance, and for various other uses. I have seen these weapons frequently thrown, and think that a man upon his guard may with much ease either parry or avoid them, although it must be owned they fly with astonishing velocity.

"The men in general are from five feet six inches to five feet nine inches high; are thin, but very straight and clean made; walk very erect, and are active. The women are not so tall or so thin, but are generally well made; their colour is a rusty kind of black, something like that of soot, but I have seen many of the women almost as light as a mulatto. Most of those we saw at this time were young women, who I judged were from eighteen to twenty-five years of age; they were all perfectly naked as when first born."

The beginning of the month of May 1788 was marked by increasing distrust between the white intruders and the aboriginal occupants of the soil. The latter appear for some time to have avoided as much as possible any quarrel with the whites. But the calls of hunger were imperative, and on several occasions, when the men sent to fish had obtained, by means of the large seine nets which had been brought out from England, a more than usually successful haul, the natives boldly claimed a portion for themselves. The governor, with that consideration and humanity which always marked his conduct towards them, gave orders that their demands should be complied with. During the first three months after the formation of the settlement, although no lives were taken on either side, blood was shed on several occasions; and early in May the first fatal result of these quarrels took place. Two prisoners who had gone into the bush were speared—one of them succeeded in reaching the camp alive, but the other was never again heard of; and two other men employed cutting rushes were a few days afterwards found dead from spear wounds. The natives subsequently stated that the murdered men had in both cases attacked and killed some of their number.

A week after the formal establishment of the government, Lieutenant Philip Gidley King was despatched with a small party to colonise Norfolk Island. King was a personal friend of Governor Phillip, and had come out as second lieutenant of the "*Sirius*" frigate. Captain Cook had strongly recommended that a settlement should be formed on Norfolk Island, and it was in obedience to instructions received before leaving England that the earliest opportunity was

taken of sending a small party there. The expedition consisted of a surgeon, a subaltern officer, and six marines, two free men who understood the cultivation of flax, with which the island abounded, and nine men and six women prisoners. The party sailed on the 14th of February. On the 19th of March the vessel returned to Port Jackson, having landed the people and their tools and provisions in safety. Lieutenant Ball, who went in command of the "Supply," gave such a glowing account of the place and of the prospects it held out for settlement, that a short time afterwards a much larger party was despatched to expedite the clearing and cultivation of land.

On the 6th of May three of the ships which had brought out the expedition sailed for England, and on the 14th of July four others, leaving the "Sirius" and her tender, the "Supply," and two store-ships, the "Fishburn" and "Golden Grove," for the use of the colony until substantial stores could be built.

In the early part of August a circumstance occurred which created great excitement. A prisoner named James Daley declared that he had found gold. He produced a piece of stone impregnated with gold to prove his statements; but when interrogated as to the place where he had found it, he refused to give any information unless the governor would guarantee to him a certain sum of money, and give him, and a woman to whom he was attached, their freedom. The governor was then absent on an excursion into the interior, and Major Ross, the lieutenant-governor, not only refused to comply with Daley's demand, but ordered him to show in what part of the country he had found it, on pain of severe punishment. He at length consented, but instead of showing the officer who was sent with him where the alleged gold mine was, he artfully gave him and his men the slip after leading them some distance into the bush. He then returned to the camp, stated that he had left the officer in full possession of the gold mine, and again disappeared. He was captured soon afterwards, and still persisting in his story, was severely flogged. When the governor returned, another officer was sent with him to the place where he alleged he had found the gold. This gentleman, determined not to be fooled and laughed at, made Daley walk before him, and threatened him with instant death if he attempted to run away or to deceive him. Under these circumstances, he confessed that he had filed down part of a yellow metal buckle, had mixed with it some particles of gold filed off a guinea, and had blended the whole with clay, which he managed to render very hard. Upon this he was again flogged with greater severity than before. But notwithstanding this confession of Daley, and his failure to point out the spot where he had at first asserted that gold existed, it was generally believed then, and many believe still, that he actually did find the precious metal.

In truth there seems to have existed from very remote times an almost universal opinion that Australia was rich in gold. Marco Polo, and other early travellers, had recorded what they had heard in confirmation of this belief from the natives of the Indian Archipelago. Columbus himself was probably actuated in undertaking his first voyage as much by a belief in the golden treasures of the Great South Land, as by the hope of opening up a route for reaching the spices of the Moluccas and the silks of China. Mendana and Quiros were firm

believers in the golden prize which awaited them if they could once set foot on the shores of that mysterious country which they spent their lives in endeavouring to discover. The old Dutch navigators also were so strongly impressed with the same belief, that the return of General Carpenter to Amsterdam, with enormous riches, shortly after his celebrated voyage from Batavia to the northern coast of New Holland, in 1628, caused intense excitement, and led to the fitting out of the great fleet of eleven ships, under the command of Pelsart, of which an account has before been given. It was probably this belief in the auriferous riches of the country which had obtained for what was formerly believed to be the northern extremity of the Great South Land the name of New Guinea. Whatever its origin, this fact is certain, that a belief in the golden riches of the Great South Land was almost universal for ages before it was colonised by England. Well aware of this opinion, many of the convicts, soon after their arrival, devoted much of their time in endeavouring to discover the precious metal so abundantly found in after-times.

At this time it began to be evident that a strict husbanding of provisions would be necessary to make them last until fresh supplies could be procured. The ration was at once shortened to a small extent, and the governor determined to send the "Sirius" to the Cape of Good Hope for supplies. She sailed on the 30th September, under the command of Captain Hunter, reached Table Bay on the 1st of January 1789, and returned to Port Jackson on the 9th of May following, with a full cargo of provisions, including sufficient flour to last the whole settlement for several months. When at the Cape of Good Hope, the "Alexander" transport arrived there. She was one of the fleet which had left Port Jackson to return to England about six months before the "Sirius" sailed for the Cape. It appeared that all the vessels of that fleet had been most unfortunate in their return voyage, having met with a succession of storms and contrary winds. Some of them reached Rio Janeiro, and others the Cape of Good Hope, with their provisions exhausted and their crews dying from scurvy. The return of the "Sirius" was hailed with the utmost joy by all the settlement.

In December 1788 the keel of the first vessel built in the colony was laid; she was designed for conveying provisions to Paramatta. She was launched in September of the following year and was named the "Rosehill Packet," but from the clumsiness of her build and the quantity of timber used in her construction she was afterwards usually known as the "Lump." A wharf or landing-place was also constructed in Sydney Cove towards the end of the year. At this time there were 250 persons employed in clearing and cultivating the soil, mostly at Paramatta; the others were engaged in procuring building materials, in erecting stores and houses, or in building boats and wharves.

The latter part of 1788 and the first four months of the following year was one of the darkest periods ever experienced in the history of the settlement. The gloomy prospect before the people, the decrease in their rations, the severity and frequency of punishments, and the strictness with which the governor found it necessary to husband every resource, bred in the minds of the thoughtless and improvident feelings of recklessness and despair. The stock of provisions

brought out from England was well-nigh exhausted ; the few head of cattle also brought out had disappeared no one knew where ; and nothing eatable had yet been produced in the colony with the exception of a few vegetables. Many of the prisoners, straying into the bush to search for edible roots or herbs, were killed by the natives. Seven soldiers detected in the act of plundering the provision store were hanged without mercy. The care of the young settlement was daily becoming desperate.

Governor Phillip, at this time of depression and anxiety, set a noble example of disinterestedness and self-sacrifice. He lived on the same ration as was allowed from the public store to the meanest person in the settlement. The weekly quantity, issued to every person indiscriminately at this time, was but two and a half pounds of flour, two pounds of rice, and two pounds of pork. The latter, says Collins, when boiled, from the length of time it had been in store, shrunk almost to nothing, and when divided barely afforded three or four morsels. "The governor," continues the same authority, "from a motive that did him immortal honour, in this season of general distress, gave up three hundredweight of flour which was his Excellency's private property ; declaring that he wished not to see any more at his table than the ration which was received in common from the public store, without any distinction of persons ; and to this resolution he rigidly adhered, wishing that, if a convict complained, he might see that want was not unfelt even at Government House."

The return of the "Sirius" from the Cape of Good Hope had so raised the spirits of the people that the prisoners petitioned the governor to be allowed to commemorate his Majesty's birthday, then near at hand, with such demonstrations of joy as they had it in their power to show. The officers and the free settlers also embraced with alacrity the opportunity of testifying their loyalty. The 4th of June 1789 is remarkable as the date of the first performance of a play in Australia. Collins, in his account of the rejoicings on this occasion, says : "The 4th of June was the second anniversary of his Majesty's birthday commemorated in this country, and was observed with every distinction in the power of the loyal inhabitants of Port Jackson. The governor received the compliments due to the day in his new house, of which he had lately taken possession as the government house of the colony, where his Excellency afterwards entertained the officers at dinner, and in the evening some of the convicts were permitted to perform Farquhar's comedy of the 'Recruiting Officer,' in a hut fitted up for the occasion. They professed no higher aim than 'humbly to excite a smile,' and their efforts to please were not unattended with applause."

From this period it is easy to trace, in the different narratives and records which have been preserved, a more hopeful feeling. The governor, during the darkest hour, had never allowed a shadow of doubt to cross his mind as to the ultimate success of the settlement and the eventual greatness of the colony. From the first he devoted most of his spare time to making excursions in search of better land for cultivation than was to be found on the shores of Port Jackson. On the 6th of July 1789, he discovered a large river which he named the Hawkesbury, in honour of Lord Hawkesbury. He sailed up this fine stream for



M. H. H. & H. H. H.

SOUTH HEAD, NEW ZEALAND.

more than a hundred miles, until he came to the shallows near a hill, which he named Richmond Hill.

There proved to be a large quantity of magnificent land on the banks of the Hawkesbury, and portions were shortly afterwards allotted to settlers. In addition to the encouraging prospects held out by the discovery of this fine district, it was found that the farming operations at Paramatta were in such a promising condition that the erection of a large barn and granary was determined upon. Yet as the growing crops would all be required for seed for the following year, it was deemed, early in November, absolutely necessary to place the people again on short allowance. This was rendered the more imperative in consequence of the destruction occasioned by the numbers of rats with which the public store was overrun. The quantity of wheat produced at the Paramatta farm at the first crop was upwards of two hundred bushels ; besides small portions of maize, barley, and oats.

Colonel Collins, speaking of the strictness of the regulations, and the consequent good order and regularity which prevailed in Sydney at the end of 1789—that is, somewhat less than two years from the formation of the settlement, says : “It might possibly have been asserted with truth, that many streets in London were not so well guarded and watched as the small but rising town of Sydney, in New South Wales.”

The early part of 1790 was a period of considerable anxiety, as the stock of provisions was again running low, and the rations were obliged to be shortened. To make matters worse, the “Sirius” had been wrecked at Norfolk Island ; and although the settlement was now two years old, no intelligence had been received from England. On the 17th of April, the tender “Supply” was despatched to Batavia for provisions, Lieutenant King going with it, bearing despatches for the Home Government. The “Supply” was commanded by Lieutenant Ball.

On the 3d of June a sail was descried from the South Head. It was the first strange vessel which had been seen to approach Port Jackson since the foundation of the settlement ; and when it was certain that the ship was making for the harbour, the joy of the people was almost unbounded. She proved to be the “Lady Juliana,” from London. She had sailed in July of the preceding year, and had consequently been eleven months on her passage. The ship “Guardian” had been despatched about the same time, with a large quantity of live stock and other supplies, but had struck on a iceberg, and after having had most of her cargo thrown overboard, succeeded in reaching the Cape of Good Hope, although in a sinking state. The “Lady Juliana,” a much smaller ship than the “Guardian,” had brought on part of the cargo and passengers of the latter vessel. The scale of rations was now slightly increased, as it was thought that the stock on hand would last until the return of the “Supply” from Batavia.

On the 20th of the same month an unexpected event occurred in the arrival from England of the store-ship “Justinian,” after a passage of only five months. The shortness of the voyage renewed the hopes of those who longed to revisit their native land, and held out a prospect that the attainment of their wishes

was not altogether impossible. A quantity of private property had come out in this ship, and as soon as her cargo was landed, the first shop ever opened in Sydney displayed its treasures before the admiring eyes of the people. The site selected for this forerunner of commercial enterprise was a place near the cove which had been used by the crew of the tender "Supply" as a cook-house. The venture was that of the captain of the "Justinian." The stock was miscellaneous, and formed perhaps one of the most absurd investments ever made. It mainly consisted of millinery, perfumery, and glassware. The prices at first asked were exorbitant, but as nobody bought anything, the importer was soon obliged to submit to what would now be called "an alarming sacrifice."

The excitement occasioned by the arrival of the "Justinian" had scarcely subsided when three other ships, the "Surprise," the "Neptune," and the "Scarborough," transports, very unexpectedly made their appearance. They brought out, in addition to a large number of prisoners, detachments of some companies which had been raised in England for the service of the colony, and called the New South Wales Corps. They were afterwards embodied as the 102d Regiment. Several of the officers of this corps afterwards became very prominent and wealthy colonists, the most remarkable case being that of Mr John Macarthur, a man destined by his enterprise and foresight to exercise a most important influence on the progress and welfare of the colony. A very large number of the prisoners had died on the voyage, in consequence of the close and improper way in which they had been confined.

About this time Governor Phillip had a very narrow escape from being murdered by the natives. He had taken two native youths to Government House, for the purpose of educating them, and had treated them in the very kindest manner; but in spite of all they escaped to their old companions. Hearing that these youths were amongst a tribe of natives encamped at Manly Beach, the governor, with a large number of friendly natives, proceeded there in hopes of inducing those he had treated so kindly to return with him. Several hundreds were congregated, and his Excellency went among them unarmed in order to gain their confidence. One of the youths, named Bennilong, promised to return in two days, and expressed a desire to introduce the governor to his friends. His Excellency was surrounded by twenty or thirty natives, and on Bennilong pointing out a man standing near, the governor stepped towards him. The savage not comprehending what was meant, and alarmed for his own safety, lifted a spear with his toes, and fixing his throwing-stick, instantly darted it at the governor, whom it struck with such force that the barbed point came through on the other side. Captain Hunter gives the following account of the affair: "The spear entered the governor's right shoulder, just above the collar bone, and came out about three inches lower down, behind the shoulder blade. Mr Waterhouse, who was close by the governor at the time, supposed that it must be mortal, for the spear appeared to him to be much lower down than it really was, and supposed from the number of armed men that it would be impossible for any of the party to escape to the boat. He turned round immediately to return to the boat, as he perceived Captain Collins to go that way, calling to the

boat's crew to bring up the muskets ; the governor also attempted to run towards the boat, holding up the spear with both hands to keep it off the ground ; but owing to its great length, the end frequently touched the ground and stopped him (it was about twelve feet long). Governor Phillip, in this situation, desired Mr Waterhouse to endeavour if possible to take the spear out, which he immediately attempted, but observing it to be barbed, and the barb quite through, he saw it would be impossible to draw it out ; he therefore endeavoured to break it, but could not ; while he was making this attempt, another spear was thrown out of the wood, and took off the skin between Mr Waterhouse's fore-finger and thumb, which alarmed him a good deal. By this time the spears flew pretty thick, and while he was calling to the boat's crew, the governor attempted to pull a pistol out of his pocket, but the spears flew so thick that it was unsafe to stop ; however, he got it out, and fired it upon a supposition that their knowing he had some fire-arms would put an end to further hostilities." The whole body of natives then made good their retreat, and the governor went back to Government House, where surgical assistance being at hand, the spear was carefully extracted and the wound dressed. In six weeks the governor was entirely recovered.

In March 1791, James Ruse, the first man to whom land had been granted by the Government, made the gratifying intimation to the governor that he would in future be able to live upon the produce of his land, without further assistance from the public stores.

In August of the same year a body of released prisoners, twelve in number, settled down as farmers on land allotted to them at a spot called Prospect Hill, four miles from Paramatta. In November a most foolish attempt was made by a party of prisoners to escape, and, as they imagined, to reach China, which they supposed was joined on to the continent. They took with them nothing but the small stock of provisions which had been served out for their usual weekly supply. Of twenty who made the first attempt seven perished miserably, and the remainder were brought back by persons who had been sent in pursuit. When discovered they were almost naked and dying of hunger. The fate of these people, however, did not deter others, for many similar attempts were made at various times, and of course with similar results. In January 1792, it was found that, of the numbers who had left the settlement with the hope of being able to reach China, forty-four men and nine women were unaccounted for, and were believed to have perished, or to be still wandering in the woods subsisting on roots and berries.

The idea of the contiguity of China to Australia was possibly derived from an indistinct notion possessed by some of these ignorant people of the theory entertained by the old geographers that the Great South Land was connected with Asia. This notion was, like the belief in the existence of the Great South Land and its golden treasures, an instance of traditionary knowledge transmitted from times of very great antiquity, and was a part of that folk-lore of which it is now, in most cases, difficult if not impossible to trace the origin. The Chinese, it should be remembered, had been accustomed to visit the northern coasts of

Australia for ages, and they had numerous settlements in the Indian Archipelago in very remote times.

At the end of this year (1791), the land wholly or partially cleared and in cultivation at Sydney and Paramatta amounted to nearly a thousand acres. The live stock consisted of six horses, sixteen cows, fifty-seven sheep, and twenty-five pigs.

Instructions had been sent out from England with respect to the land to be granted to non-commissioned officers and soldiers on the expiry of their terms of service. These instructions did not embrace the cases of commissioned officers and free settlers, with whom special arrangements were made varying according to circumstances. The regulations for non-commissioned officers and privates were as follows: "To every non-commissioned officer, an allotment of 130 acres of land, if single; and 150, if married. To every private man, eighty acres of land, if single, one hundred, if married; and ten acres of land for each child at the time of granting the allotment; free of all taxes, quit-rents, and other acknowledgments, for the term of five years; at the expiration of which term to be liable to an annual quit-rent of one shilling for every fifty acres. As a further acknowledgment, a bounty was offered of three pounds per man to every non-commissioned officer and private man who would enlist in the new corps (to form a company to be officered from the marines); and an allotment of double the above proportion of land, if they behaved well for five years, to be granted them at the expiration of that time; the said allotments not to be subject to any tax for ten years. And at their discharge, at either of the above periods, they were to be supplied with clothing and one year's provisions, with seed-grain, tools, and implements of agriculture."

It is a very notable fact that, notwithstanding the class of people who formed so large a portion of the population of the settlement, up to this time hardly any serious crimes had been committed. It is true that several persons had been hanged for stealing food; but their offences were for the most part such as would be considered under other circumstances of a very venial character, and when it is recollected that the whole settlement was frequently reduced to a state bordering on starvation, it is not surprising that persons accustomed to act from impulse, and without a consideration of consequences either to themselves or others, should have given way to temptation under such circumstances. During these periods of privation the number of deaths in proportion to the population was frightful.

It was now apparent that the most of the difficulties which met the settlers at first were in a fair way of being overcome; and with the prospect of leaving the colony under these favourable circumstances, Governor Phillip, whose health had suffered from privation, exposure, and anxiety, announced his intention of proceeding to England. He sailed on the 11th December 1792, six years having elapsed since the date of his commission, and nearly five since his landing in the colony.

Arthur Phillip was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men of his day, and was admirably adapted, both by nature and education, for the important

duties with which he was entrusted. Kind and confiding, under ordinary circumstances, almost to a fault, where firmness and decision were required, where a warning was needed, where duty had been neglected, deceit practised, or the public interest jeopardised, he regarded leniency as a most culpable weakness. His punishments were not frequent, but prompt and terrible. With a man of less self-reliance, less decision of character, or less humanity, the shores of Sydney Cove would probably have witnessed, in the first year of the existence of the colony, more terrible scenes of vice and crime than any which history has recorded. Under his rule public order was never for a moment endangered; and, considering all the circumstances by which the people under his charge were surrounded, the offences committed were few and insignificant. He left the colony loaded with the blessings of those over whom he had ruled, and followed by earnest wishes for his safe return to England and speedy restoration to health. The first Australian governor in point of time, he must also be regarded as the first in point of character and ability. The limited and remote sphere in which he exercised his talents, his death in a short time after his return to England, and the absorbing interest which attached at that period to the great events transpiring on the European Continent, prevented that recognition of his services and that appreciation of his character which he certainly merited from the British Government and people, and which in more peaceable times, and under other circumstances, he most assuredly would have received.

Governor Phillip, who had never relaxed in his efforts to benefit the aborigines, took with him to England two promising young men of that unfortunate race; one of them was Bennilong, who had become much attached to him; the other was his companion, Yemmerawannie. They had acquired, from residing with the governor, a knowledge of the usages of civilised life, and both were persons of more than ordinary sharpness and address. The latter died in England, but the former returned to the colony. He was, while in England, presented to George III., and introduced to most of the leading men of that day. He adopted the observances of society with remarkable readiness, and behaved on all occasions, while among strangers, with propriety and ease; yet soon after his return he threw off his fine clothes, and the restraints of civilised life, as alike inconvenient and distasteful, and in spite of all persuasions to the contrary, reverted to his old habits and his old haunts.

The 1st of November 1792, was remarkable as the date of the arrival of the first foreign trading vessel which ever entered Port Jackson. She was the "Philadelphia" brigantine, from the United States. The Americans were then just beginning that career of enterprise which has since placed them in the position of one of the leading nations of the world. A Captain Patrickson happened to be at the Cape of Good Hope when a ship bound for the new settlement of Sydney Cove touched there. The American skipper, thinking the new colony a likely place to afford a chance for doing a good stroke of trade, at once hastened home to Philadelphia, took on board a cargo which he thought suited to the market, and sailed for Sydney. When he arrived, the goods which

formed his cargo were in great demand, and he soon disposed of the whole of them at a high profit.

One of the first warrants of emancipation ever issued in the colony was made out in this month (November 1792), in favour of George Barrington, a person who had acquired great notoriety at home as a pick-pocket. He had gained admission, it is said, to the viceregal circle in Dublin, and had mixed amongst wealthy people in London. At his trial he made a defence which rendered him famous. He was a man of fashionable exterior and most insinuating address, but not of much education. He has been made hero of more than one work of fiction, and figures as a principal character in Lever's "O'Donohue." Few men convicted of crime have ever succeeded in regaining the confidence of the world and the respect of society to such an extent as Barrington. His conduct, after he arrived in the colony, was most exemplary; and he endeavoured to atone, by his good example and the influence which his manners and attainments gave him with his own class, for the errors of his past life. He lived for many years at Paramatta, where he was long remembered as a very gentlemanly old man, scrupulously neat in dress, and courteous in deportment. Barrington was the author, or the reputed author, of the narrative of a voyage to New South Wales, and a history of the colony; but they are both very poor performances. As the supposed writer of an address delivered on the occasion of one of the first dramatic representations ever attempted in Sydney, he is generally thought to have been possessed of some literary ability. But no person who has read Barrington's history of the colony, and noticed its grammatical blunders, its absurd mistakes, and its slipshod English, could for a moment believe its author capable of writing the celebrated prologue referred to. It is due, however, to Barrington to say that he disclaimed the authorship of the history published in his name.

CHAPTER III.

THE MILITARY DESPOTISM.

MAJOR GROSE, ACTING-GOVERNOR—THE MILITARY AND OFFICIAL CLIQUE—JOHN MACARTHUR—ESCAPED PRISONERS—FIRST IMMIGRANTS—HARD TIMES—THE SCOTCH MARTYRS—WILD CATTLE—RUNAWAYS FOUND—PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURE—EVIL RESULTS OF MILITARY DESPOTISM.

WHEN Governor Phillip took his departure, the government devolved on Major Francis Grose, the senior officer of the 102d Regiment, who was subsequently succeeded by Captain Paterson. The military rule continued for nearly three years, and during that time the settlement was practically a military despotism. Governor Phillip had been very chary in alienating lands to private individuals; and the total quantity granted by him did not much exceed 3000 acres; but, on his departure, those who possessed the power at once commenced to divide the spoil, and in a short period had secured more than 15,000 acres for themselves and their immediate friends. This appropriation of the public lands, by a small but powerful class, went on for many years with a constantly increasing rapidity, and enabled those who took advantage of their position to become the founders of wealthy families; and—strange as it appears—to assume, even in the infancy of this then remote and insignificant dependency, the powers, privileges, and social and civil status of a landed aristocracy; an aristocracy—it seems absurd to say it of such a people at such a time—impatient of the viceregal power, and disdainful towards their less privileged fellow-colonists. It will be seen that this impatience of the governor's power ultimately led them to open rebellion, and their contemptuous treatment of their fellow-colonists created a feeling of antagonism between classes which is hardly yet extinct. The leader of the class which assumed such privileges, and enjoyed such opportunities for aggrandisement, was John Macarthur. He arrived in the colony in 1789, as captain and paymaster of the New South Wales Corps, but quitted the service in a few years, and became an extensive proprietor of land and stock, besides engaging largely in commercial pursuits. The military rule which prevailed must be kept in view in reading the history of the colony for the next twenty years.

In January 1793 the fate of a party of prisoners who had escaped about twelve months before was ascertained. The leader of the party was a man named Bryant, who, taking his wife and child, and a number of men whom he induced to join in the scheme, ran off with a fishing boat at night. It was supposed for a considerable time that the whole party had perished, but it appears

that after almost incredible sufferings some of them had managed to reach Batavia, where Bryant and two of his companions died from the effects of the hardships they had undergone. His wife and child and four of the convicts were then taken on board an English ship, and the latter delivered up to the proper authorities. On their arrival in England, the story of their sufferings excited so much compassion, that on being brought up at the bar of the Old Bailey, they were merely ordered by the Court to remain in Newgate until the period of their original sentences of transportation had expired.

On the 16th January 1793, the ship "*Bellona*" arrived from England with a number of emigrant settlers. The conditions under which they came out were that they should be provided with a free passage, be furnished with agricultural tools and implements by the Government, have two years' provisions, and grants of land free of expense. The situation of the land assigned to them was eight or ten miles to the westward of Sydney, at a place known as the Kangaroo Ground, but which the new settlers called Liberty Plains. Several of the military officers, and the clergyman, also selected grants of land there. They began their settlements in high spirits. From their exertions the lieutenant-governor was sanguine in being enabled to increase considerably the cultivation of the country. They got a great deal of work done by hiring gangs on those days when the prisoners on the public works did not work for the Government, the great labour of burning the timber after it had been cut down requiring some such extra aid. But notwithstanding these great advantages, and this very promising beginning, the Liberty Plains settlement did not prosper, owing principally to the inferior quality of the soil.

The latter part of 1793 was another period of great privation. Some accounts say it was the worst time which the colonists ever endured; for although the crops of wheat and maize were tolerably good, there was not a pound of imported flour in the settlement, and the facilities for grinding were quite inadequate to supply the wants of the people. The weekly ration now consisted of nothing but the following cereals—three pounds of wheat, five pounds of maize, two pints of peas, and two of gram. At this date the first tame animal killed for food in the colony—a sheep—was slaughtered by a settler, and the carcase realised £6 sterling when retailed. A cow was sold for £80 sterling, and a calf for £15. The harvest of 1794 was fortunately a good one, and the privations of the settlers were greatly relieved.

At the end of June 1794, about six years and a half after the foundation of the colony, the horned cattle numbered only forty head; and the sheep but 516. From that period, however, greater success appears to have attended the introduction of stock, and the numbers rapidly increased.

In September 1794, four gentlemen, generally known as the Scotch Martyrs, Messrs Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot, arrived in the colony as prisoners; and a few months afterwards another, a Mr Gerald, was sent to bear them company. The British Government had just before taken the alarm at the progress of what were thought revolutionary doctrines, and had put into operation laws which were a disgrace to any country. The gentlemen above named, persons of

peaceable lives and most estimable characters, were among the earliest victims of the terror into which the English governing classes were thrown by the French Revolution. The crime of which these prisoners had been convicted was sedition; and their so-called sedition was of such a character that it is difficult if not impossible in this day, and with the liberty which we now enjoy, to understand how it could be regarded as a crime calling for so heavy a punishment, or indeed for any punishment at all. The fate of four out of five of these Scotch Martyrs was very melancholy. Mr Gerald, who was a man of refined manners and delicate susceptibility, died within about a year of his landing in the colony, having never recovered from the shock which his constitution had suffered when his sentence was pronounced. Three days after him Mr Skirving also died, of a broken heart. Mr Palmer, who had been a clergyman, lingered until the expiration of his sentence, but died on the homeward voyage. Mr Muir, who had been an advocate at the Scotch bar, made his escape from the colony in an American vessel, called the "Otter," which had been hired by some friends and admirers of his character for the express purpose of carrying him off. The "Otter" was wrecked on the west coast of America, and Mr Muir suffered great hardships and privations in endeavouring to reach Mexico, from which country he obtained a passage to Europe in a Spanish frigate. The frigate was, after a sharp conflict, captured by a British man-of-war. In the action Mr Muir was desperately wounded in the head, and was lying apparently dead on deck when the frigate was boarded by the crew of the British vessel; he revived, however, after a short time, so far as to bear to be landed on the Spanish coast. After a time he partially recovered and succeeded in making his way to Paris, but gradually sank from the effects of his sufferings and his wounds, and died shortly afterwards. Mr Margarot was the only one of the five who lived to return to his native country, which he did in 1813, after the expiration of his sentence. These gentlemen left behind them in the colony a most favourable impression of their characters and conduct, and were regarded by many of the colonists with the deepest sympathy.

In March 1795 it was ascertained from the natives that large animals with horns existed in the interior. It was suspected, and with truth, that they were the offspring of the cattle which had disappeared so strangely soon after the settlement was formed. Efforts were made to discover their whereabouts, but for some time without success. About eight months afterwards, however, they were found at a place about fifty miles from Sydney, beyond the Nepean River; the number of the herd had increased to upwards of sixty. The place where they were discovered was named the Cowpastures, and was the best grassed district which at that time had been discovered in the country. They were not interfered with, and consequently increased very rapidly, and formed the stock from which most of the wild cattle of the colony—now a nuisance—have sprung.

In August 1795 a vessel driven by contrary winds to take shelter at Port Stephens found there four white men who were at first supposed to be shipwrecked seamen, but who turned out to be runaway prisoners who had been missing for nearly five years, and were supposed to have perished. They were

brought to Sydney, and gave a most favourable account of the treatment they had met with from the natives of that part of the coast.

The permission given to officers to hold lands had operated powerfully in favour of the colony, which was, in the opinion of most people, making rapid strides towards that independence so long, and hitherto so vainly, wished for. These gentlemen were liberal in their employment of people; and such had been their exertions, that it appeared by a survey taken in the last month, that 982 acres had been cleared by them since that permission had been received; and it further appeared, that there had been cleared since Governor Phillip's departure in December 1792, 2962 acres. It must be remembered, that the colony had been supplied with no other grain than that raised within itself from the 16th day of December 1793. Some officers who had made an excursion to the Hawkesbury with a view of selecting eligible spots for farms, on their return spoke highly of the corn which they saw growing there, and of the picturesque appearance of many of the settlers' farms. Those people told them, that in general their grounds which had been in wheat had produced from thirty to thirty-six bushels an acre; that they found one bushel (or on some spots five pecks) of seed sufficient to sow an acre; and that, if sown as early as the month of April or May, they imagined the ground would produce a second crop, and the season be not too far advanced to ripen it. Their kitchen gardens were plentifully stocked with vegetables. At the end of 1795 there were upwards of five thousand acres in cultivation. But the privations suffered by the settlers in Governor Phillip's time were unparalleled in the history of British colonisation. A wealthy free settler of Sydney, years after, told Dr Lang that his sole ration for a long period was a single corn cob per day. For three years he lived in constant fear of death by starvation.

The condition of the settlement when the officers of the New South Wales Corps first found themselves in control of its affairs, although there existed no immediate prospect of absolute want, was deplorable enough. Nearly every man, woman, and child was victualled from the public stores; and although almost all the prisoners, who then formed probably three-fourths of the population, were ostensibly engaged on public works or in clearing or cultivating the land, the daily labour expected from each individual was absurdly small and insignificant; and paltry as it was in amount, it was seldom fully performed, or, if performed nominally, was executed in such a careless and improper way as to be almost useless. The labour was present, and the land on which to employ it profitably was not wanting, but there was no machinery to control and enforce the one, and in its absence no sufficient motive on the part of the convicts to take advantage of the fertility of the other. The abundance of land at the disposal of the soldier settlers was accompanied by an equally ready command of labour. Before they seized the opportunity of turning both to profit, the land was useless and the labour idle. Suddenly finding themselves in command of both, they promptly took advantage of the circumstance to benefit themselves; and as in benefiting themselves they advanced the interests of the whole community, few will in the present day be inclined to look very closely into their motives. But if the officers and their friends had confined themselves to grasping at as much

land as they could possibly cultivate, and compelling their convict servants to cultivate all they could procure, they would not deserve half the hard things which have been said and written of them. But, unfortunately, human cupidity is almost insatiable, and the conduct of the gentlemen in question did not prove an exception to the general rule. In addition to monopolising most of the available land and labour, they took advantage of their position to control for their own benefit the rising commerce of the settlement; they became dealers and hucksters—it would be absurd to call them merchants under such a state of things as then existed. They monopolised almost every species of traffic. The non-commissioned officers of the corps were licensed to retail the spirits which their superiors purchased or distilled, and every petty dealer was obliged to buy his goods of them or through them at their own prices. This state of things commenced in the period now referred to—1792-95—but it did not end then. On the contrary, it endured for nearly twenty years, and its effects were visible for a much longer period.

CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNOR HUNTER'S ADMINISTRATION.

ARRIVAL OF THE NEW GOVERNOR—ENDS MILITARY DESPOTISM—FYSHE PALMER'S CASE—ROMANTIC ADVENTURES OF MR MUIR—REV. MR JOHNSON—FIRST PRINTING PRESS—FIRST PLAYHOUSE—CURIOUS PROLOGUE—INCREASE OF CRIME—DISCOVERY OF COAL—TROUBLESOME NATIVES—HUNTER RIVER DISCOVERED—ABUNDANT HARVEST—HUNTING WILD CATTLE—DISTRESSED SETTLERS—WRECK OF THE "SYDNEY COVE"—ESCAPING TO CHINA—MISSIONARIES FROM TAHITI—THE FIRST CHURCH—FIRST PUBLIC MEETING—GOVERNOR HUNTER'S DEPARTURE—HIS CHARACTER—PROGRESS OF THE COLONY—HUNTER'S HUMANITY.

THE new governor, Captain John Hunter, arrived in the colony on the 7th of September 1795. He had originally come out with Governor Phillip, as captain of the "Sirius" frigate, and had gone to England, in 1791, with despatches to the Home Government. On Governor Phillip's relinquishing the charge of the settlement, Captain Hunter had been chosen to succeed him, and probably no better choice could have been made than that of a man who had taken a prominent part in founding the colony, and who felt a personal interest in its success. On his return to Sydney he found that although considerable progress in material advancement had been made during his absence, and that many of the difficulties which at first beset the infant settlement had disappeared, others of almost as formidable a character had arisen in their place. The military and their immediate friends and connections had become a dominant class; they had been entrusted with the control of the government for three years, and during that period they had usurped not only the functions properly belonging to civil authority but had secured for themselves a monopoly of land, labour, and traffic. Their moral conduct, too, was of a very bad kind, and set an evil example even to the prisoners whom they had under their control.

The arrival of Governor Hunter was hailed with joy by all the inhabitants of the settlement, except the military officers and their friends, whose iron rule and crushing monopoly had made them exceedingly unpopular with the rest of the community. In a letter dated Sydney, September 15, 1795, written by the Rev. Thomas Fyshe Palmer, one of the Scotch Martyrs whose severe sentence and melancholy fate are recorded in the previous chapter, the conduct of the men who had ruled the colony for nearly three years is spoken of as grasping and tyrannical in the extreme. Mr Palmer's letter was addressed to the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, M.A., of Essex Street Chapel, London, and refers to the faithful conduct of the Rev. Mr Johnson, the colonial chaplain, in reproofing in the most fearless manner the tyranny of the military and the gross immorality of

which they had been guilty. "On the first Sunday after Governor Hunter's arrival," says Mr Palmer, "the Rev. Mr Johnson, in his sermon, exposed the last Government, their extortion, their despotism, their debauchery, and ruin of the colony, driving it almost to famine by the sale of goods at 1200 per cent. profit. He congratulated the colony at the abolition of the military government and the restoration of a civil one, and of the laws; and orders are this day given out that no officer shall sell any more liquor." Mr Palmer had been accompanied in his banishment by two devoted friends, named Ellis and Boston, who, out of affection and sympathy, resolved to follow him, and to take up their abode in the colony as free settlers. Their connection, however, with a man transported for the crime of sedition, brought the displeasure of the little military despots upon their heads, and when they landed in Sydney they were interdicted from following any calling by which they could support themselves. In this position, being without means, they were reduced to great straits. "After such kindness as theirs," said Mr Palmer in the letter before quoted, "it followed of course that we lived together, and that they shared what I had. It was fortunate for them that I had something left from the plunder of C. and his crew. The destructive and oppressive monopoly of the military officers forbade every one to purchase of the ships that came to this harbour. The military officers alone bought and resold to all the colony at 1000 per cent. profit, and often more." Messrs Ellis and Boston claimed the right, as British subjects, to carry on trade. They were arbitrarily refused permission, denied grants of land, and never employed, although by making salt and curing fish they could have saved the colony from a famine. The conduct of these two young men towards Mr Palmer exhibits a most remarkable instance of affectionate devotion and self-sacrificing sympathy. The captain of the vessel, the "Surprise," an infamous character, did all he could to induce them to abandon Mr Palmer. When the ship touched at Rio de Janeiro he introduced them to the viceroy as persons of great mechanical skill, who would be of great utility in instructing others. "The viceroy," says Mr Palmer, in the letter to the Rev. T. Lindsey, before referred to, "paid them every attention, kept a splendid table for them, had men of rank to attend them, set them to work, and when convinced of their ability, offered them any sum to set up in business and £300 per annum to settle in Rio. They here gave another proof of their friendship for me. Though both were without a shilling, they firmly rejected the offer, and every solicitation made use of for their compliance, as it was their firm belief that C. would have murdered me in their absence."

After the arrival of Governor Hunter, Messrs Ellis and Boston established themselves in business in Sydney as brewers and manufacturers of vinegar, salt, soap, etc. When the term of Mr Palmer's sentence had expired, Mr Ellis, still as devoted as ever, fitted out a small vessel to convey himself and his beloved friend and pastor to England. Their little craft was neither large enough nor strong enough to attempt the passage round Cape Horn, and the funds at their disposal were scarcely equal to providing for the long voyage by the route of the Indian Archipelago. In carrying out their plans, they touched at some of the islands of the South Seas, and their little craft, after some narrow escapes, was

wrecked on one of the Ladrone Islands, where they were taken prisoners by the Spaniards, and Mr Palmer, debilitated by hardship and suffering, caught a fever and died. This unfortunate victim to advanced political opinions, although one of the so-called "Scotch Martyrs," from having been tried and convicted in Scotland, was not a Scotchman by birth. He was a native of Bedfordshire, and descended from an opulent family long settled in that county. He was educated at the University of Cambridge, and was a fellow of Queen's College, but had embraced Unitarian opinions, and in 1792 became the minister of a church of that denomination at Dundee. He was a man of excellent understanding, unimpeachable morals, and great simplicity of character; and being an ardent friend to liberty, he, perhaps somewhat incautiously considering the circumstances of the times, took part in republishing an old "Address to the People of Scotland concerning the Reform of Parliament." For his connection with this matter he was tried by the Circuit Court of Justiciary; and, being convicted, a sentence was passed upon him of seven years' "banishment."

He was treated with great barbarity until the arrival of Governor Hunter, who, being a humane man, gave Mr Palmer as much liberty as the circumstances of the case permitted. In this present period of the history of Australasia it seems incredible that men could be imprisoned and banished for holding principles which are identical with those that now govern the conduct of all English statesmen, and even less liberal than those upon which the constitutions of these free colonies are based.

The story of the escape and subsequent adventures of Mr Muir, another of the Scotch Martyrs, is one of the most romantic narratives that ever was penned. He was a gentleman of education and refinement, and a thoroughly Christian man. A great effort was made in the House of Commons, by Charles James Fox and others of the Whig leaders, to obtain his pardon, but it was unsuccessful. The fame of his eloquence and constancy reached America, and George Washington set on foot a project to rescue him from captivity. A vessel named the "Otter" was despatched from New York, under the command of Captain Dawes, and proceeded to Sydney under pretext of trading. She anchored in Port Jackson in January 1796. Mr Muir was secretly communicated with, and he succeeded in getting on board unobserved, with nothing in his possession but the clothes he wore and a pocket Bible. He had not even the opportunity of making his friends aware of the unexpected means provided for his escape. He left a letter for the governor, expressing his grateful thanks for the kindness with which his Excellency had treated him, and intimated that he was on his way to America. Now commences a series of, perhaps, the most remarkable circumstances on record. After a voyage of about four months, the "Otter" made the west coast of North America, near Nootka Sound; she there struck on a sunken rock, and quickly went to pieces. Every soul on board, except Mr Muir and two sailors, perished; they reached the shore more dead than alive, and after wandering about for some days in a starving condition, were captured by a tribe of Indians. Mr Muir, who was soon separated from his companions, endeavoured to please his captors by painting and decorating his body

and following their customs. The savages were delighted, and contrary to his expectations, he was treated by them with the greatest kindness. In three weeks he managed to escape. He had nothing in his possession but a few dollars and his pocket Bible, and no means of directing his course. He travelled, however, down the western coast of North America, a distance of nearly four thousand miles, enduring the most frightful sufferings from hunger, thirst, and nakedness, but without much interruption, and at last reached the city of Panama in the most abject and forlorn condition. He made his way to the presence of the governor, with scarcely a stitch of clothes on his body, and his feet bleeding from the effects of his long journey; being able to speak a little of the Spanish language, he related his melancholy story, and was at once offered clothes and nourishment. After a short stay, having recruited his strength, he again started on foot, across the Isthmus of Panama to the city of Vera Cruz, a distance of a thousand miles. The governor of that city, after hearing his singular story, offered to send him to the Havannah. Mr Muir accepted the offer, but before the vessel was ready to sail, he was attacked by the yellow fever and laid on a bed of sickness, a stranger and penniless. The Spaniards, although their country was at war with England at the time, acted with humanity and kindness, but the governor with some degree of treachery, for on Mr Muir's recovery, although he fulfilled his promise of sending him to the Havannah, he sent him as a prisoner, with a recommendation to the authorities there to send him to Spain, in order that the Government might decide as to what should be done with him. On reaching Cuba, he was placed in a loathsome prison, called *La Principe*, and was again attacked by severe illness. His wish was, of course, to reach the United States, but that country had no consul or agent at Havannah to whom he could apply for relief. After a delay of several weeks he was placed on board a Spanish frigate, called the "*Nymph*," which, with another frigate, was about to return to Europe with treasure. On board this ship he was obliged to work as a common sailor. The "*Nymph*" and her consort made the land near the harbour of Cadiz, on the morning of the 26th April 1797. Two English frigates, the "*Emerald*" and "*Irresistible*," part of Sir John Jervis's squadron, were on the look-out for the Spanish treasure ships, and when they sighted them at once gave chase. The Spaniards came to an anchor in Canille Bay, the English frigates anchored abreast of them, a mile from the shore, and a desperate conflict ensued, which lasted for two hours. The Spanish ships were vanquished, and, by the last shot fired from the "*Irresistible*," Mr Muir was desperately wounded in the head. As soon as the Spaniards struck, the "*Nymph*" was boarded by the officers and crew of the "*Irresistible*," when, on looking at the dead and dying, they were struck by the singular position in which one of the bodies lay. It was lying in a pool of blood; the face presented a horrid spectacle, one of the eyes having been knocked out and carried away, with the bone and part of the cheek; but the hands were clasped as if in prayer, and a small book (a pocket Bible) was between them. The Spanish sailors, believing the man dead, were about to throw him overboard, but in the act of lifting him up he uttered a deep sigh, and the book fell from his hands. One of

the English officers snatched it up, and on glancing at the first page found there written the name of Thomas Muir, a man who had been his early schoolfellow and companion, and with whose severe sentence, and subsequent escape from Port Jackson, he was well acquainted. Taking out his handkerchief, he wiped the blood from the apparently dying man's face, and although so much disfigured, at once recognised the well-known features. He did not breathe a word of the discovery he had made, but assisted to convey his old friend on shore to the hospital at Cadiz, where the British commander had given permission that the wounded Spaniards should be sent. Mr Muir lay there, apparently at the point of death, for two months, but at the end of that time, although suffering extreme agony, was able to speak so as to make himself understood. By some means his situation was made known to some friends in Paris, by whom the story of his wrongs and sufferings was communicated to the French Directory, who, regarding him as an oppressed and persecuted man, driven from his own country for his fearless advocacy of the cause of truth and liberty, immediately offered him an asylum in Paris. He accepted the offer, and the French Government at once made a demand on the Government of Spain that Mr Muir should be given up. This request was readily complied with, and having partially recovered, he proceeded to Paris by slow and easy stages. On his entrance into France, such was the sensation and the sympathy excited by the extraordinary circumstances of his case, that on reaching Bordeaux, the first considerable town after crossing the Spanish frontier, he was invited to a banquet by upwards of five hundred gentlemen. The mayor of the city presided, and the most unbounded enthusiasm was displayed. But the fatigue he had undergone, and the excitement, in his then enfeebled state, were too much for his strength, and when he attempted to rise to return thanks, he fainted in the arms of the American consul, who sat at his side. He reached Paris on the 4th February 1798. His company was courted by the most eminent men in France, and everything that the most devoted kindness and medical aid could suggest was done to relieve his sufferings; but all was useless. His wounds were incurable, and, after lingering for a few months, he expired at Chantilly, near Paris, on the 27th September 1798, and was interred there, at the expense of the French nation, with every mark of respect. Before his death he sealed up the Bible which had been his constant solace and companion in all his dangers and trials, requesting that it might be forwarded to his aged parents in Scotland. They lived to receive their beloved son's bequest, but the shock of his death completed what his wrongs had left unfinished, and they both died shortly afterwards.

Of the melancholy fate of Mr Muir's fellow-exiles mention has already been made. Mr Gerald, a man of great ability and of the most amiable and refined manners, soon succumbed to the hardships of his lot. But before his death he purchased a small piece of ground at Farm Cove (now part of the Sydney Botanic Gardens), one of the most beautiful spots in Australia. He cultivated this little plot of ground as a garden, and when he died was, in accordance with his often expressed wish, buried there. Mr Skirving only survived Mr Gerald three days. A contemporary account says: "A dysentery was the apparent cause

of his death, but his heart was broken. Among us he was a pious, honest, worthy character. In this settlement his political principles never manifested themselves; but all his solicitude seemed to be to evince himself the friend of human nature. *Requiescat in pace.*" Mr Margarot, as before remarked, was made of sterner stuff, and a man of a very different stamp. He survived his period of exile, went home in 1810, and gave important evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons, in 1812, on the state of the colony, which exercised an important influence in reforming the glaring abuses which had grown up in connection with the monopolising and trafficking proceedings of the military officers and their friends.

The Rev. Mr Johnson, the first colonial clergyman, and at this time the only one, to whose faithful discharge of his duty and fearless denunciation of the vices of the military rulers of the colony, Mr Palmer bears testimony in the letter before quoted, although a minister of the Church of England, had embraced the peculiar views of the Moravian Methodists. He was a Cambridge man, of Magdalen College, and was an excellent and zealous pastor, but of too retiring, quiet, and meek a character to exercise much personal influence on the men who had the control of affairs at the period in question. In addition to the discharge of his duties as chaplain to the settlement, he devoted considerable attention to horticulture, and was the first to introduce the culture of the orange into the colony. His orchard was at Kissing Point, and his trees were grown from seeds which he had procured at Rio Janeiro. He subsequently returned to England with a considerable fortune, the results of his own industry and enterprise. The fact of his having erected a church by voluntary effort, at such a period, and under very difficult and discouraging circumstances, goes far to prove his piety and zeal; and the testimony borne by Mr Palmer as to the way in which, on the arrival of Governor Hunter, he reproved the debauchery and tyrannical conduct of those who for a period of three years had administered the government of the colony, and who were yet in a position to injure him, if so minded, affords a guarantee for his faithfulness and courage.

One of the first acts of Captain Hunter, after assuming the government, was establishing a small printing-office. The press and types had been brought out originally by Governor Phillip, but had never been used for want of some one who understood the art of printing. A printer was at last found in a young man named Howe, a creole of St Christopher's, in the West Indies, who had lately arrived in the colony. The press was at the first employed in printing official notices only, but in the course of time the office was extended, and about eight years afterwards a small newspaper, the *Sydney Gazette*, was established, which continued, under Mr Howe's control, to be the official organ of the Government for upwards of thirty years.

A playhouse was erected by some of the prisoners in 1796, and opened on the 16th of January. The opening performances were "The Revenge" and "The Hotel." The manager's name was Sparrow, and the actors were Messrs Green, Fowkes, Hughes, Chapman, and Mrs Davis. George Barrington appears to have taken an active share in the business, and is credited with having written

the prologue spoken on the occasion. This, however, has been denied, on the ground that Barrington's literary ability was not equal to the task of composing so very clever a piece. As this prologue has become very famous in colonial history, we give it in full :

"From distant climes, o'er widespread seas we come,
Though not with much *éclat*, or beat of drum ;
True patriots all, for, be it understood,
We left our country for our country's good :
No private views disgraced our generous zeal,
What urged our travels, was our country's weal ;
And none will doubt, but that our emigration
Has proved most useful to the British nation.

But, you inquire, what could our breasts inflame,
With this new passion for theatric fame ;
What, in the practice of our former days,
Could shape our talents to exhibit plays ?
Your patience, sirs, some observations made,
You'll grant us equal to the scenic trade.

He, who to midnight ladders is no stranger,
You'll own will make an admirable Ranger.
To seek Macheath we have not far to roam,
And sure in Filch I shall be quite at home.
Unrivalled there, none will dispute my claim
To high pre-eminence and exalted fame.

As oft on Gadshill we have ta'en our stand,
When 'twas so dark you could not see your hand,
Some true-bred Falstaff we may hope to start,
Who, when well bolstered, well will play his part.
The scene to vary, we shall try in time
To treat you with a little pantomime.
Here light and easy columbines are found,
And well-tried harlequins with us abound ;
From durance vile our precious selves to keep,
We often had recourse to th' flying leap ;
To a black face have sometimes owed escape,
And Hounslow Heath has proved the worth of crape.

But how, you ask, can we e'er hope to soar
Above these scenes, and rise to tragic lore ?
Too oft, alas ! we've forced th' unwilling tear,
And petrified the heart with real fear.

Macbeth a harvest of applause will reap,
For some of us, I fear, have murdered sleep ;
His lady too with grace will sleep and talk,
Our females have been used at night to walk.

Sometimes, indeed, so various is our art,
An actor may improve and mend his part ;
'Give me a horse,' bawls Richard, like a drone,
We'll find a man would help himself to one.
Grant us your favour, put us to the test,
To gain your smiles we'll do our very best ;
And, without dread of future Turnkey Lockits,
Thus, in an honest way, still pick your pockets."

It must be added that the increase of crime was so great and so marked after the opening of the theatre, that the governor was soon obliged to issue orders for levelling the place with the ground ; and that high-handed course met with the general approval of the more respectable people of all classes of the community.

In June 1796, the first coal discovered in the colony was brought to Sydney by some men who had been employed in fishing, and had taken shelter in what they described as "a bay near Port Stephens," evidently meaning the entrance to river Hunter, afterwards called Port Hunter or Newcastle Harbour. About the same time coal was also found at the Coal Cliff at Bulli by part of a shipwrecked crew, and the seams there traced for several miles by an officer and some men who had been sent in search of them. The first natural produce of the country ever turned to profit, as an export, was a quantity of coals consisting of forty-four tons, dug from the cliff at Newcastle, which was exchanged for some nails and old iron with the master of an American ship. The first regular export of coal was in the year 1801, when a small brig called the "Anna Josepha," which had been built in the colony, was freighted with colonial timber and coals, and despatched to the Cape of Good Hope. Both the coals and the timber met with a ready market there. The coals were sold at £6 a ton.

The accounts of the years 1796 and 1797 are full of stories of conflicts between the settlers and the natives, in which very little mercy appears to have been shown on either side. The frequent cause of quarrel between them was the plundering of the growing maize crops by the blacks ; and to such an extent was this carried on some of the more outlying farms that some of the settlers on the Hawkesbury had to abandon their lands in 1797, after they had devoted several years to the labour of clearing and cultivation. The truth is, that the fire-arms of the whites had so thinned and frightened the game on which the unfortunate natives had been accustomed to rely for food, that they were driven by starvation to prey upon the crops of the settlers ; while the scarcity of animal food among the latter compelled them to adopt every means in their power to eke out their scanty rations with game and fish.

About the middle of September 1797, the Hunter River was discovered by Lieutenant Shortland. He had been sent in pursuit of a party of convicts who had run off with the best boat in the colony while on her passage to the Hawkesbury. He was unsuccessful in his pursuit of the pirates, but more than compensated for that misfortune by the discovery of one of the finest rivers of eastern Australia, which he named the Hunter in honour of the governor.

The harvest of 1797 was a very abundant one ; and as the live stock had lately done well, and was fast increasing, particularly the sheep and pigs, the prospects of the settlement, which had now been founded nearly ten years, were considered to be rapidly improving. In January 1798, the land under cultivation with wheat and maize amounted to nearly 5000 acres ; the sheep numbered about 2500, the pigs upwards of 4000, and the horned cattle 327.

A report having reached Sydney that a herd of wild cattle was roaming about at a place some forty miles beyond Paramatta, the governor, with a party, went

in search of them, and found a large number of really fine cows, with calves at their feet. The country where they were found grazing was remarkably pleasant to the eye; everywhere the foot trod on thick and luxuriant grass; the trees were thinly scattered, and free from underwood, except in particular spots; several beautiful flats presented large ponds, covered with ducks and the black swan, the margins of which were fringed with shrubs of the most delightful tints, and the ground rose from these levels into hills of easy ascent. The question how these cattle came hither appeared easy of solution. The few that were lost in 1788, two bulls and five cows, travelled without interruption in a western direction until they came to the banks of the Nepean. Arrived there, and finding the crossing as easy as when the governor had forded it, they came at once into a well-watered country, and amply stored with grass. From this place they had no inducement to move. They were in possession of a country equal to their support, and in which they remained undisturbed. The settlers had not till then travelled quite so far westward; and but few natives were to be found thereabouts; they were likely, therefore, to remain for years unmolested, and securely to propagate their species. It was a pleasant circumstance, to have in the woods of New Holland a thriving herd of wild cattle. Many proposals were made to bring them into the settlement; but in the day of want, if these should be sacrificed, in what better condition would the colony be for having possessed a herd of cattle in the woods?—a herd which, if suffered to remain undisturbed for some years, would, like the cattle of South America, always prove a market sufficient for the inhabitants of that country; and, perhaps, not only for their own consumption, but for exportation. The governor saw it in this light, and determined to guard against any attempts to destroy them.

The history of these times published under the name of George Barrington gives the following account of the position of the small settlers early in 1797: “A petition was presented from them in April, expressive of the distress they were under, both from the high wages they gave for working their ground, and the immense price paid for all articles requisite to carry on business. Another evil oppressed them, which was an unbounded rage for traffic. Even the delivery of grain into the public storehouses was completely monopolised, and settlers had few opportunities of getting anything near the value of their crops, being obliged to dispose of it to those whose greater influence could get it received into the public store. Orders had been often issued on this subject, directing the storekeepers to give the preference to those whose grain was the produce of their own labour, and to let favour be shown to the poor settler. These directions had been often frustrated, from the knowledge of which the governor was completely kept. On the 5th of March, a court was held at Paramatta. The business consisted chiefly respecting debts contracted between the dealers and the settlers; and as a proof to what height this business had arrived, it is only necessary to state that an appeal was made to the governor in one cause for a debt of the very serious sum of £868, 16s. 10d., which was withdrawn on the defendant consenting to pay it. The governor having received from the settlers, by means of two gentlemen he sent to them (the Rev. Mr Marsden and

Mr Arndell), a statement of their grievances and distresses, informed them that he was sorry to see the effects of them at each civil court held. The debts with which they were so frequently burdened, through imposition and extortion, committed by dealers who infested the colony, added to the difficulties under which an industrious man laboured, showed there wanted some mode of providing the necessaries required; these were grievances of which he determined to get the better, and he resolved to adopt every means in his power to give them relief."

This sad condition of things appears to have acquired its greatest intensity under Governor Hunter, who, although a man of the greatest kindness of heart, and of the highest honour and integrity, seems to have been thwarted or very easily hoodwinked by the adroit schemers by whom he was surrounded. His unsuspecting nature and easiness of disposition were almost proverbial, and were frequently taken advantage of by designing persons. He issued repeated orders and used all his influence to suppress the gross impositions practised on the mass of the community by the privileged few, but his efforts were generally fruitless, and things went on from bad to worse, until they became almost intolerable.

About the middle of February 1797, a ship called the "Sydney Cove," belonging to Messrs Campbell & Co., while on a voyage from India to New South Wales, was wrecked at Furneaux's Islands, near Bass's Straits. Mr G. A. Hamilton, the master, and part of the crew, remained at the place where the wreck occurred for a period of about ten months. Mr Clarke, the supercargo, with the chief officer and fifteen men, endeavoured to reach Sydney in the long-boat, but were driven on shore somewhere to the south of Cape Howe, from whence they attempted to travel northward, and so reach the settlement by land. The distance was very great—nearly four hundred miles, and the difficulties they had to encounter of the most formidable character. They persevered manfully for a time, but at length began to drop one by one, and lost each other daily. Their number, on reaching the Illawarra district, was reduced to five. Most of the tribes of natives they had met with before they arrived there had been friendly, but now they had the misfortune to fall in with two half-civilised blackfellows from Botany Bay—the men who had endeavoured to entrap Mr Bass and Lieutenant Flinders a short time before, when on their first voyage of discovery in a little boat called the "Tom Thumb." These scoundrels killed the chief mate and carpenter, leaving only Mr Clarke, one English sailor, and a Lascar. They succeeded at last, after undergoing the most frightful sufferings, in reaching Watta-mowlee, a little inlet on the coast about midway between Botany Bay and Wollongong, and the place where Messrs Flinders and Bass had found shelter some time before from the storm which threatened to destroy their tiny craft. At Watta-mowlee Mr Clarke and his companions were discovered by some fishermen, who gave them a passage to Sydney, where they arrived on the 17th April, having been two months on their perilous journey. The governor, on learning the situation of Captain Hamilton and the remainder of the crew, despatched, in the following month, a schooner

called the "Francis" to their assistance. They were all at length rescued, and a considerable part of the cargo of the "Sydney Cove" recovered, about ten months after her wreck. The extraordinary journey of Mr Clarke and his companions is the more noteworthy from the fact, that they were the first to discover and to give information respecting the existence of coal in the cliff at Bulli. Captain Hamilton, the unfortunate commander of the "Sydney Cove," survived his arrival in Sydney but a short time. He never got the better of the distress he suffered from the loss of his ship and the hardships he encountered during the long period of his enforced residence on the island where she was wrecked.

The absurd attempts to reach China overland, which were referred to in a previous chapter as having taken place shortly after the foundation of the settlement, continued to be repeated for many years. In 1798, when the colony had been in existence more than ten years, these misdirected efforts were as numerous as ever. Barrington's "History," under date May 2d, 1798, says: "Some of the Irishmen who had for some time been searching for a road to China, were brought in by the settlers near George's River. They had wandered through the woods till nearly perished for want of food, when they were discovered in an unexpected way. Some people going from Botany Bay up George's River, had lost themselves by following an arm of that river never before looked into. During this mistake, they met these people, whose want of knowledge of the country led them down on a point of land placed between two waters, where they remained nine days, unable to return, and must have perished had not an accidental mistake led the people in the boat to them. The narrative given of their travels and sufferings was the same as of other similar adventures, and added one more to the many already recounted to prove that daring folly and extreme ignorance must be acting in strong conjunction over the minds of those who made such attempts."

Collins, writing in January 1798, respecting these singularly absurd attempts to reach China, says: "Occasional desertions of one or two people at a time had occurred from the first establishment of the colony; but the first Irish convicts that arrived from Ireland in the year 1791 went off in numerous bodies, few of whom ever returned. They too were prepossessed with a notion of the possibility of penetrating through the woods to China, and imparted the same idea to all their countrymen who came after them, engaging them in the same act of folly and madness. It was not then to be wondered at, that Wilson, who had returned from living in the woods, should, among other articles of information, mention his finding more than fifty skeletons, which the natives assured him had been white men, who had lost their way and perished. This account was corroborated by different European articles which were found, such as knives, old shoes, and other things which were known not to belong to the natives."

On the 14th April 1798, the settlement received a small but very valuable addition to its population by the arrival from Tahiti of a number of missionaries, who had been driven by the violence of the natives to seek refuge in the nearest British settlement. The vessel in which they reached Sydney was a small brig

called the "Nautilus," a wretched worn-out craft, incapable of accommodating the whole of the party, so that six or seven had to be left behind. These gentlemen had been sent out by the London Missionary Society to evangelise the natives of the Society Islands, and great expectations were formed of their success. The ship "Duff" sailed from Tower Wharf, London, amidst the cheers of thousands of spectators, with flags flying and banners streaming, as if going forth conquering and to conquer. But the enterprise, although the ship arrived safely at her destination, proved one of the most unsuccessful ever attempted by enthusiasts. In their missionary efforts they met with nothing but disappointments and disasters. They found themselves, after the ship had left Tahiti, cooped up together in a small space, and in danger of their lives if they weakened their numbers by separating. They hailed with joy the appearance at Tahiti of the "Nautilus," small, half-rotten, and ill-found as she was, and all who could possibly be accommodated bargained with her master to be taken to Sydney. They were received by the governor and principal colonists with kindness, and grants of land and other inducements to remain were offered them. A few months after their arrival, however, one of their number, a Mr Clode, met with a fate quite as dreadful as that which he had fled from Tahiti to avoid. He was murdered in July 1799, by a soldier named Thomas Jones. While leaning over a table writing a receipt for some money, which he had just received, he was felled by the blow of an axe; his throat was then cut, and his body buried in a saw-pit, by his assassin, with the assistance of two accomplices, a man and a woman, both belonging to the free part of the population. The culprits, having been discovered and convicted, were all executed two days afterwards, on the very spot where the crime had been committed. The two men were hung in chains, the body of the woman given to the surgeons for dissection, and the house in which the murder was perpetrated burned to the ground.

Some of these gentlemen lived to a very great age, and one of their number, Mr Henry (who went again to the Islands as a missionary, and remained there for many years, but eventually returned to the colony), even survived the first half of the present century. This venerable colonist died at Kissing Point, Paramatta River, some twenty years since, having attained the age of nearly ninety years.

On the evening of the 1st October 1798, the little church, of the erection of which by voluntary effort, and chiefly by the exertions of the Rev. Mr Johnson, previous mention has been made, was discovered to be on fire. Barrington's account says: "In the evening, the church on the east side of the cove was discovered to be on fire. Every assistance was given, but ineffectually; for as the building was covered with thatch, which was exceedingly dry, it was completely consumed in an hour. This was a great loss, and calculated to impede the progress of morality, as during the week it was used as a school, for two hundred children to be educated, under the Rev. Mr Johnson. As the church stood alone, and no person was suffered to remain in it after school hours, there was no doubt that it was the effect of design, in consequence of the late order to enforce attendance on divine service which had been rigidly executed; with a

view of rendering, by the destruction of the building, the Sabbath a day of as little decency and sobriety as any other. The perpetrators were, however, disappointed; for the governor, justly deeming this to have been the motive, and highly irritated at such a shameful act, resolved, if no convenient place could be found for the performance of public worship, that Sunday, instead of being employed as each thought proper, the labouring gangs should be employed that day in erecting another church. However, as a large store-house was just finished, it was fitted up as a church; and thus not one Sunday did this wicked design affect the regular performance of divine service. A reward of £30 was offered for the discovery of the offender, with emancipation to the informer and a recommendation to the master of a ship to take him or her from the settlement. But rewards and punishment alike failed to effect any good among the prisoners."

One of the first attempts made in the colony to produce a textile fabric is thus noticed in Barrington's "History:" "The want of clothing, during April 1799, stimulated several experiments to be made, to remedy what indeed there seemed no other way of getting the better of. An end of a linen web produced from flax of the country, was crossed with thread made of the bark of a tree, and a web from the bark was crossed by a thread of wool. Specimens of these were sent to England, and at least served to show, that with proper tools, and proper hands, much might be done; nor must be forgot, the discovery of a strata of coal, or the iron ore, which on being smelted has been found at least equal to the Swedish iron."

In March 1799 the Hawkesbury district was visited with severe floods, in which a very great destruction of property took place and some lives were lost. This flood of 1799 was wholly unexpected. No rain having fallen in the district for a considerable time, and no calamity of the kind having been previously experienced, the inundation appeared to the settlers perfectly inexplicable. The river rose suddenly to the height of fifty feet, and swept away the Government House, as the residence of the agricultural superintendent was called. Large quantities of live stock, grain, and implements were also destroyed. The rain which caused the disaster must have fallen far in the interior, no indications of the approach of wet weather having been observed by the settlers, although it was said that some of them had been warned by the aborigines of what was coming.

In June 1799 the first public meeting ever held in the colony took place. The object in view was to raise funds, by voluntary assessment of the inhabitants, for building a more secure and substantial gaol. The meeting was convened by the governor, and was attended by most of the civil and military officers, and the principal inhabitants and landholders. A good deal of public spirit appears to have been manifested on the occasion. The proposal for raising the funds required for erecting the building by assessment was readily agreed to by the meeting, many of those who were in a position to do so promising to give labour and materials as well as their proportion of the expense in money. The gaol was accordingly built by the inhabitants, at their own cost, the ironwork only having been supplied from the king's stores.

Governor Hunter embarked for England on September 28, 1800. "His departure," says Barrington's "History," "was attended with every mark of respect and regret. The road to the wharf was lined with troops, and he was accompanied by the officers of the civil and military departments, with a concourse of inhabitants, who showed by their deportment the high sense they entertained of the regard he had ever paid to their interests, and the justice and humanity of his government."

The Rev. Dr Lang, in his "Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales," speaking of Governor Hunter's conduct as a ruler, and his character as a man, says: "The second governor of New South Wales was John Hunter, Esq., post-captain in the Royal Navy. Captain Hunter was a native of Scotland, and had been appointed, in virtue of a special Order in Council, second captain of the 'Sirius' frigate, in the year 1787; Captain Phillip having the temporary command of that vessel during the voyage to New South Wales, as well as the general command of the expedition for the establishment of the colony. In this capacity, Captain Hunter had made great exertions and undergone great privations; and the experience he had thus acquired was well calculated to qualify him for the more important charge with which he was afterwards entrusted. During his government, the first free settlers, who emigrated to New South Wales in pursuance of Governor Phillip's recommendations, arrived in the territory; and one of their number—a Scotchman from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, whose sons are now substantial landholders in different parts of the territory—has told me that the governor went with him in person to superintend the measurement of his land, and to ascertain in what way he could promote his settlement, and render it as comfortable as possible. Indeed, Governor Hunter appears to have been a man of sound judgment, of strictly virtuous principles, and of warm benevolence; and had he not been counteracted by the influence and the practices I have already described, the colony would have prospered greatly under his administration, and profligacy would have hidden her head and been ashamed."

The material progress which the colony had made under Captain Hunter's rule may be judged of to some extent from the increase in live stock and land in cultivation. When he left there were 203 horses, 1044 head of horned cattle, and 6124 sheep. The land under crop was 7677 acres in wheat, maize, and barley alone, exclusive of what was applied to the growth of potatoes and other produce. The population, including 961 at Norfolk Island, numbered 6508. In the means of moral advancement some progress had also been made. Several schools had been established, and on breaking up for the holidays at the last Christmas which his Excellency spent in the colony, upwards of a hundred well-dressed boys and girls came with their teachers to Government House to pay their respects. The governor was highly gratified at such a proof of social and moral progress, and examined the young colonists as to their proficiency in various branches of study. Some of the settlers had at this time very large quantities of land under cultivation. Mr Palmer, the head of the Commissariat Department, had between two and three hundred acres in wheat alone. One of the Hawkesbury settlers, originally

a prisoner, had nearly as much, and several other farmers upwards of a hundred acres each.

Shortly after Captain Hunter's arrival in England he was appointed to the command of the "*Venerable*," 74. While in that position circumstances occurred which brought out his simple, generous, humane, and self-sacrificing character in the strongest light. While cruising in the channel a seaman fell overboard, and Captain Hunter, although his ship was in a dangerous position, ordered her to be put about to pick him up. In attempting to accomplish this, she unfortunately missed stays, ran ashore, and was wrecked. Captain Hunter was thereupon tried by court-martial; and on being asked what had induced him to order the ship to be put about under such dangerous circumstances, replied that "he considered the life of a British seaman of more value than any ship in his Majesty's Navy."

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNOR KING'S ADMINISTRATION.

GOVERNOR KING'S EARLY CAREER—A SELF-MADE MAN—POOR OPINION OF THE COLONY — A TOO EASY RULE — BAD EFFECTS — MATERIAL PROGRESS — MACARTHUR'S MERINOS—EXTRAVAGANT PRICES—MONOPOLIES—THE IRISH REBELS—REV. HENRY FULTON—GENERAL HOLT—MILITARY TYRANNY—THE GOVERNOR'S WEAKNESS—FRENCH EXPEDITION—A FRENCH VIEW OF THE COLONY—MATERIAL PROGRESS—HIGH PRICES — FLINDERS AND BAUDIN — SIR HENRY HAYES — REVOLT OF THE PRISONERS—CRUEL REPRISALS—NORFOLK ISLAND ABANDONED—FLOODS IN THE HAWKESBURY—KING'S DEPARTURE —HIS CHARACTER—PROGRESS DURING HIS RULE.

THE new century began for the colonists with the rule of a new governor. This was Captain Philip Gidley King, the officer who had been the founder and lieutenant-governor of the settlement at Norfolk Island. Captain King was the son of a draper at Launceston, in Cornwall, and having passed nearly all his life at sea, was said to be somewhat impetuous in manner and exceedingly outspoken in language. He was an intimate friend of Captain Phillip, the first governor, and they had served together with distinction in various parts of the world. They were both self-made men, and this circumstance probably cemented the lasting friendship which existed between them. Unlike his more able and far-seeing friend, Captain King had a very poor opinion of the resources of the colony, and a much worse one of many of the people who had been sent out to develop them. It is creditable to his judgment and character, however, that he quickly perceived and deeply regretted the consequences of the odious monopoly then exercised by the military and civil officers, and determined, so far as he was able, to destroy it. For this purpose he encouraged and brought into notice the most deserving of the emancipated prisoners. Previous to this time no license to dispose of wines or spirits, either by wholesale or retail, had been granted to any but commissioned or non-commissioned officers. The latter were of course under the control of their military superiors, many of whom had amassed very large sums by the spirit monopoly. The governor's object was a very praiseworthy one, but unfortunately he attempted to carry it out in an injudicious and improper manner. One of his most serious errors was the granting of the privilege to sell spirits far too lavishly and indiscriminately. He allowed the gaoler to sell rum at a place opposite the gaol door. A like privilege was accorded to the chief constable and other persons whose duties were

utterly incompatible with the practice of the publican's calling. The consequence was that drunkenness and crime rapidly increased; and it became plain that in attempting to cure one evil Governor King had created others and much greater ones. That the morals of the community were at this time at a very low ebb there can be no doubt; but, in spite of all drawbacks on this score, the colony increased rapidly in wealth. This progress was in a great degree owing to the foresight and enterprise of one man, Captain John Macarthur, who had arrived in the colony in 1791, as an officer of the New South Wales Corps. He appears to have been struck with the great pastoral capabilities of the country, almost on his landing, and forthwith determined to become a settler. He soon commenced to improve the breed of sheep, with the intention of introducing the growing of fine wool for exportation to England. The first attempts made by Mr Macarthur, and others who were induced to follow his example, consisted in crossing the small Bengal sheep with the larger Cape breed. The success which attended this experiment was so encouraging that specimens of woollen cloth, manufactured from the improved staple, were sent to England so early as 1798. Mr Macarthur's far-seeing intelligence and enlightened ambition were, however, by no means satisfied with the result. He endeavoured, shortly afterwards, to procure from England sheep of the best Spanish merino breed, and ultimately succeeded in obtaining from the king's farm, at Kew, some very choice animals of that description. The immediate success of his experiment exceeded all reasonable expectations, but the full extent and ultimate consequences were neither seen nor suspected until many years afterwards. Property of all kinds went on increasing in nominal value until every article in daily use had risen to most extravagant prices. This was mainly the consequence of the monopoly of trading established by the civil and military officers, who speedily took possession of all imported articles, and particularly of such stores as were sent out by the Home Government for disposal to the settlers. This fraternity of official traders was the better able to carry out its designs from the fact that almost the only warehouses in which goods could be safely placed on being landed belonged to the Government, and were consequently completely under their control. The moment a cargo of goods was stored, these gentlemen assembled and divided the various consignments between them; they then placed their marks, and the prices at which alone the public were to be allowed to purchase, on each package or article as the case might be. By this plan, although no money was actually paid, they reaped enormous profits, because all above the prices fixed by the Government (or the importers, if the articles were private property) went into their pockets. In addition to this, there was a fixed scale at which the Government purchased the grain and other produce of the settlers. Their position enabled the official hucksters to compel the settlers to sell to them at their own prices—they reselling to the Government at the high rates which had been fixed by them. If a settler attempted to resist this gross imposition there was always a good reason forthcoming why his produce could not be received into the public store. This execrable state of things reached such a pitch at last that in some years it is said not a single bushel of grain or a pound of pork found its

way into the Government stores except through their hands. Speaking of the consequences of this official monopoly, and the consequent poverty of the small settlers and cultivators of the soil, Colonel Collins says: "The poverty of the settlers, and the high price of labour, occasioned much land to have been unemployed this year. Many of the inferior farmers were nearly ruined by the high price that they were obliged to give for such necessities as they required from those who had been long in the habit of monopolising every article brought to the settlement for sale; a habit of which it was found impossible to get the better, without the positive and immediate interference of the Government at home. Many representations had been made on this distressing subject, and they seemed in some degree to have been attended to, as in several of the last arrivals from England, certain articles, consisting of implements of husbandry, clothing, and stores, had been consigned to the governor himself, to be retailed for the use of the colonists."

This praiseworthy effort on the part of the Home Government was, however, completely defeated, for, instead of being retailed for the use of the colonists, the articles were as greedily monopolised, although not in precisely the same way, as private consignments had been before. The system adopted was this: no private person was allowed to enter the public stores unless he was able to produce a written order from a Government officer. These orders had to be purchased at a very high rate, and consequently no articles in the store could be procured by those who wanted them except by paying a heavy premium to those who had the privilege of giving passes or orders of admission. The colony groaned under this nefarious system for years. The influence of the official class was so strong, and that of the handful of respectable settlers so small, that it was long before anything like justice could be obtained. At last, however, it became so notorious as to attract the attention of the British Parliament; and in 1812 a committee of the House of Commons sat to investigate the matter.

In the latter part of 1799 and the commencement of the following year, a large number of persons who had been convicted of having taken part in the Irish rebellion of '98 arrived in the colony. It was a subject of complaint by the settlers and officers who wanted hard-working, robust men, for clearing their farms, that many of these persons, having been bred up to professions, or in the habits of genteel life, were incapable of labour, and therefore useless to the colony. From the money-making point of view these complaints were probably well founded; but considering the moral and intellectual condition of the community at that period, the accession of a number of persons of the class alluded to must, notwithstanding their political offences, have been a great gain. Amongst the most remarkable of these exiled rebels were the Rev. Henry Fulton, a clergyman of the Church of England; the Rev. Father Harold, who had been parish priest of Reculla, in the county of Dublin; William Henry Alcock, who had been a captain in a regiment of the line; his brother-in-law, Dr O'Connor; and Joseph Holt, better known as General Holt, the principal leader of the Irish rebel army. Holt was a very extraordinary man, and although he cannot be said to have exercised any very remarkable influence on the

community into which he was thrown, he left at his death—which took place near Dublin, in 1826—a singularly interesting autobiography, which shows clearly what that condition was, and gives much insight into the everyday life of the colonists. He was an Irish Protestant of English extraction, a native of Ballydaniel, in the county of Wicklow. His father was a small farmer, and Holt himself was brought up to the same occupation. He afterwards, in addition to his agricultural pursuits, became road contractor and overseer of public works for the barony of Ballynecore. At the time of the breaking out of the rebellion in 1798, he was a thriving yeoman, upwards of forty years of age, a loyal subject, and a stanch Protestant. He knew little or nothing of politics, and looked upon the rebels as people deserving the most severe punishment that could possibly be inflicted for daring to raise their hands against the Government. It is an extraordinary fact that, notwithstanding the position of rebel general in which circumstances afterwards placed him, he continued to hold the most loyal opinions as long as he lived. Probably few instances can be found in which a man was carried by the stream of events in a course so directly opposite to that in which his habits, religion, character, and convictions would have led him. For some years previous to 1798 he had made himself many enemies by his energetic and courageous conduct in the capture of many desperate offenders against the laws; and in addition to this he had incurred, on account of some pecuniary quarrel, in which he says he was greatly wronged, the rancorous enmity of a wealthy and powerful but unprincipled neighbour. This man, who afterwards occupied a very conspicuous place in Irish society, was, or professed to be, a rabid royalist, and lost no opportunity of ingratiating himself with the Government by denouncing and persecuting obnoxious neighbours. When martial law was proclaimed, this man's position as a magistrate enabled him to ravage the district in which Holt lived with fire and sword. He burned to the ground the houses and homesteads of many Catholic families, driving the men to join the rebels in the Wicklow mountains, while the women and children were reduced to a state of starvation. These atrocities roused the spirit of Holt, who denounced the perpetrator. But he was himself denounced in turn as a conspirator, and was obliged to fly. He joined the revolted peasants in the Wicklow mountains, and his accession was hailed with the greatest joy. They knew he was a man of honesty of purpose, and of undoubted courage and capacity, and they insisted on his becoming their leader. He had no choice. He accepted the position, and endeavoured to gather round him as a body-guard men who like himself had private wrongs to redress, or who were sincere in their desire for the political regeneration of their country; but during the many months that he acted as rebel leader he was never free from the fear of being assassinated or betrayed by his followers for the sake of the reward offered by the Government. Having led his men through many successful conflicts, he at length ventured to exert his authority, although often in vain, to prevent outrage and plunder. At one period his army—if an almost undisciplined mob could properly be called an army—numbered about thirteen thousand men. He says they were for the most part the most despicable set of cowards, fools, and knaves that ever disgraced humanity. His reliable men, those who actually

fought for aught but plunder, do not seem to have numbered more than a few hundreds at any time, and as there never was the slightest political sympathy between him and even his best followers, it is no wonder that they soon dwindled to a few scores. He got rid of the thousands of plunderers who followed his effective force as best he could, and at one time was so disgusted with their atrocities that he sent information of their whereabouts to a party of the royal troops, with the hope that they would attack and disperse or cut them to pieces. He saw the utter hopelessness and absurdity of the rebellion from the first, and resolved to make terms for himself, if he could possibly do so without betraying his companions. He was at last enabled to effect this object by giving himself up to Lord Powerscourt, with the implied condition that his life should be spared. He was never brought to trial, but banished for life, and by the kindness and munificence of a lady who felt a deep interest in the welfare of his wife and family, Mrs Holt and his son Joshua were provided with passages on board the ship despatched by the Government to convey him and other rebels to New South Wales. Joshua Holt, although a boy of but twelve or fourteen years of age at the time of the rebellion, went through some very remarkable scenes in that memorable outbreak. When his father, about fourteen years afterwards, obtained a full pardon and returned to Ireland, Joshua remained in the colony, where he married, brought up a large family, and lived, much respected, to the age of almost fourscore years. He died some time since, in Elizabeth Street, Sydney. He was fond of recalling the recollections of his boyish life, and recounting the strange scenes he had witnessed in his early youth.

The military officers appear to have been particularly obnoxious to Mr Holt, and he illustrates their selfish and unprincipled conduct towards the soldiers and settlers by the following example: "The practice was to draw from the stores all the goods in large quantities, and to pay the soldiers only in goods; for every ten shillings' worth of which, according to the value they were delivered at out of the store, the soldiers paid twenty, and if they objected to this mode of payment, they were most probably sent to the guard-house, tried by a court-martial for mutiny, and sentenced to imprisonment." There were, however, many honourable exceptions to the conduct pursued by some of the officers of the 102d Regiment. Mr Holt says: "But notwithstanding what I have said of the officers of the New South Wales Corps, which was made his Majesty's 102d Regiment, there were belonging to it two gentlemen, who never dishonoured themselves, or his Majesty's cloth. They were Captain John Piper and Captain Edward Abbott. They were both men of honour and resolution. They conducted themselves, in all respects, as officers and gentlemen. They served the poor, and they upheld the oppressed, by which they kept themselves poor; but they would have been rich indeed, if prayers and good wishes could have made them wealthy, and they retained their own self-respect. They were too noble-minded to desire to make a fortune from the labour of the settler, the plunder of the soldier, or from the sweat of the prisoner's brow."

Governor King was not strong enough to cope with the unscrupulous and clever men by whom he was surrounded. His first impulse to destroy their

monopoly was right ; but seeing the hornets' nest this course brought about his ears, he at length vacillated, then gave way, and then, to use an expressive colloquialism, let things go by the run. He was apprehensive on more than one occasion of being placed under arrest, and the probability is that this step would have been resorted to if he had persisted in carrying out his first intentions.

In 1800 the French Government despatched two ships, the "*Geographe*" and the "*Naturaliste*," on a voyage of discovery to the South Seas. These vessels reached Sydney on the 20th June 1802, and M. Peron, one of the naturalists of the expedition, in his "*Historical Relation of a Voyage undertaken for the Discovery of Southern Lands*," gives a most flattering account of Port Jackson and what he saw there during the five months over which his visit extended. The picture he gives of the well-managed institutions, the busy traffic, and thriving appearance of Sydney in 1802, is exceedingly flattering ; and after making every allowance for over-colouring, proves that even at that early period great progress had been made in laying the foundation of that commercial prosperity and social advancement of which Australian colonisation has since afforded such remarkable examples. Referring to the commerce of Port Jackson, M. Peron says : "In the port we saw several vessels recently arrived from different quarters of the world, the majority of them destined for new and hazardous voyages. Here, from the banks of the Thames or the Shannon were some about to proceed to the foggy shores of New Zealand, and others, after landing the freight consigned by the Government of England for the colony, about to sail for the Yellow River of China ; some laden with coal, intended for the Cape of Good Hope and India ; many of smaller build ready to depart to Bass's Strait, to collect furs and skins obtained there by men left on the different islands to take the amphibii who make them their resort. Other vessels again, of a greater burthen and strength, and well armed, were intended for the western shores of America, deeply laden with merchandise for a contraband trade with the inhabitants of Peru. Here again, one was equipping for the rich traffic in furs on the north-west coast of America ; there all was bustle to fit out store-ships for the Navigators, Friendly, and Society Islands, to bring back to the colony the exquisite salt pork of those islands. Already the road to Port Jackson had become familiar to the Americans ; their flag was incessantly flying in this port throughout the whole course of our stay. This assemblage of grand operations, this constant movement of the shipping, impressed on these shores a character of importance and activity which we were far from expecting in a country so lately known to Europe, and the interest it excited increased our admiration."

M. Peron's description of the moral and social condition of the people generally, and the conduct of the prison class in particular, is almost equally flattering, and presents a striking contrast to the statements of an opposite character given by other writers ; but this intelligent foreigner saw only the bright side of things in his short visit. Amongst other colonists whom the French voyager visited was M. de la Clampe, a royalist refugee who had been a colonel in the army, and had obtained in 1799 a grant of land for the purpose of

introducing the cultivation of cotton and cocoa. M. Peron's account of his visit to M. de la Clampe's plantation at Castle Hill, near Paramatta, is both instructive and interesting: "Having walked through a tufted wood, the modest abode and fields of the poor French colonel opened on our view. In the three years he has resided at Castle Hill he has only been once to Sydney Town; he avoids society, and excuses himself from complying with repeated invitations of his friends, in order that he may dedicate his whole time to the pursuits of agriculture. We found him at the head of his labourers—six convicts furnished by the Government. He was himself setting them an example of labour, and like them was nearly stripped to the skin. The unexpected arrival of so numerous a party at first disconcerted M. de la Clampe, and he hastily ran to the house in order to dress himself. On hearing I was a Frenchman he embraced me with transport, exclaiming, 'How is it with our dear France?' The interior of the rural manor-house combined with the greatest simplicity a species of elegance which clearly evinced the genius and taste of the owner. But of all we saw nothing so much excited my attention as a beautiful plantation of cotton plants yielding cotton of various shades, and especially that peculiar to the fine nankeens of China, a fast colour, hitherto not obtained whether by dint of culture or by dyeing. 'In a short time,' said the colonel, 'I shall have created two branches of commerce and exportation for this colony of the greatest value; I have but this means left of acquitting the sacred debt I owe to a nation which gave me shelter in the hour of misfortune.'" Colonel de la Clampe, however, like many other enthusiastic men, formed expectations which were never realised, for he died shortly afterwards.

It is somewhat surprising to find from M. Peron's narrative that so early as 1802 many of the colonists were surrounded by marks of elegance and refinement, and were able to keep up establishments not always excelled in the oldest European communities. In their residences, their equipages, and general style of living, the principal families of the wealthier portion of the community appear to have been quite on a footing with the wealthy classes in England. In a note to the English edition of M. Peron's work, it is stated that in Sydney alone many carriages of great elegance were at this time kept, while gigs and similar vehicles were in general use throughout the colony. The roads at that period are described as excellent, six hundred men being constantly employed on them. Many very praiseworthy attempts at the introduction of mechanical pursuits and manufactures of the more simple description had also been made. The principal were potteries, breweries, and saltworks. M. Peron visited the former "at the village of Brickfield" (Brickfield Hill). The articles he saw he described as remarkable for their whiteness and the fineness of the clay of which they were made.

Sheep-farming had also made great strides, and the increase in the quantity of the fleece was as remarkable as the improvement in its quality. "As a proof," says Mr Macarthur, "of the extraordinary and rapid improvement in my flocks, I have exhibited the fleece of a coarse-woolled ewe that has been valued at nine-pence a pound, and the fleece of her lamb, begotten by a Spanish ram, which is

allowed to be worth three shillings a pound. When I left Port Jackson, the heaviest fleece that had then been shorn weighed only three pounds and a half; but I have received reports of 1802, from which I learn that the fleece of my sheep had increased to five pounds each, and was softer than the wool of the preceding year. The beauty of it indeed is such as to cause it to be estimated at six shillings the pound." The number of sheep in Mr Macarthur's flocks amounted at this time (1802) to upwards of four thousand. The Rev. Mr Marsden had about half that number, Mr Commissary Palmer about one-fourth, and several colonists flocks of from three to eight hundred. Agriculture was by no means lost sight of in the desire for extending pastoral pursuits. Mr Palmer had 320 acres in wheat; Mr Macarthur, the Rev. Mr Marsden, and others, had also considerable quantities of land under tillage.

If, in the case of Holt and others, allowance has to be made for the dark shades of the picture which they drew, in M. Peron's narrative the opposite course must be taken. The high-flown language and eulogistic tone adopted by an enthusiastic Frenchman, who had for nearly two years previously seen little else than naked savages and witnessed only their barbarous customs, must be received with considerable qualification. M. Peron's estimate of the state and prospects of New South Wales is as bright as the accounts previously alluded to are dark and repulsive.

The following extract from Flinders's journal shows the paucity and the high price of provisions in Sydney at that period: "The price of fresh meat at Port Jackson was so exorbitant that it was impossible to think of purchasing it on the public account. I obtained one quarter of beef for the ship's company, in exchange for salt meat, and the governor furnished us with some baskets of vegetables from his garden. In purchasing a sea stock for the cabin, I paid £3 a head for sheep, weighing from thirty to forty pounds when dressed. Pigs were bought at 9d. per pound, weighed alive, geese at 10s. each, and fowls at 3s.; and Indian corn for the stock cost 5s. a bushel."

Flinders, as previously stated, met at Sydney the French Admiral Baudin and M. Peron, and dined with them at Government House. He says: "His Excellency Governor King had done me the honour to visit the 'Investigator,' and to accept of a dinner on board; on which occasion he had been received with the marks of respect due to his rank of captain-general, and shortly afterwards, the Captains Baudin and Hamelin, with Monsieur Peron and some other French officers, as also Colonel Paterson, the lieutenant-governor, did me the same favour; when they were received under a salute of eleven guns. The intelligence of peace, which had just been received, contributed to enliven the party, and rendered our meeting more particularly agreeable."

Another remarkable Irishman in exile was Sir Henry Hayes. He resided while in the colony at Vacluse, a beautiful spot near the entrance of Sydney Harbour, for many years afterwards the property of Mr W. C. Wentworth. This Sir Henry Hayes, who had served the office of sheriff of the city of Cork, was tried in 1801 for the abduction of Miss Pike, a wealthy Quaker lady, and was sentenced to suffer death; this sentence was, however, commuted to trans-

portation for life. His case made a great noise at the time, in consequence of the position in life of the parties implicated. Some time elapsed after the commission of the offence before Sir Henry was captured and brought to justice. A large reward having been at length offered for his apprehension, he walked into the shop of a hairdresser at Cork, named Coghlan, and after some conversation said that as it was his intention to surrender himself, Coghlan might as well reap the benefit of the reward by giving him up. He received a pardon and left the colony for Ireland in 1812. There is a singular story current respecting him, which is implicitly believed by the more ignorant part of the old colonists, to the effect that finding his place at Vacluse much infested with snakes, and firmly believing that these reptiles could not exist on Irish soil, he sent home for several casks of that article, which he scattered over the place. His faith in his native land and its patron saint was amply rewarded, for, says the story, a snake has never been seen at Vacluse from that time to this.

In March 1804 a spirit of insubordination among the prisoners, which had been gaining ground for months, broke out in open revolt; and it became evident that the Government had acted with foresight and prudence in sending to form new settlements at Van Diemen's Land some of those whom they had suspected of being the cause of the rebellious sentiments so generally prevalent amongst the prisoners. About midnight on Sunday, 4th March, a message was received in Sydney from Paramatta, by Governor King, stating that the men belonging to the gangs employed on the roads and buildings at Toongabbee and Castle Hill had been joined by the prisoners employed on the surrounding farms, and having plundered the neighbouring settlers of their arms and ammunition, were then marching upon Paramatta, committing very serious depredations and outrages. The governor left for the scene of the disturbance at once, and was in Paramatta by four o'clock in the morning, where he was soon after joined by Major Johnston with fifty men of the New South Wales Corps. This small force was then divided into two parties, one of which proceeded towards Castle Hill, in hopes of falling in with the insurgents. After marching some distance, however, it was ascertained that they had changed their original plan, and that, instead of coming towards Paramatta, the main body was proceeding towards Windsor and the Hawkesbury district. On leaving Paramatta in pursuit, the military had been joined by a few of the settlers and other respectable colonists, armed in the best manner that the haste and urgency of the occasion would permit. The insurgents were overtaken about noon, at a place called the Ponds, midway between Paramatta and Windsor, by the party under Major Johnston, consisting of twenty-five soldiers, and the few settlers who had joined as volunteers. The prisoners were found to be well armed, and to be between two and three hundred in number. They halted and took up a position on the slope of a hill when they perceived the insignificant force by which they were followed. The ringleaders, two men named Cunningham and Johnstone, thinking they had the handful of military completely in their power, or at least that they had nothing to fear from so small a force, at once advanced toward Major Johnston, who was marching at the head of his men, and attempted to parley or to dictate

terms. As soon as they were sufficiently near, however, the major, with cool audacity, and admirable presence of mind, seized one of them and placed a pistol at his head, while Laycock, a quarter-master in his corps, a man of gigantic strength and stature, ran up and with one blow killed the other on the spot. Their followers immediately commenced firing at random, but, on the soldiers and settlers pouring in a volley, many of their number fell and the others broke and fled. The pursuit continued for three or four hours. Several prisoners were captured, and the body of Cunningham, the leader, killed by Laycock, was taken to Windsor the same evening, and there hung up in front of the public store as an example to others. Many of the misguided insurgents gave themselves up within the next few days, and eight of those captured with arms in their hands were brought to trial, found guilty, and executed. Others received various minor punishments, but the main body returned quietly to their work, and most of them, professing penitence for their conduct, escaped with a reprimand. The total number killed in the affray or afterwards hanged is said to have been about sixty; but this was probably an exaggeration. The arms taken from them were 136 muskets, besides a number of pistols, swords, and other weapons. About one-half the insurgents were persons who had been transported for the share they had taken in the Irish rebellion of 1798. Most of the others had been induced to join them either by threats or hopes of plunder.

The overthrow of the insurgents was followed, as might have been expected, by acts of great cruelty on the part of the military and settlers towards the deluded men. Holt states that many of the unfortunate wretches who attempted to escape by flight, after the engagement at the Ponds, as above related, were arrested by the soldiers, constables, and settlers, and being brought before an impromptu court-martial it was arranged that lots should be drawn from a hat, and that every third man whose name was drawn should be hanged. Many fine young men, he says, were strung up like dogs, and more would have been had not the arrival of the governor put a stop to the extraordinary proceedings. It does not appear, moreover, that the outbreak was entirely confined to convicts or persons of the lowest class, for among those hanged by the self-constituted court-martial was a young man of good family, the nephew of a high Government officer; "but this," says Holt, "was kept, so far as it could be, a profound secret."

In 1805 the settlement at Norfolk Island was abandoned, and the settlers, about a thousand in number, were transferred to Van Diemen's Land, where liberal grants of land were given them. The place at which the principal portion of them settled was named by them New Norfolk.

In March 1806 much damage was done to property by heavy floods in the Hawkesbury. The total loss was estimated at £35,000.

In August of the same year, Governor King's rule came to an end. His administration was not a fortunate one, either for himself or the colonists. He was a well-meaning man, but an indifferent ruler for a young community placed in very peculiar circumstances. His temper was violent, and this often caused the betrayal of innocent persons into most unpleasant circumstances.

Ill-disposed persons, knowing his failings, often went to him with artfully concocted stories, to which he too readily gave credit, and acted accordingly. The first impression, right or wrong, was frequently acted upon, and the unfortunate persons accused, at once subjected to the effects of his precipitately formed determination. But after he had taken time for consideration, and allowed his temper to cool and his sober judgment to assert its sway, no man was more ready to acknowledge his errors, to express regret for hasty conduct, or to repair the mischief done. The defects of his character were those of the head rather than of the heart; and it may be truly said that, although he had many faults as a governor, he had very few as a man; in fact, in his case, the expression that "e'en his failings leant to virtue's side" received a remarkable illustration. He embarked for England in the ship "Buffalo," on the 13th August 1806, having on the same day resigned his office into the hands of his successor, Captain William Bligh. Previous to embarking he reviewed the military, and the little corps of volunteers known as the Loyal Association, who lined the way from Government House to the wharf, and paid him the usual honours.

The six years of Governor King's rule, notwithstanding the occurrence of serious civil disturbances and the prevalence of drinking habits to a degree probably never before witnessed in any community, were marked by a steady advancement in the development of the material resources of the colony. The sealing trade and whale fishery were carried on with energy and profit, the foundation of what proved a lucrative intercourse with New Zealand and the South Sea Islands was opened up, new settlements were formed, a large quantity of land was brought under cultivation, and pastoral enterprise received an impetus which, a few years after, placed the growing of fine wool amongst the most extensive and lucrative of colonial pursuits. The progeny of the choice merino rams imported some years before by John Macarthur had gradually but steadily continued to improve, and at length to supersede the worthless breed of sheep which had been introduced, chiefly at the public expense, from India and the Cape of Good Hope. Cedar, a most valuable wood for both useful and ornamental purposes, had been brought largely into consumption; and the bark of the wattle-tree had been discovered to possess tanning properties equal or superior to those of the English oak. Various industrial pursuits also date from about this period, such as brewing, salt-making, and boat, ship, and carriage building.

Another feature which distinguished Governor King's rule was the arrival of a number of free emigrant families, mostly of Scotch origin. Several of them settled in the neighbourhood of Portland Head, on the Hawkesbury River, and some at the Nepean, where they were allotted small farms on the rich alluvial lands, and allowed rations for a certain period from the public stores. These free settlers prospered so much—those on the banks of the Hawkesbury in particular—that they were soon in possession of comfortable homesteads, and were even able to erect a church by voluntary contributions, at an expense of about £400; and many of their number rapidly acquired wealth. The children and grandchildren of some of these settlers are now among the wealthiest families in the colony.

The population of the colony and its dependencies at the period of Governor King's departure was about 9000, of which 7200 were in New South Wales; 528 at Hobart Town; and 1084 at Norfolk Island. The quantity of land located was 48,855 acres, of which 12,860 acres were under crop. The live stock consisted of 438 horses, 3264 head of horned cattle, 16,501 sheep, 14,300 pigs, and 2900 goats. Wool to some extent, but of a coarse description, was sent to England prior to this, but the export of the fine merino fleece, for which the colony afterwards became so famous, had hardly assumed sufficient importance to attract attention. Four years afterwards—in 1810—the produce of Mr John Macarthur's fine woolled flock was only 167 lbs. The best of the other flocks were largely mixed with the progeny of the Irish, the Southdowns, and the Leicesters, which had been brought in the early ships, while many were principally derived from the yet coarser animals imported from the Cape and India.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNOR BLIGH'S ADMINISTRATION.

BLIGH'S REMARKABLE CAREER—HIS FIRST ACTS OF ADMINISTRATION—QUARREL BETWEEN BLIGH AND MACARTHUR—SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE COLONY—MACARTHUR'S VESSEL—HIS ARREST—MAJOR JOHNSTON—MACARTHUR'S RELEASE—THE WHISKY REBELLION—BLIGH ARRESTED—JOHNSTON'S ACCOUNT—BLIGH'S COWARDICE—HIS DEFENCE—MACARTHUR APPOINTS HIMSELF GOVERNOR—ABSURD PROCLAMATION—MAJOR JOHNSTON GOVERNOR—BLIGH IN CUSTODY—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR FOVEAUX ARRIVES—JOHNSTON AND MACARTHUR RETURN TO ENGLAND—BLIGH IN COMMAND OF THE "PORPOISE"—GOVERNOR MACQUARIE'S ARRIVAL—BLIGH'S DEPARTURE.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BLIGH was, as already stated, the successor of Governor King. Of this very remarkable man some account has already been given in the history of navigation and discovery. The familiar story of the mutiny of the "Bounty" and its sequel needs not to be repeated here. Bligh arrived in Sydney a few days previous to the departure of his predecessor, and on assuming office was waited upon by a deputation with a congratulatory address from the military and civil officers and the free inhabitants. He in many respects resembled Captain King, but his good and bad qualities were in greater extremes. Captain King had made several attempts to destroy or to counteract the profitable monopoly of the military and civil officers, but shrank from carrying out his intentions when he was made aware of the serious consequences which were likely to follow. Captain Bligh was more thorough—he had less tact and more daring. Although undoubtedly a man of integrity, and of far more than average ability, perhaps there were few officers in the British Navy so unqualified in many respects to fill the office of Governor of New South Wales at that particular period as Captain Bligh. The community was at that time, and had been for many years previously, under the domination of a clique of clever, not very scrupulous, and wealthy men, of whom Captain John Macarthur was undoubtedly the cleverest and the most wealthy. The two previous governors, although legally possessing nearly unbounded powers, were practically almost helpless, because they had no class on whose support they could rely. There was no public opinion to back them up, because there was no public in the proper sense of the word in existence. The real power rested with the military officers, and they were almost to a man sharers in the lucrative monopoly which Captain King had endeavoured in vain to crush. To break down this

monopoly, to free the rising commerce of Port Jackson from the grasp of selfishness, and to protect the smaller settlers from the unwarrantable interference of their official tyrants, required a man of more tact, firmness, and self-reliance than King; and of greater discretion and sagacity, and of far less obstinacy, than Bligh.

Although the foundations of great fortunes were being laid by the favoured few at this period, it is difficult to resist the conviction that the condition of most of the people was a most unsatisfactory one. And the answer to the question, as to whether the colony could be considered really prosperous or not under such circumstances, would very much depend upon the stand-point from which it was viewed. Governor Bligh himself, shortly after his arrival, painted the condition of the settlers in the darkest colours. He said: "To ascertain the state of the colony, I visited many of the inhabitants individually, and witnessed many melancholy proofs of their wretched condition. A want even of the common necessities of life was too prevalent, particularly at the extensive settlement at the Hawkesbury; and although Sydney, the headquarters, formed some exception to the general aspect, yet even there the habitations and public store-houses were falling into decay; industry was declining; while pernicious fondness for spirituous liquors was gaining ground, to the destruction of public morals and private happiness. Knowing the sentiments of the British Government on the subject of the existing abuses, and the solicitude entertained for their correction, I used every exertion to accomplish this, and particularly in regard to the barter of spirits."

Governor Bligh appears to have been a blunt and zealous but narrow-minded public servant, actuated certainly by honest intentions, but liable to the most violent outbursts of passion; and, if his enemies are to be believed, in the habit of using, in his ordinary conversation, language of an exceedingly coarse description. Almost from the first day of his landing in the colony, he is said to have manifested a violent dislike to Captain John Macarthur, who was probably regarded by him as the moving spirit of the official incubus by which the settlers complained of being over-ridden. Captain Macarthur, when sworn as a witness on Colonel Johnston's trial by court-martial, at Chelsea Hospital in 1811, gave the following account of Bligh's extraordinary conduct towards him on his first arrival in the colony:

"I went to the Government House; this was about a month after he had taken the command. I found him walking in the garden perfectly disengaged, and alone; and thinking it a proper opportunity to speak to him on the subject of my affairs, I inquired if he had been informed of the wishes of Government respecting them: I particularly alluded to the sheep, and the probable advantages that might result to the colony and the mother country from the production of fine wool. The prosecutor burst out instantly into a most violent passion, exclaiming, 'What have I to do with your sheep, sir? what have I to do with your cattle? Are you to have such flocks of sheep and such herds of cattle as no man ever heard of before? No, sir!' I endeavoured to appease him, by stating that I had understood the Government at home had particularly recommended

me to his notice. He replied, 'I have heard of your concerns, sir; you have got five thousand acres of land in the finest situation in the country; but, by God, you shan't keep it!' I told him that as I had received this land at the recommendation of the Privy Council and by the order of the Secretary of State, I presumed that my right to it was indisputable. He cursed the Privy Council, and cursed the Secretary of State, too, and said, 'What have they to do with me? You have made a number of false representations respecting your wool, by which you have obtained this land.' I told him I had made no false representations; and that luckily, as he was on the spot, he could, by examining the flocks, ascertain the facts himself; and there was a flock of seven or eight hundred then at my house, within a mile of him; if he pleased he could examine them that morning. We immediately after entered the Government House, where we found Governor and Mrs King, and sat down to breakfast. The prosecutor then renewed the conversation about my sheep, addressing himself to Governor King; when he used such violent and insulting language to him, that Governor King burst into tears. About two hours after, the prosecutor, Governor King, and Major Abbott of the New South Wales Corps, came to my house, and a flock of sheep were produced for the prosecutor to examine. Their improvements were so apparent, and corresponded so exactly with my representations, that the prosecutor had nothing further to say in respect to the truth of what I had advanced. After a little general conversation respecting their probable increase in numbers and the value of the wool, he burst out into a second passion, and asked me what this examination was for, as nobody ever doubted the possibility of raising fine wool in New South Wales;—'But what have I to do with it?' I told him, in the most respectful manner I could assume, that I certainly had understood him that morning as doubting the truth of my representations. 'No such thing!' he replied; 'and I desire, sir, you will never attempt to attach any such meaning to my words.' To draw off his attention from this subject, which seemed to give him great offence, I again mentioned that I was extremely desirous to ascertain how far his opinions corresponded with those of the Secretary of State. He again cursed the Secretary of State, and exclaimed, with the utmost violence, 'He commands at home; I command here.' Finding no chance of obtaining favourable attention, I endeavoured to shift the conversation, and very shortly afterwards retired to my house, accompanied by him, Governor King, and Major Abbott. He stayed a minute or two to pay his compliments to Mrs Macarthur, and left Governor King and Major Abbott with me, who both expressed the greatest surprise and astonishment at the violence they had witnessed."

There was, of course, war between Bligh and Macarthur almost from the moment the former landed in the colony. The official class, whose representations it was suspected had produced the recall of King, found that they had gained nothing by the change, for they had now to deal with a man far more adverse to their interests, and resolutely determined to be master at all hazards. Under the governor's orders very high-handed and decidedly illegal steps were taken to break down the spirit monopoly, and to prevent distillation by

wealthy settlers and military and other officers. Most of the principal colonists were gentlemen who, although they had left the army to enter into grazing, agricultural, or mercantile pursuits, were still so intimately connected with the military that they dined almost daily at the mess table of the New South Wales Corps. There was in fact no other society for them. This close social connection, and the promptings of self-interest, naturally induced almost the whole of the military and official class to take part against the governor, and to make common cause with Mr Macarthur. The smaller class of settlers, on the contrary, saw in Captain Bligh not only an honest ruler, but a zealous friend, determined to rescue them from the thralldom in which they were held by the domination of the official clique. He seems to have been driven by necessity to seek advice and assistance from emancipists, as those persons were called who had either served out the full term for which they were transported or had their sentences remitted through favour or for good conduct. Many of these had at this period accumulated wealth, and some of them, being persons of education and considerable natural capacity, were beginning to acquire influence in the community. They naturally allied themselves with the smaller settlers, both having causes of quarrel with the dominant class.

One of the circumstances which brought the disagreement to a crisis, was a dispute about an allotment of land on Church Hill, Sydney. Macarthur and other officers had obtained from Captain King grants or leases of portions of land within limits which had been reserved by previous governors for public use. These leases Bligh determined to cancel; offering the holders land in other parts of the town in lieu of that which he wished them to give up. Most of the leaseholders fell in with this arrangement, either through fear of Bligh's displeasure, or because it suited their interest to do so. Macarthur, however, offered some opposition, and Bligh ordered Nicholas Devine, the superintendent of convicts, to pull down the fence enclosing the land in dispute, but offered Macarthur in lieu of it an allotment which the latter described as "at the end of Pitt's Row, a place where the common gallows stood, and which was surrounded by all the vile and infamous characters of the town of Sydney."

A short time afterwards other circumstances took place which rendered the relations of the governor and Macarthur still more complicated. The latter had a vessel called the "Paramatta," in which some prisoners were employed. One of them escaped. The Government always demanded a bond when prisoners were employed on board such ships. In the case of the "Paramatta," a bond for £900 had been given. This security, on the escape of the prisoner in question becoming known, Bligh declared forfeited; and, in consequence of proceedings arising out of the alleged forfeiture, Macarthur was arrested. Nearly the whole of the civil and military officers of the colony appear to have sided against the governor in this matter, and Macarthur was liberated from gaol in spite of all that Bligh could do to keep him there.

Major Johnston, then commanding the New South Wales Corps, does not appear, up to this time, to have had any quarrel with Bligh, or to have been mixed up in any way with the spirit monopoly or any other of the questionable prac-

tices relative to trade in which most of the others were engaged. On the 26th January 1808, the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the colony, the quarrel between Bligh and Macarthur and his friends was brought to a crisis. What then took place, Governor Bligh, in his evidence on Major Johnston's trial, stated as follows : "About sunset, soon after the magistrates had dined with me, information was brought that Macarthur had been liberated from gaol; and almost immediately the provost-marshal confirmed the account, delivering to me at the same time an order from Major Johnston, as lieutenant-governor and major commanding the troops, to the keeper of the gaol, requiring him to give up the body of John Macarthur.

"Immediately after the order for the release of Macarthur, there followed an operation of the main guard close to the gate of the Government House, and the regiment marched down from the barracks, led on by Major Johnston and the other officers, with colours flying and music playing as they advanced to the house. Within a few minutes after, the house was surrounded; the soldiers quickly broke into all parts of it, and arrested all the magistrates, Mr Gore, the provost-marshal; Mr Griffin, my secretary; and Mr Fulton, the chaplain. I had just time to call to my orderly sergeant to have my horses ready while I went upstairs to put on my uniform (the family being then in deep mourning), when on my return, as I was standing on the staircase waiting for my servant with my sword, I saw a number of soldiers rushing upstairs with their muskets and fixed bayonets, as I conceived, to seize my person. I retired instantly into a back room, to defeat their object, and to deliberate on the means to be adopted for the restoration of my authority, which in such a critical situation could only be accomplished by my getting into the interior of the country adjacent to the Hawkesbury, where I knew the whole body of the people would flock to my standard. To this situation I was pursued by the soldiers, and after experiencing much insult was conducted below by Lieutenant Minchin, who told me that Major Johnston was waiting for me. We passed together into the drawing-room, every part being crowded with soldiers under arms, many of whom appeared to be intoxicated.

"I then received a letter brought by Lieutenant Moore, and signed by Major Johnston (calling himself lieutenant-governor), requiring me to resign my authority, and to submit to the arrest under which he placed me, which I had scarcely perused, when a message was delivered to me that Major Johnston wished to speak to me in the adjoining room, at the door of which he soon after appeared, surrounded by his officers and soldiers; and in terms much to the same effect as his letter, he there verbally confirmed my arrest. Martial law was proclaimed, my secretary and my friends were prevented from seeing me, and I was left only with my daughter and another lady.

"By Major Johnston's order several persons seized my cabinet and papers, with my commission, instructions, and the great seal of the colony. These were locked up in a room guarded by two sentinels, and several others were placed around the house to prevent my escape.

"The same evening committees were formed with a pretended view of ex-

aming into my government, but in reality to discover all such persons as were attached to me. In this Macarthur took an active part. On the following day Lieutenant Moore came with Major Johnston's orders, and carried away my swords and what fire-arms he found in the house ; at noon three volleys were fired by the soldiers and twenty-one guns from the battery, while the royal standard was displayed ; his Majesty's commissary, the provost-marshal, the Judge-Advocate, and the chaplain were suspended from their offices ; all the magistrates were dismissed, and others appointed in their room ; the most extraordinary and mutinous proclamations were issued, and even my broad pendant as commodore on the station was ordered by Major Johnston to be struck. Thus was the mutiny complete ; those who were concerned in it had got possession of the government, had turned out all the civil officers and substituted others in their room, and imposed on me an arrest which continued from the time of the mutiny till the 20th of February 1809."

The foregoing statement relative to Governor Bligh's arrest, as given by himself, is contradicted in many particulars by other witnesses. Major Johnston in his defence related it as follows :

"On the 26th I received a letter from the governor, announcing his resolution to arrest six officers of the 102d, for treasonable practices, and requiring me, as I was unable to attend myself, to appoint Major Abbott to the command of the regiment. Had these measures been adopted, there would have been but two officers to do the duty of the regiment, and the highest and most important duties must have been left to the sergeants. I was ill ; Major Abbott was at Paramatta, sixteen miles off ; and it could not be expected, but that the arrest of six officers, and the dread of what measures might ensue, would occasion considerable uneasiness.

"My medical friend had directed me on no account to leave my room ; but sensible of the danger of this crisis, and anxious to avert impending evil, I neglected that advice, got myself dressed, and was driven to town by the aid of my family. On my arrival, as I passed through the streets, everything denoted terror and consternation ; I saw in every direction groups of people with soldiers amongst them, apparently in deep and earnest conversation. I repaired immediately to the barrack ; and, in order to separate the military from the people, made the drum beat to orders. The soldiers immediately repaired to the barrack yard, where they were drawn up, and where they remained.

"In the meantime an immense number of the people, comprising all the respectable inhabitants, except those who were immediately connected with Captain Bligh, rushed into the barrack and surrounded me, repeating with importunate clamour a solicitation that I would immediately place the governor under arrest. They solemnly assured me, if I did not, an insurrection and massacre would certainly take place ; and added, that the blood of the colonists would be upon my head.

"I could not instantly resolve to adopt this measure, which, however, the parties present continued to press ; and it was urged, among other things, that the arrest of the governor would be the preservation of his life, as the popular

fury would first burst upon him and his agents. While I revolved these matters in my mind, it was mentioned that Mr Macarthur had been taken from the custody of his bail, lodged in the common prison, and that there was much reason to fear he would be privately made away with. This intimation also produced a great sensation, and I was prevailed on by the importunity of the people present to sign and transmit an order for his discharge. While he was sent for, the solicitations to arrest the governor were clamorously renewed ; and when Mr Macarthur arrived, he observed to me, that if I resolved to adopt such a measure, I should not do it without a requisition in writing. He drew up a paper to that effect, which as soon as laid on the table was filled with as many signatures as it could contain. The address was in these terms :

“ ‘The present alarming state of this colony, in which every man’s property, liberty, and life are endangered, induces us most earnestly to implore you instantly to place Governor Bligh under an arrest, and to assume the command of the colony. We pledge ourselves, at a moment of less agitation, to come forward to support the measure with our fortunes and our lives.’ ”

“ This strong requisition, and the evident state of the public mind, determined my proceeding. I despatched four officers to Government House, to announce to Governor Bligh the necessity under which I found myself, and to assure him of every protection to his person, which I was convinced could only be rescued from the most imminent danger by the means I was pursuing ; and I proposed immediately to follow the officers at the head of the regiment.

“ We marched to the Government House, attended by a vast concourse of people, who were all inflamed with indignation against the governor. On our arrival I learned that the officers I had sent had not been able to obtain an interview, but that the governor had concealed himself. This intelligence was truly alarming, for I had everything to fear from the agitation it was likely to produce. I immediately drew up the soldiers in a line before the Government House, and between it and the people, who were thus made to keep a respectful distance : the troops were halted, and made to stand at ease. I then directed a small number to proceed in search of the governor, while I waited below to protect the family from injury or insult. The search occupied, according to Governor Bligh’s account, two hours. At length he was found, and brought to the room where I was. When he was introduced, I gently informed him of the step which, by the requisition of the people, I had been obliged to take. He answered, he was very sorry he had incurred public displeasure ; had he been aware that such would be the effect of his conduct, he would have acted otherwise ; and he resigned all authority into my hands, publicly thanking me for the handsome manner in which I had carried the wishes of the people into execution. I then gave the orders I deemed necessary for the security and the protection of his person and the safety and ease of his family, and withdrew. During all this time the troops, far from being infuriate or uncontrollable, maintained the most steady order and the most perfect silence ; not a man stirred from his rank, except those who were ordered, nor was a word spoken along the whole line.”

Lieutenant Minchin and the soldiers who arrested Governor Bligh stated

that they found him hidden under a bed in a servant's room ; that he was in a state of great fright ; and that when pulled from his hiding-place, his clothes were covered with dust, cobwebs, and feathers. Lieutenant Minchin said : " The fore part of his coat, the lappels, were full of dust, and the back part full of feathers ; he appeared to be very much agitated ; indeed I never saw a man so much frightened in my life, in appearance. When I went into the room he reached his hand to me and asked me if I would protect his life." In reply to this statement of Lieutenant Minchin, and to other evidence given on Major Johnston's trial, which in reality amounted to charges of cowardice against Bligh in his conduct on that occasion, he defended himself as follows :

" Just before I was arrested, on learning the approach of the regiment, I called for my uniform (which is not a dress adapted to concealment) ; and going into the room where the papers were kept I selected a few which I thought most important either to retain for the protection of my character, or to prevent from falling into the hands of the insurgents. Among the latter were copies of my private and confidential communications to the Secretary of State on the conduct of several persons then in the colony. With these I retired upstairs, and having concealed some about my person, I proceeded to tear the remainder. In the attitude of stooping for this purpose, with my papers about on the floor, I was discovered by the soldiers on the other side of the bed. As to the situation in which it is said I was found, I can prove by two witnesses that it was utterly impossible ; and I should have done so in the first instance had I not thought that Colonel Johnston was incapable of degrading his defence by the admission of a slander, which, if true, affords him no excuse, and if false, is highly disgraceful. I know that Mr Macarthur wrote the despatch in which this circumstance is mentioned with vulgar triumph ; but I could not anticipate that Colonel Johnston's address to the Court would be written in the same spirit ; and that after being the victim of Mr Macarthur's intrigues he would allow himself to be made the tool of his revenge. It has been said that this circumstance would make the heroes of the British Navy blush with shame and burn with indignation. I certainly at such a suggestion burn with indignation, but who ought to blush with shame I leave others to determine. The Court will forgive me if I intrude a moment on their time, to mention the services in which I have been employed. For twenty-one years I have been a post-captain, and have been engaged in services of danger not falling within the ordinary duties of my profession. For four years with Captain Cook in the 'Resolution,' and four years more as a commander myself, I traversed unknown seas, braving difficulties more terrible because less frequently encountered. In subordinate situations I fought under Admiral Parker at the Dogger Bank, and Lord Howe at Gibraltar. In the battle of Camperdown, the 'Director,' under my command, first silenced and then boarded the ship of Admiral De Winter ; and after the battle of Copenhagen, where I commanded the 'Glutton,' I was sent for by Lord Nelson, to receive his thanks publicly on the quarter-deck. Was it for me, then, to sully my reputation and to disgrace the medal I wear by shrinking from death, which I had braved in every shape ? An honourable mind will look for some other

motive for my retirement, and will find it in my anxiety for those papers, which during this inquiry have been occasionally produced to the confusion of those witnesses who thought they no longer existed."

The conduct of those who assumed the reins of government after Bligh's arrest was not such as to command the respect of the colonists. Mr Macarthur, the man who had undoubtedly been chiefly instrumental in bringing about Bligh's deposition, was appointed, or, perhaps it would be more correct to say, appointed himself, colonial secretary, and under that name exercised in fact the functions of governor. Mr Robert Campbell, the treasurer, a man of unblemished character, was dismissed from his office, as was every officer and magistrate who was believed to be inimical to the chief actors in these rebellious proceedings, or thought to regard with dislike the little revolution which they had effected. Even a clergyman, the Rev. Henry Fulton, was suspended by a general order from discharging the duties of his office. The fate of this gentleman was singular. He had been exiled from Ireland for some participation in the rebellion of 1798. Here, on the contrary, he was punished for his loyalty.

On the day after Bligh's arrest the following absurd proclamation was addressed to the military: "Soldiers! your conduct has endeared you to every well-disposed inhabitant of this settlement! Persevere in the same honourable path, and you will establish the credit of the New South Wales Corps on a basis not to be shaken. God save the King." A few days afterwards another general order was issued, commanding the inhabitants to attend divine worship, "to join in thanks to Almighty God for His merciful interposition in their favour by relieving them without bloodshed from the awful situation in which they stood before the memorable 26th instant." In addition to these artful proceedings on the part of Mr Macarthur and his party, an attempt was made to get up some sort of public rejoicing, by means of bonfires and other demonstrations, but it proved a failure.

Major Johnston had no sooner assumed his new duties as governor than he found himself thwarted by the very men who had been most urgent in inducing him to take the responsibilities he had reluctantly assumed. In writing to the Secretary of State, on the 11th April 1808, only a few weeks after Bligh's arrest, he complained as follows: "It is with deep concern I find myself obliged to report to your lordship that the opposition of those persons from whom I had most reason to expect support has been one of the principal obstacles I have had to encounter. But every obstacle that knavery and cunning could desire has been interposed to distract my attention, and to retard the accomplishment of necessary objects. So widely extended is the influence of some of the persons who have been engaged in illicit or dishonest practices, that they have contrived to form a combination with several of the better class, who ought to have held themselves superior to such connections." It is evident that Major Johnston regretted when too late the steps he had been induced to take by the representations of others, rather than from his own inclination or the force of the circumstances by which he was surrounded.

Major Johnston kept Governor Bligh in custody until his superior officer,

Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, then in Van Diemen's Land, could be communicated with. While in confinement the deposed governor was allowed the society of his daughter, Mrs Putland, widow of Lieutenant Putland, commander of the "Porpoise," who died only a few days before the arrest.

Towards the end of July Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux returned from England with the appointment of lieutenant-governor, and at once superseded Major Johnston. He did not, however, identify himself with either party, or make any changes, but administered the government as he found it, pending the action which the imperial authorities might think proper to take when made aware of the circumstances. Colonel Foveaux administered the government for about five months, until, at the commencement of 1809, Colonel Paterson arrived from Van Diemen's Land and superseded him. Paterson also kept aloof from both factions, deeming the matter one for the Home Government alone to decide. Governor Bligh still remained under arrest, but was allowed to occupy apartments at Government House. He was at last offered the command of the "Porpoise" to proceed to England if he was willing to do so; but if he insisted in remaining in the colony he was still to be considered a prisoner.

Major Johnston, understanding that Bligh had an intention of bringing him before a court-martial, went to England in 1808, accompanied by Mr Macarthur. Bligh himself refused to leave the colony, or to enter into any terms with Colonel Paterson, whom he designated as a rebel. At last an agreement was come to between them, and Bligh reluctantly embarked with his family. He had an expectation that the settlers would rise, overthrow the existing Government, and replace him in the position from which he had been removed. It does not appear that there was any reasonable ground for this expectation on his part, for his adherents were not sufficiently influential, whatever their wishes might have been, to make the attempt with the smallest chance of success.

Bligh, as soon as he found himself in command of the "Porpoise," determined, notwithstanding his written agreement to the contrary, to make use of the opportunity thus afforded him for humbling his enemies, and regaining his position as governor. Colonel Paterson, however, took such steps as to deter others from joining in the attempt; and Bligh seeing that there was no chance of succeeding, after waiting about a month, left Port Jackson for Van Diemen's Land. There he was at first treated by Colonel Collins with respect, but on divulging his intentions, and endeavouring to enlist the sympathy of the people in his cause, some steps were taken for his seizure. His suspicions, however, were aroused before the intention of the authorities could be carried into effect, and being in command of a ship of war their orders could not be executed, and he continued to hover on the coast until the month of December 1809. At that period Colonel Lachlan Macquarie arrived at Sydney with instructions, if Bligh was still in the colony, to reinstate him in his position as governor for twenty-four hours, upon which he was to resign and return to England, leaving the government to Macquarie himself.

Colonel Macquarie finding on his arrival that Bligh had left Port Jackson several months previously, assumed the government, and issued a proclamation

(dated 1st January 1810), setting forth the instructions he had received as to the wishes of his Majesty George III. with respect to Bligh's temporary reinstatement, and the king's strong disapproval of the "mutinous and outrageous conduct displayed in the forcible and unwarrantable removal of his late representative." Three days afterwards he issued a further proclamation, declaring all appointments made by Major Johnston, and Colonels Foveaux and Paterson, null and void, and all trials, grants, and investigations had or made under their authority invalid.

Macquarie arrived in the "Hindustan," a fifty-gun frigate, which was accompanied by another ship, the "Dromedary," having on board a large detachment of the 73d Regiment, of which he was lieutenant-colonel; so that the new governor, on assuming his duties, found himself in so strong a position as to be able to set all opposition at defiance if any had been attempted.

All the officers who had been removed when Bligh was arrested, were now reinstated, and the officers and men of the New South Wales Corps were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to England. Despatches were sent to Bligh at Van Diemen's Land, and in a few weeks he arrived in Sydney, where he was received as a commodore, the naval rank which he now held. He finally left the colony on the 12th May, and arrived in England on the 25th October 1810. Macquarie had brought out orders to send Major Johnston home under arrest, to undergo his trial; but, as before mentioned, he had long before left of his own accord to court that investigation which he rightly anticipated would be made as soon as Bligh reached England. Bligh took home several persons whose evidence he considered necessary to support his case. Before leaving Sydney, his daughter, Mrs Putland, was married to Lieutenant O'Connell, of the 73d Regiment, and during the festivities which followed the nuptials, much of the ill-feeling which had prevailed among the principal colonists was allayed, the occasion being taken advantage of to bring about a reconciliation between those who had taken opposite sides. Upon his departure Bligh was presented with an address signed by 460 colonists, congratulating him on the termination of the persecutions to which he had been subjected, and expressing in the strongest terms the veneration and esteem with which they had always regarded him.

Colonel Johnston's trial by court-martial commenced at Chelsea Hospital on the 7th May 1811, and terminated on 5th June following. A great many witnesses were examined on both sides, and the addresses of both prosecutor and defendant displayed considerable ability. The sentence of the Court was delivered on 2d July as follows: "The Court having duly and maturely weighed and considered the whole of the evidence adduced on the prosecution, as well as that which has been offered in defence, are of opinion that Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston is guilty of the act of mutiny as described in the charge, and do therefore sentence him to be cashiered." Mr Macarthur, having left the army long before, could not of course be brought to trial before a court-martial for his share in the affair. The Home Government, however, to mark their sense of his conduct, interdicted his return to the colony for a period of eight years. Colonel Johnston's sentence must be regarded as a virtual acquittal in so far as

any moral offence was imputed. It was an acknowledgment that the novel and extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed afforded some excuse, if not a full extenuation, for his conduct. His manifest breach of discipline, however, could not be overlooked; and the necessity of maintaining strict subordination under all circumstances, and more especially in such a peculiar and remote dependency as New South Wales, compelled the Court to sentence him to be cashiered. He returned to the colony shortly afterwards, and died during the rule of Governor Macquarie. He was a man universally respected, and there cannot be a doubt that he acted from first to last in the unfortunate affair which brought him for a time so prominently before the world, from the highest sense of duty and with the most scrupulous regard to honour. He had entered the army at the early age of twelve years, and had served with distinction in every quarter of the globe.

Bligh's character seems to have been a most contradictory one—a compound of good and bad qualities—in which egotism and humility, daring and timidity, truth and falsehood, candour and evasiveness, were displayed by turns. He certainly, under many of the circumstances of his chequered career, displayed self-reliance, courage, and endurance of the highest character. He had been publicly thanked by Lord Nelson on the quarter-deck of his ship after the battle of Copenhagen; and at the battle of Camperdown, where he commanded the "Director," he captured, by boarding the ship of Admiral De Winter, a vessel vastly superior to his own. The courage and energy he displayed, after the mutiny of his officers and crew in the "Bounty," have seldom been exceeded and never surpassed. But it is impossible to regard with respect, or indeed with any other feeling than pain, his conduct at and after his arrest in Sydney. His behaviour on that occasion was undignified and unmanly in the extreme, and the deception and falsehood he practised to get possession of the "Porpoise" altogether unjustifiable. It is said that at the mutiny of the *Nore* the feeling of the rebellious sailors against him was very strong, and that he was the first captain deprived of his ship. Yet, in justice it must be confessed, that no instance of inhumanity, personal cruelty, or even of undue severity, has ever been substantiated against him; and by the country settlers and the poorer classes of the colonists no governor was more beloved or regretted.

At that time the colony was extremely destitute of all moral and religious agencies. Holt, in his "Memoirs," speaking of the want of clergymen at this period, says: "The Rev. Mr Fulton was made prisoner, leaving us without minister or priest of any kind. There was no clergyman to visit the sick, baptize the infants, or church the women, so we were reduced to the same state as the heathen natives. My son wished to be married, and I approved the match, but there was no one to marry them. I remembered, however, to have heard that in such cases a magistrate might perform the marriage ceremony; so I went to Colonel Paterson, to procure a license from him for them to be married, and we all then proceeded to Major Abbott, who preformed the ceremony in the presence of Mr Finucane, the secretary."

The Rev. S. Marsden visited England at this time with a double object in

view—in the first place to secure for the colony additional clergymen and schoolmasters; and in the second to obtain some fine-woolled merino sheep for the improvement of his flocks, which, next to those of Mr Macarthur, were the best and most numerous in the colony. He was successful in securing both the objects of his voyage. The Venerable Archdeacon Cowper and the Rev. Robert Cartwright were both brought to the colony through his instrumentality, as were also two or three schoolmasters, who were almost as much needed at this period as clergymen. Mr Marsden found suitable ministers and schoolmasters, at that period very difficult to procure, but the merino sheep more difficult than either. He was, however, a man not easily daunted. He took samples of his colonial-grown wool to Leeds, had some of it manufactured, and by this means secured the co-operation of influential persons, and obtained an introduction to King George III. His Majesty, who had always taken a lively interest in the progress of the colony, when informed of Mr Marsden's wish, consented to grant his prayer for a couple of fine-woolled Spanish merinos. He indeed exceeded the request, and made the petitioner a present of five very fine animals, which arrived safely in the colony, and probably became the progenitors of millions. Mr Marsden was absent on his visit to England more than two years, and in addition to the clerical and scholastic assistance which he brought back with him, returned loaded with donations of books and other articles calculated to be of great benefit in the then state of the colony.

CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNOR MACQUARIE'S ADMINISTRATION.

MACQUARIE'S PHILANTHROPIC CHARACTER—SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE COLONY—
 ANNULS ACTS OF USURPATION—FLOOD AND FAMINE—CARELESS HABITS OF THE
 PEOPLE—PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS—INCREASE OF LIVE STOCK—FREE IMMIGRATION
 DISCOURAGED—EMANCIPISTS ENCOURAGED—THOMPSON'S CASE—JUDGE BENT'S
 APPOINTMENT—CONFLICT BETWEEN THE JUDGE AND THE GOVERNOR—THE JUDGE
 RECALLED—JUDGE FIELD APPOINTED—SOCIAL AMELIORATION—WAR WITH THE
 BLACKS—MACQUARIE'S EXPLORATIONS—COLLINS IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND—
 RELIGIOUS PROGRESS—REV. SAMUEL MARSDEN—SQUATTING—SOCIAL PROGRESS
 —MACQUARIE'S RECALL—HIS CHARACTER.

THE successor of Bligh in the government of the new colony was Colonel Lachlan Macquarie, a man whose name is classed with that of John Howard as a philanthropist and prison reformer. He was a very different man from his predecessor. Macquarie was courteous, politic, and wary in his dealings with men: Bligh was rash, impulsive, and violent. Macquarie, at the time of his appointment, was lieutenant-colonel of the 73d Regiment. He entered on his duties as governor under most favourable circumstances. The small settlers and emancipists upon whom Governors King and Bligh had depended for support when placing themselves in antagonism to the official monopolists, were neither numerous nor wealthy enough to back them up effectually while the power of the little oligarchy remained unbroken. The former had, however, been gradually acquiring wealth and influence, and now that most of the New South Wales Corps were removed, and the governor, as colonel of the regiment of the line which formed the garrison, was ruler in fact as well as in name, Mr John Macarthur prohibited from setting foot in the colony, and many of the other members of the once dominant clique were under a cloud in consequence of the steps they had taken in connection with Bligh's arrest, the small settlers and emancipists were able to assert their claims to consideration, and in return for the viceregal patronage extended to them, were willing to give effectual support to a governor who showed himself disposed to recognise their rights and to free himself from the shackles which had proved too strong for his predecessors.

Macquarie was, however, far too just, politic, and far-seeing a man to thwart intentionally the designs of those who were endeavouring to enrich themselves by developing, in a legitimate manner, the natural resources of the country. Whilst protecting the industrious, and rewarding the thrifty, he desired to en-

courage capitalists and men of energy in the prosecution of their enterprises. The countenance he extended towards the emancipists took the form of social as well as civil and political recognition. As colonel of the 73d Regiment he was in a position to introduce to the mess table such persons as he thought entitled—from the way in which they had conducted themselves during their colonial career, and the consideration in which they were held by most of their fellow-colonists—to be restored to that station in society from which they had for a time fallen. From the mess table their introduction to the houses and families of the exclusive class was, he thought, comparatively easy; and when this was to a small extent accomplished he did not hesitate to elevate some of them to the magisterial bench. One of his first official acts, moreover, was the issuing of proclamations annulling all the proceedings of the usurping government, but still ratifying such of its acts as involved the rights of individuals.

In August 1809 occurred the highest flood in the Hawkesbury that had ever been known since the settlement of the colony. Great destruction of life and property, and much distress, were the consequences. Up till the middle of 1810 bread was at famine price. The condition of the settlers generally was certainly wretched enough, as the following general order issued by the new governor abundantly proves:

“His Excellency cannot forbear expressing his regret that the settlers in general have not paid that attention to domestic comfort which they ought to do, by erecting commodious residences for themselves, and suitable housing for the reception of their grain and cattle; nor can he refrain from observing the miserable clothing of many of the people, whose means of providing decent apparel, at least, are sufficiently obvious to leave them without any excuse for that neglect. His Excellency, therefore, earnestly recommends and trusts that they will pay more attention to those very important objects; and, by a strict regard to economy and temperance, that they will, on his next annual tour, enable him to give a more unqualified approbation to their exertions.”

In order to raise the condition of the settlers, to bring them within reach of a market, and under the protection of the laws, Macquarie set about improving the roads and other means of communication, which had been allowed to fall into a state of dilapidation. To encourage a better class of buildings, he set the example by erecting in Sydney and other places many substantial and convenient public structures: barracks, stores, hospitals, public offices, churches, school-houses, watch-houses, gaols, bridges, wharves, and other buildings. The number of these places built during his administration, a period of about twelve years, was upwards of two hundred in New South Wales, and fifty in Van Diemen's Land. Many of them were substantial structures, but several which still remain afford much stronger evidence of the energy than of the taste of their founder. One of the earliest and most useful works was the construction of greatly improved roads to Windsor and Liverpool, the main thoroughfares to the principal agricultural districts. He afterwards extended these roads beyond the Blue Mountains. Soon after his arrival, seeing the narrow space to which the colonists were confined, he held out every encouragement to those who were

desirous of exploring the interior. In 1799 a convict named Wilson, with five companions, succeeded in crossing these formidable obstacles to the extension of colonisation. Their statements on their return were, however, so generally discredited that no result followed, and the circumstance had apparently been long forgotten, when, in 1812 and 1813, the prevalence of a drought compelled the settlers to seek new pastures for their flocks and herds. The live stock in the colony at this period amounted to 65,121 sheep, 21,543 horned cattle, and 1891 horses, a wonderful increase considering the obstacles at first encountered to their introduction and breeding. It was in May 1813 that Messrs Wentworth, Blaxland, and Lawson made their successful attempt to penetrate the mountain chain which had so long confined the efforts and energies of the colonists to a narrow space.

Almost from the first, Macquarie seems to have discouraged, as much as possible, the influx of free settlers. He was fond of power, and fearful of strengthening by numbers the influence of a class that could not be ruled by general orders and prison regulations. Previous to his time there had been a small but steady influx of free persons—small capitalists for the most part—attracted by the grants of land and cheap labour which the Home Government very liberally offered to those who were willing to brave the discomforts and dangers of a five or six months' voyage, and who could reconcile themselves to pass a considerable part of their lives in a penal colony at the antipodes. To encourage the emancipist class to persevere in good conduct, the governor raised one of them named Thompson to the magisterial bench. It was said that the influence and advice of Colonel Foveaux caused Macquarie to select Thompson for this special mark of favour and distinction. The story is, that Foveaux, disgusted with Macquarie's strong leaning towards the class to which Thompson belonged, thought to make the governor suffer for his error by recommending the man most likely to get himself and his patron into a scrape; and that, upon learning that Thompson had actually been gazetted as a justice of the peace, he exclaimed, "I have placed a blister upon Governor Macquarie, which he will never be able to remove." Macquarie, who was by no means deficient in cutting sarcasm, said, in reference to the opposition raised in consequence of this appointment, that "he had but two classes to choose from, those who had been transported and those—who ought to have been."

The circumstances connected with Bligh's deposition, and the complaints which had reached the British Government relative to the monopolising spirit of the officers and their friends, led at length to a parliamentary inquiry into the state of the colony. This took place in 1812, and many witnesses—returned prisoners as well as colonists and officers—were examined. The principal result which followed was an alteration of the mode in which the law was administered. In July 1814, the first Judge of the Supreme Court, Jeffrey Hart Bent, Esq., arrived in the colony. But hardly had he taken his seat on the bench than a serious disagreement broke out between himself and the governor. The new judge refused to allow attorneys of the emancipist class to practise in his court. An altercation between the judge and the assessors followed, and the Court was

adjourned *sine die*, without any business having been transacted. Macquarie, as might have been expected, espoused very warmly the cause of the emancipist attorneys, and forwarded strong representations of Judge Bent's conduct to Earl Bathurst, then the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He contended that it was an unjustifiable interference with the policy which guided his administration, and with the salutary measures he had initiated for the reformation of the prisoner population. Earl Bathurst saw at once that it was necessary to uphold the authority of the governor, in order to prevent a repetition of the course pursued towards Captain Bligh. The result was that Judge Bent was at once recalled by a despatch, in which Earl Bathurst, on behalf of the Government, used the following words: "Considering the removal of the said Jeffrey Hart Bent, Esq., from the colony as necessary to mark the sense and disapprobation which they entertain of the measure which, so indiscreetly for the colony and himself, the said Jeffrey Hart Bent, Esq., thought it necessary to adopt, and which for so long a period has occasioned all the serious evils of a total suspension of justice, to the manifest injury of the best interests and public credit of the colony." Earl Bathurst, in addressing Mr Bent at the same time, expressed "the high displeasure of his Royal Highness, and his positive recall by his Majesty's Government, on account of conduct which, in their opinion, could admit of no justification."

The delays and complications arising out of the establishment of the Supreme Court, and the claims of the emancipists for full admission to all the privileges of citizenship, lasted for several years. The gentleman sent out to supersede Judge Bent was Mr Barron Field, who, like his predecessor, was an English barrister, and a man of some literary ability. He was the friend of Charles Lamb, Hazlitt, Coleridge, and their circle, and one of Lamb's most charming letters was addressed to his friend Barron Field in New South Wales. A journal of his outward voyage, written by Field, was published in the old *London Magazine*. He was sent to heal the wounds in the body politic, but got himself into disputes with the emancipists almost as quickly as Judge Bent himself. One of his first acts after entering upon his duties was the giving of a decision which allowed a defendant to plead a plaintiff's conviction for felony many years previously in England as a bar to civil action. The class of emancipists at this time formed a large majority of the trading and mechanical, as well as the agricultural and grazing, sections of the community; and it is not surprising that they showed a well-grounded alarm at the helpless position in which Judge Field's decision placed them. They at length initiated a movement for redress by signing a requisition to the provost-marshal asking him to call a public meeting in order to decide on what steps should be taken to enable them to obtain relief from their legal disabilities. The meeting, which was numerously attended, was conducted in a very loyal and orderly manner. The result of the movement was a resolution affirming the civil equality of the emancipist class, and praying for redress from the Throne. By the influence of the governor the prayer was granted. Macquarie succeeded at length in breaking down all legal barriers between the two classes; but the social barriers were too strong for him; and the more he endeavoured to destroy them the more jealously were they guarded

by the wealthy free settlers, officers, and civil servants who formed the exclusive class. The pretensions of some of these gentlemen may be estimated by what fell from one of them on a certain occasion. He said he considered the class to which he belonged to be the representatives of the highest aristocracy in the world—because it was an aristocracy founded on virtue. Although there was sufficient ground for his boast to give it an air of truth in the eyes of his own class, there was not enough to save its author from the ridicule of the rest of the community.

The rapidly increasing flocks and herds of the colonists necessitated a constant advance towards the interior, and caused a steady invasion of the hunting-grounds of the aborigines. The farther the settlers advanced from the coast the wider became the debatable land, and the more frequent their conflicts with the natives. One which took place in 1816 will serve as a sample of the whole. On the banks of the Nepean River a band of about thirty savages plundered the homestead of a settler. On the following day seven well-armed white men went in pursuit of the robbers, in the hope of recovering some of the property. The blacks had placed themselves in ambush on the other side of the river, and as soon as the settlers had crossed, rushed from their lurking-place, surprised, and disarmed them almost before they were aware of their presence. Having their enemies at their mercy, they deliberately commenced the work of murder. Four were killed instantly, one was desperately wounded, but the other two managed in the confusion to escape by flight. Emboldened by their victory, the blacks next day assembled in increased numbers, attacked and plundered several farms, and destroyed a large amount of property. Most of the frightened inhabitants fled for their lives. At one house the mistress and a servant man remained, because the suddenness of the attack left them no time for flight. They took shelter in a barn, into which the savages tried in vain to force an entrance. They then tried to unroof the building, when the man attempted to parley with the ringleader, whom he had known years before. The savage, recognising his former friend, magnanimously prevailed on his companions to leave the place without committing the slightest depredation.

In his administration of affairs Macquarie displayed great personal activity and energy. His excursions and journeys were frequent and sometimes long and fatiguing. In the second year of his rule he made a voyage to Van Diemen's Land. Colonel Collins, the founder of the Hobart Town settlement, and the first lieutenant-governor of the colony, had died suddenly in March 1810, about three months after Macquarie's arrival in New South Wales, and the latter took the earliest opportunity, after he had surmounted the first difficulties of his position, to visit the Derwent, and personally inspect the progress and resources of the country. Collins had administered the government at Hobart Town for upwards of six years. His rule was perhaps the most absolute despotism at that time in existence, and under a man deficient in benevolence and tact the condition of the settlers would have been intolerable. But, with all its drawbacks, the rule of a benevolent despot was, perhaps, more suitable for the state of society which prevailed there than a more complicated system of government.

This state of things lasted for ten years, until, in 1814, Major Abbott, one of the officers of the old New South Wales Corps, was sent down from Sydney as Judge-Advocate, under the new charter of justice a short time before conferred by the Crown upon the Australian Colonies. His administration of the law, although an improvement on the system before pursued, was not remarkable for adherence to form or precedent. In fact he was forced by surrounding circumstances to accommodate the law to the condition of the people. When he thought the offence merited severity, he sometimes was not to be deterred from imposing illegal sentences even in the case of free people.

Colonel Collins's literary habits led him to desire the establishment of a newspaper, and in February 1810 appeared the first number of a small journal under his auspices. Its name was the *Derwent Star*. It was but a quarto leaf, of the humblest pretensions, and lived for a few weeks only. It might have had a more enduring existence, but in less than a month after its advent Collins himself was overtaken by death. Several years elapsed before another and more successful attempt was made to establish a newspaper in Van Diemen's Land.

On the death of Colonel Collins the charge of the settlement devolved for a short period on Lieutenant Lord, until the arrival of Captain Murray, of the 73d Regiment, who then assumed the office as senior military officer in the island. It was during the administration of the latter gentleman, which lasted less than two years, that Governor Macquarie visited the colony. He arrived, accompanied by Mrs Macquarie, in the schooner "Nelson," in November 1811. The visit of the governor-in-chief was regarded as a great event by the colonists. He was received with strong demonstrations of loyalty and many marks of respect.

In 1817 the Rev. W. O'Flynn, a clergyman of the Roman Catholic Church, arrived in New South Wales. Although not the first Catholic priest that had visited the colony, he was the first deputed expressly to minister to the spiritual wants of the members of his communion, of whom there were probably at that time ten thousand in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

The Presbyterians had not up to this period any regularly ordained ministers of their own Church, although a number of respectable free persons of that communion had long before settled in the colony; and at Portland Head, on the Hawkesbury River, some of them had, so early as 1809, erected a church and regularly assembled for public worship. It is stated in Dr Lang's "History" that this church was the first place of worship erected in the colony by voluntary effort, but this appears to have been a mistake, since the first building used as a place of worship by the members of the Church of England owed its existence to private zeal. The church erected by the Presbyterians cost upwards of £400, a large sum to raise among the members of a small religious community in those days. Divine worship was conducted in it for many years by one of the settlers, Mr James Mein, a venerable old man.

The Church of England establishment, before the termination of Macquarie's rule, consisted of nine ministers. Some of them were eminently qualified for their position, and laboured zealously in the cause of religion; while others were engrossed in worldly pursuits, and their sacred duties occupied very little of their

time or attention. New South Wales was, at that period, nominally part of the Indian diocese, of which the celebrated Heber was then bishop ; but, practically, the Rev. Samuel Marsden was the head of the Church in the colony, and was usually called Bishop Marsden. This gentleman occupied a very conspicuous place for many years as a magistrate, a settler, and a trader, as well as a minister of religion, and probably the character of few men, in any age of the world, has been portrayed in such various and contradictory colours as his. He arrived in New South Wales in 1794. He was a man of most active and energetic character, but unpopular in the highest degree with the emancipists and those who espoused their cause. He died in 1838. He was the founder of the New Zealand missions, and it is in this character he is best remembered.

In the promotion of benevolent objects, and in supplying means for assuaging the sufferings of the unfortunate victims of poverty, accident, or sickness, Macquarie and his wife seem to have been ever ready to set a good example. The Sydney Benevolent Asylum and other institutions of a similar character, still in existence, which date from this period, were greatly indebted to their efforts and liberal patronage. Mrs Macquarie was generally called Lady Macquarie by the colonists, although she had no claim to that title except such as arose from popular gratitude, and a warm appreciation of her character. She took great delight in beautifying and improving the town and neighbourhood of Sydney, and her name will long be remembered in connection with the delightful public walk, constructed under her orders and from her plans, around the Domain, near the water's edge.

The rapid expansion of the commerce of the colony led during Macquarie's rule to the introduction of what was afterwards known as the order system. The governor gave his sanction to the issue by private individuals of five-shilling promissory notes, payable on demand in copper. This opened the door to great abuse, and led to the practice—which after a time became an almost universal and intolerable nuisance—of settlers and others in the country paying their servants in orders on their agents in towns. Sterling money, under such a system, grew scarcer and dearer every day, and the “currency” became so depreciated that a note or order for a pound represented but fifteen shillings in silver. Another expedient to increase the amount of the circulating medium was then adopted. The Spanish dollar, the coin in general circulation, had its centre struck out, and was still circulated for a dollar of full value, while the piece punched out, called a dump, was made legal tender for fifteen pence. These “holey dollars,” as they were called, and dumps, remained in circulation for many years.

The distinguishing feature of the latter part of Macquarie's period of rule was the great advancement made in the production and export of fine wool for the supply of the English market. Squatting, or the occupation on a large scale of lands of which the stockholders had received no grant or lease from the Government, commenced soon after the discovery of the routes across the mountains into the great plains of the interior. Before that time agriculture—by which must be understood merely the growth of wheat and maize—was almost the sole rural pursuit. For a period of nearly thirty years, the labour, skill, and capital

of the colonists had been devoted almost exclusively to tillage. But soon after the Blue Mountains were crossed, pastoral enterprise began to usurp that place which had for so long a period been filled by agriculture. A more complete revolution has seldom been witnessed than gradually took place not only in the industrial pursuits, but in the habits and prospects of the settlers. In accounting for this change it should be remembered that there were various causes which cramped the energies of the cultivator besides the narrow extent of territory to which the colony was for a long time confined, and which caused him to hail with pleasure the new prospects and pursuits which at length opened before him beyond the mountains. One circumstance which threw impediments in the way of the agriculturist was the almost total want of skilled mechanical labour. With pastoral pursuits little or no skilled labour was necessary. A bark hut, which could be erected in a few hours, a rough stockyard, or a few hurdles, were almost all that was needed, so far as mechanical labour was concerned, to enable a commencement to be made in grazing, even on an extensive scale; while to carry on tillage successfully, the handicraftsman and mechanist were in constant requisition.

The material progress of New South Wales under Macquarie, especially during the latter part of his administration, was very great. The roads and bridges, the construction of which he had pushed forward with vigour, almost immediately after his arrival, had been productive of the greatest benefit to the settlers; and on all the principal lines toll-bars were established for the purpose of providing funds for their maintenance and repair. Sydney, which had not long before emerged from the condition of a mere collection of huts, now began to assume the appearance of a bustling although rather straggling town; the inhabitants numbered upwards of seven thousand in 1820—about a third of the entire population of the colony—and there were several thriving manufactures carried on, such as woollen cloths, earthenware, salt, candles, soap, hats, etc. In 1816 a bank—that of New South Wales, which still exists as one of the principal monetary institutions of Australia—was established. In the same year the foundation of the lighthouse at the South Head of Port Jackson was laid. In 1819 the Sydney Savings Bank was established, and it, also, as well as the Bank of New South Wales, has continued to flourish to the present day, and has been exceedingly useful in promoting habits of thrift and self-reliance among the people. Public schools were instituted in all the populated districts. A Bible society, Sunday-schools, and other benevolent institutions were also founded. The wife of the governor was foremost in all good works, and her reputation for benevolence and piety stood high amongst the colonists.

The expenditure on the penal establishments was, during Macquarie's time, about £200,000 a year. The average cost from its foundation in 1788 to 1815 was about £125,000 a year. In 1813 the expenditure amounted to £235,000, and in 1814 to £231,362. The following year was one of retrenchment, and the amount was reduced to £150,000. These enormous sums, drawn in hard cash from the commissariat chest, and expended amongst a small population, were productive of a certain amount of prosperity, which was not, however, of a very

sound or healthy character. The colonists were in fact, to some extent, in the position of people having the command of large sums of money which they had never properly earned; and therefore were in greater danger of falling into habits of luxury and extravagance than if they had no other external source of wealth than was derived from exports raised by their own industry and sent into the markets of the world.

The intelligence of Macquarie's intended recall reached the colony in the latter part of 1821. Major-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, his successor, arrived shortly afterwards, and on the 1st December his commission as captain-general and governor-in-chief of the colony was read, with the most impressive formalities, in Hyde Park, Sydney, where the military were drawn up under arms, and fired a salute in honour of the occasion. Most of the inhabitants, including the leading colonists of all parties, were present, and Macquarie took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to address them at considerable length in vindication of his character and the policy of his administration. He said that when he took charge of the government in 1810, he found the colony in a state of rapid deterioration, a famine impending, discord and party spirit prevailing to a great degree, and the public buildings in a state of dilapidation and decay; very few roads and bridges in existence, and those few in a very bad condition. Now, he continued, we see the face of the country generally, and agriculture in particular, greatly improved; stock of all kinds had much increased; useful manufactures had been established; commerce was revived, and public credit restored. A great number of substantial and useful public edifices had been erected, good roads and bridges had been constructed, and the inhabitants were comparatively opulent and happy.

Macquarie did not quit the colony until nearly three months after the arrival of his successor. He had come to look upon the evidences of wealth and advancement which he saw around him as if they were the work of his own hands, and he regarded the improved condition of the colony with feelings of honest pride. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that he was loath to leave the scene where for nearly twelve years he had exercised more than regal power. There is no doubt that he felt a deep attachment to the country, and that, whatever his mistakes, he acted throughout his administration with perfect singleness of purpose, and under the firm belief that the measures which he adopted were conducive not only to the welfare of those over whom he ruled, but to the honour and dignity of the great country whose servant he was. A man of unblemished morals himself, he appears to have been ignorant that there was such a thing as innate vice in others, and he looked upon all who had fallen into crime as the unfortunate victims of circumstances.

CHAPTER VIII.

SIR THOMAS BRISBANE'S ADMINISTRATION.

BRISBANE'S CHARACTER—TOO QUIET A GOVERNOR—LAND MANIA—BRISBANE AT
PARAMATTA—BECOMES UNPOPULAR—POLITICAL PROGRESS—FREE IMMIGRATION
ENCOURAGED—SIR FRANCIS FORBES, CHIEF-JUSTICE—FIRST CIVIL JURY—FIRST
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—LIBERTY OF THE PRESS—AUSTRALIAN AGRICULTURAL
COMPANY—W. C. WENTWORTH—SCIENCE IN NEW SOUTH WALES—SOLDIER
SETTLERS—STATE OF MORALS—BUSHRANGING—THREATENED FAMINE—GOVERNOR
UNPOPULAR—HIS RECALL—PROGRESS DURING THE PERIOD.

THE successor of Governor Macquarie, Major-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, K.C.B., the sixth Governor of New South Wales, entered upon his duties on the 1st December 1821, under most favourable auspices. His character as a soldier and a man of science had preceded him, and his advent was hailed by the colonists of all classes with the greatest satisfaction. Like his immediate predecessor, he was a Scotchman. He was of a good family, of excellent personal character, and had the reputation of being a kind-hearted, generous, and refined man. He found the colony in a flourishing condition, its productions rapidly increasing, and its population receiving accessions of men of capital and enterprise almost daily. To a man of talent and energy, with a desire to serve his country, few positions could have been more acceptable than the one in which Sir Thomas Brisbane now found himself. At the head of a community of pushing, enterprising people, who were in the possession of more than an average amount of material wealth, provided with an abundant supply of labour, and with an unlimited extent of fertile and unoccupied land waiting to be devoted to their purposes; with most of the dangers, privations, and drudgery incident to the earlier days of colonisation overcome; with the British Government and people eager for the development of that great country at the antipodes which they fondly believed was one day to become "a new Britannia in another world,"—with such prospects and opportunities as these, it wanted only a governor possessed of moderate ability and energy to send the colony forward in a far more rapid career of advancement than had hitherto been thought possible.

Unfortunately, however, than Sir Thomas Brisbane, notwithstanding his many high qualities, a man more unfitted for the position he was sent to fill could hardly have been selected. Unlike his predecessor, Macquarie, whose personal activity, business habits, and untiring interference with all kinds of matters were remarkable, Brisbane seems to have had an aversion not merely to

meddling with what did not immediately concern him, but even to the transaction of the ordinary official business which his position rendered absolutely necessary. He was too ready to evade the performance of the duties of his office, and even to trust to others in matters of much importance. The kindness and gentleness of his disposition was, under such circumstances, liable to degenerate into almost culpable weakness, and his reluctance to be placed in antagonism to those about him was insurmountable.

The rage for possessing land had become intensely strong amongst the colonists, and so numerous were these grants of Governor Macquarie, and so entirely was their profitable occupation beyond the means or incompatible with the inclination of the grantees, that their disposable value was reduced to almost nothing; and lands were sold for a few gallons of rum which not many years afterwards would have realised hundreds, or, in some cases, even thousands of pounds. The acquisition of these improvidently conferred grants from their improvident owners became a sort of trade—a pursuit followed with almost the devotion of a passion by some of the wealthy emancipists—especially such as were engaged in store-keeping and spirit-selling. Scarcely in any instance were the farms thus acquired cultivated by those into whose possession they fell. They saw that by the ordinary increase of population the lands would soon become exceedingly valuable; and in addition to this they, like their betters, were prompted by a strong desire for territorial aggrandisement, a motive almost as potent as the love of money itself. The extent of land acquired by some of these emancipist grog-sellers was enormous. One of their number, a well-known Sydney publican, was, at the time he relinquished business, in 1820, the owner of nearly 20,000 acres of freehold land, of which only 140 acres were in cultivation. Several other persons, not however all of the emancipist class, who made it their business to buy up large numbers of these little grants, had acquired even then still greater quantities, and had thereby laid the foundations of the fortunes which their descendants now enjoy.

Sir Thomas Brisbane, to escape the social annoyances suffered by his predecessors, generally resided in great privacy at Paramatta, where he took measures for establishing an observatory; and where he was able to follow the bent of his mind for scientific studies without that frequent interruption to which he would have been subject in Sydney. His Excellency was generally regarded at first as hostile to the emancipists, but this view was hardly borne out by circumstances which afterwards transpired. He was no doubt desirous of avoiding anything like the partisanship displayed by Governor Macquarie, and it is probable that his sympathies were with the official class and their friends, but a slight insight into the everyday life of the colonists must have convinced him that right was not exclusively on their side; and he probably came to the conclusion that justice as well as policy required him to avoid identifying himself with either. The consequence was that he became unpopular with both, and was spoken and written against accordingly. His administration, however, although short and unpopular, was marked by events of the deepest interest to the colonists and their descendants—events the effects of which are still felt and will continue to be felt for

ages. These were: (1.) The concession of the first instalment of self-government by the institution of a legislative council; (2.) The formal acknowledgment of the liberty of the press; (3.) The establishment of trial by jury; (4.) The discovery of an overland route to Port Phillip, and the formation of settlements at Moreton Bay and other places; (5.) The commencement of a steady flow of immigration from the mother country.

Large inducements in the way of free grants of land and prison labour were held out to free immigrants to come out and settle in the colony; and it will be readily understood that under such circumstances as these, notwithstanding that Sir Thomas Brisbane was by no means a very able administrator, great progress was made in colonisation. Pastoral pursuits, in particular, experienced a very rapid advancement, and the export of wool, which in 1820 amounted to less than a hundred thousand pounds' weight, rose in the short space of two years to nearly half a million of pounds. Agriculture, too, experienced a considerable revival from the influx of free settlers, as many of them were persons of small capital with families, who chose rather to follow that pursuit on their granted lands in the settled districts than to isolate themselves by squatting on Crown lands in the far interior in wool growing or cattle breeding. Pastoral pursuits even at that time required the investment of considerable capital on the part of those who embarked in them, for the demand for fine-woolled sheep and well-bred cattle was so brisk that very high prices ruled. A pair of pure Spanish merino rams were sold in 1822 for £500; and first-class breeding stock of other descriptions fetched similar extravagant prices.

Most of the free settlers of early times were officers of the army or navy, or soldiers, sailors, or officials of some sort who originally came to the colony in connection with or in the discharge of their duties; but there were others who were not in Government employ in any capacity—needy but ambitious and pushing men for the most part—who emigrated in consequence of promises held out, or opportunities which offered for bettering their condition. This class of settlers, in addition to rations for their families and servants for a certain period, and grants of land in proportion to the capital they brought with them, had the cost of their passage defrayed at the public expense. This system of granting free passages was, however, discontinued during Macquarie's administration, although the other inducements to settlers mentioned above continued in operation long after.

In June 1823, Sir Francis Forbes was appointed first Chief-Justice of New South Wales, with a salary of £2000 a year. He arrived in Sydney in March 1824, bringing with him a charter for the establishment of courts of justice in the colony.

The new charter of justice was formally promulgated in Sydney on May 17, 1824, at Government House, the Court House, and in the Market-place. On the same day, Judge Forbes took his seat on the bench as Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, having previously received the oath of office from his Excellency the governor. The Court, in its criminal jurisdiction, sat for the first time on the 10th June following, and as the Act was distinct and positive regarding the

composition of the jury—that is, that it should be composed of seven military or naval officers—the Chief-Justice had no alternative but to let the law take its course, although the experience he had gained by several months' residence in the colony only served to confirm the opinion he had previously held, that there was no sufficient ground for withholding from the community the right of Englishmen to be tried by a jury of their equals. The 19th section of the Act, however, which authorised the holding of courts of general or quarter sessions, at such times and places as the governor should appoint, containing, as before stated, no provision as to a jury of any kind, Sir Francis Forbes decided that, in the spirit of the common law in England, a civil jury ought to be impanelled. The magistrates in quarter sessions, however, strongly objected to this course, and addressed several letters to the governor on the subject; a long correspondence then took place, but the magistrates were obstinate, and the result was that they were required to show cause why a precept to the sheriff to summon a common jury should not issue. The matter came on for argument in the Supreme Court before the Chief-Justice, who, as might have been anticipated, decided against the magistrates. The principal ground of his decision was based upon the circumstance that although magistrates derived their commission from the king, and not from the British Parliament, their functions and obligations were settled by the common law, and that as the Act under which courts of quarter sessions were constituted was silent on the subject of juries, the common law procedure must be followed. After this decision, juries of civilians were summoned, and sat in courts of quarter sessions simultaneously with military juries in the Supreme Court. The date of the impanelling of the first civil jury was November 1, 1824.

That the small instalment of trial by jury thus obtained worked exceedingly well during the time it was in operation was generally admitted. Mr W. C. Wentworth, in a speech which he made at a public meeting held in Sydney, in January 1827, said: "The first topic contained in the petition is a request for trial by jury. We have already had in the court of quarter sessions a two years' experience of that mode of trial, and notwithstanding a great proportion of the population is held not eligible to sit as jurors, it has gone on well and successfully; therefore we urge that if it were more extended in the colony its beneficial effects would be more generally known." The petition alluded to by Mr Wentworth was one from the colonists to the British Parliament, and was then before the meeting for adoption. It was presented to the House of Commons by Sir James Macintosh. In the meantime the antagonistic feeling between the different sections of the community grew more and more bitter every day in consequence of the exclusion of the emancipists from the jury box. Those who opposed their claims were, in reality, few in number, although influential in position. Many of the humbler class of free settlers were in favour of their admission, and joined in urging their rights. The contest went on for years, the claimants and their friends daily becoming more numerous and influential.

The 11th August 1824 is remarkable as the day on which appeared, in the

Sydney Gazette, a proclamation announcing that his Majesty had been pleased to institute a Legislative Council for New South Wales. The first members appointed consisted exclusively of Government officers. They were only six in number, viz.: William Stewart, Lieutenant-Governor; Francis Forbes, Chief-Justice; Frederick Goulburn, Colonial Secretary; James Bowman, Principal Colonial Surgeon; and John Oxley, Surveyor-General. In a short time afterwards Mr John Macarthur, of Camden, was added to the number. This, the first step to that large share of self-government which was afterwards, at various times and by degrees, conferred upon the colony, may be regarded as a grand turning point in its history; and from this period the laws under which the colonists lived and the taxes they paid were to a considerable extent within their own control. The first session of the newly erected legislature was a very short one, and only one Act of a single clause was passed. It was an Act to legalise promissory notes and bills of exchange made payable in Spanish dollars, which were then the ordinary currency of the colony. It received the governor's assent on the 28th of September 1824.

Another exceedingly important event took place in this year; namely, the formal concession of the liberty of the press. On the 15th of October, Mr Howe, the proprietor of the *Sydney Gazette*, was apprised by a letter from Mr Secretary Goulburn, that a memorial presented by him having been duly considered by the governor, instructions had been issued that the censureship theretofore exercised over the press should no longer exist. This recognition of the liberty of the press was followed within a year or two by the establishment of two new journals in Sydney—the *Australian*, under the editorial control of Dr Wardell and Mr W. C. Wentworth; and the *Monitor*, of which Mr E. S. Hall was the editor and proprietor. Both these newspapers were conducted with far more than average ability, and their editorial columns presented a marked contrast to the fulsome flattery of Government officials, and the inane twaddle on other matters, which characterised their older rival, the *Sydney Gazette*.

The knowledge which had been spread in England respecting the progress of the colony and the rapid accumulation of wealth by individual settlers, was at this period producing important results. Accounts of the flattering prospects of the immigrants who, a year or two before, had begun to pour into New South Wales in considerable numbers, were widely circulated, and capitalists began to look towards the Great South Land as an eligible field for investment. A company, called the Australian Agricultural Company, with a capital of a million sterling, in shares of ten pounds each, was formed in London, for the purpose of developing the agricultural, pastoral, and mineral wealth in which Australia was believed to abound. Its promoters were men of the highest standing and influence in England, and they secured for their speculation very extensive privileges in grants of land and mining rights, although mining was not a prominent feature among their original designs. The idea first entertained was embodied in the name of the company; and the intention to engage extensively in agriculture was for a long time adhered to. With this view the choicest animals and plants and the most improved machinery and appliances were sent out, under charge of

persons skilled in farming operations and mechanical pursuits. Lord Brougham, Mr Joseph Hume, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General of England, many members of Parliament, and other public men—among them the governor and eight directors of the Bank of England, and the chairman, deputy-chairman, and several of the directors of the East India Company—took shares, and exerted all their influence in favour of the undertaking. In consideration of the benefits which such a wealthy and powerful association was likely to confer upon the colony, and in compliance with the usual custom of giving land in proportion to capital introduced, the Home Government conferred a grant of a million acres upon the company. Operations on a large scale were commenced in 1825, and as the local Government was willing to transfer to the company, on very easy terms, the coal mines at Newcastle, advantage was taken of the opportunity, and the land and all the machinery and appliances soon passed into their hands. The land thus transferred consisted of about two thousand acres, and contained abundance of excellent coal, easily wrought, and close to water carriage. The active working of the mine was at once proceeded with as a step which promised almost immediate returns; and finding their mining operations likely to prove more remunerative than agriculture, the directors successfully exerted their great influence in procuring from Earl Bathurst, then Secretary for the Colonies, the exclusive right of raising and dealing in coal, with the further guarantee that no land for working coal should be granted to any other company or person during the existence of their lease, which was for thirty-one years. The result, however, of the great privileges conferred, has not been of so lucrative a character as was anticipated. The company, after exercising its rights for a long time, was at length, in obedience to public opinion, induced to give up the monopoly which had been so improvidently granted; and although this remarkable association is still in active operation, no very marked success and no very serious disasters have ever characterised its proceedings. Some idea of the character and magnitude of its operations in early days may be gained from an enumeration of the titles or designations of the officers. In addition to a chief commissioner, there were in the colony an assistant commissioner, a secretary, and a chief clerk; a superintendent and an assistant superintendent of flocks; a superintendent of agriculture, a superintendent of works, a superintendent of collieries, a chaplain, and a surgeon; while the board of management in London consisted of a governor, a deputy-governor, twelve directors, four auditors, and a secretary. The company's monopoly of coal mining must have produced very great profits, although the riches thus acquired were to a considerable extent dissipated in less profitable undertakings, and very little went into the pockets of the shareholders. That the monopoly was injurious to the colony there can be no doubt, for while the quantity of coal raised by the company during its continuation was less than fifty thousand tons annually, the amount produced a few years afterwards, when the trade was thrown open to competition, reached ten times that quantity. This monopoly was perhaps one of the most improvident and short-sighted things of which the British Government was ever guilty in connection with Australian colonisation. It is due to the company, however, to say that

while it existed it was exercised with moderation, and was relinquished before the full term expired, because public opinion demanded its abolition as an iniquity and an injustice which ought no longer to be tolerated.

The feature for which the period of Governor Brisbane's rule was most remarkable was the great influx of immigrants. This influx, there can be no doubt, was in a great degree owing to the steps taken by a native of the colony—Mr William Charles Wentworth—to disseminate in England information relative to the condition and prospects of Australia, and to point out to the crowded millions of Great Britain the great advantages it offered as a place for settlement. He was born at Norfolk Island in 1791, during the existence of the first settlement formed there, and was the son of Mr Darcy Wentworth, a surgeon, who had medical charge of the prisoners on the island, and after the breaking up of the establishment there, filled the office of police magistrate in Sydney for many years. The first evidence of more than ordinary ability given by young Wentworth arose out of the disputes which during Macquarie's time raged between the governor and the officers of the 73d and 46th Regiments relative to the admission of emancipists to civil rights and social recognition. His Excellency's endeavours to force the officers to receive emancipists at their mess-table, and to meet them in private life, were to some extent thwarted, and the feelings engendered much embittered and prolonged, by the appearance of an anonymous poem, alleged to have been picked up in the street, which caused much sensation. It was a clever and severe lampoon upon Colonel Molle and other officers who had rendered themselves obnoxious to a large part of the population by their opposition to the claims of the emancipists. The colonel was placed for some time in a very disagreeable position, from the fact that the authorship of the lampoon was confidently ascribed to one of his own officers. Young Wentworth, however, having soon afterwards left the colony to pursue his studies in England, his father, Mr Darcy Wentworth, took an early opportunity of relieving the reputed author from his unpleasant position, by disclosing the circumstance that the verses which had caused so much scandal were written by his son.

Mr W. C. Wentworth, on his arrival in England, became a student at Cambridge, and while an undergraduate there, wrote and published a "Statistical Account of the British Settlement in Australasia." The work was published in two octavo volumes, and attracted so much attention that it ran through several editions in a few years. It had the great defect of being written in a partisan spirit, and was filled with abuse of the author's personal enemies.

During Mr Wentworth's stay at the university, he competed with twenty-five others in the composition of a prize poem on the subject of Australia. His production, although awarded only the second place by the judges, is now universally regarded as first in point of merit, although his successful rival was the celebrated W. Mackworth Praed, then considered one of the most rising and talented young men in England. The following passage, referring to the penal origin of the colony, is strongly expressive of his ardent desire for the introduction of a free peasantry and free institutions :

“ Land of my hope ! soon may this early blot
 Amid thy growing honours be forgot ;
 Soon may a freeman’s hope, a freeman’s blade
 Nerve every arm, and gleam through every glade.”

The conclusion of the poem, although so frequently quoted as to have become almost hackneyed, is one of its finest passages. The last four lines—in allusion to Australia being the latest born of Britannia’s offspring—are as follows :

“ May this thy last-born infant then arise
 To glad thy heart and greet thy parent eyes,
 And Australasia rise, with flag unfurled,
 A new Britannia in another world !”

It is painful to think that in old age Mr Wentworth deserted the land which he so loved and honoured in his youth, because, as it is said, he could not brook those democratic institutions or endure that full measure of popular liberty which he at one time so ardently advocated.

Governor Brisbane’s devotion to the cause of science was as strong as his inclination for the performance of his official duties was weak. One of his first acts was the establishment of an association which assumed the title of the Philosophical Society of Australasia. It consisted of about a dozen members, most of them civil or military officers. There were, during its short existence, several papers of interest read at its meetings ; but the remoteness of the colony from the great centres of science and literature, and the paucity of gentlemen possessed of the necessary attainments and leisure to contribute to its proceedings, could hardly have permitted even its parent to expect for his bantling a very brilliant or very lengthy career.

The Royal Veteran Company—the name under which were embodied as a local corps those officers and soldiers of the old 102d Regiment, or New South Wales Corps, who chose to remain in the colony when that regiment was recalled for the part it had taken in the arrest of Governor Bligh—was, in October 1823, disbanded ; and about the same time its former commander, Colonel Johnston, died at Amandale, near Sydney. This was the last of that remarkable regiment which, having been called into existence in England, in 1790, for the especial purposes of the colony—then only known as Botany Bay—was popularly termed “ the condemned regiment ;” but into whose ranks—foreseeing probably the opportunities which the settlement of a new country was likely to present—entered many young men of more than ordinary ability and energy of character. Their expectations were more than realised, for to many of these soldiers of fortune—rank and file as well as officers—the opportunity proved to be that tide in their affairs which taken at the flood led on to fortune. Almost all the veterans—although they were offered free passages to England when the company were disbanded—preferred to remain in the land which they had long regarded as their home, and in which many of them had not only married and brought up families, but had acquired possessions of no inconsiderable extent and value.

Some improvement in the morals of the population seems to have taken place

during Governor Brisbane's period of rule. It can hardly be doubted that the favour shown by his predecessor to the prisoner class, although dictated probably by motives of humanity, and prompted by a sincere desire for the elevation of fallen fellow-men, had produced, in many of the convicts, an effect the reverse of beneficial. The number of minor offences against the laws, and breaches of public orders and regulations, had greatly increased during his time. Under Brisbane's government, although the laws were more strictly administered, the number of persons convicted annually was much smaller. In one respect, however, there was a remarkable exception to the comparative decrease in crime. Bushranging became for the first time a prominent offence. This particular phase of convict life had existed for years in Van Diemen's Land, but in New South Wales it had not hitherto been rife. The new country to the westward, now being rapidly taken up by stockholders, offered great temptations to the more daring and reckless of the convicts to attempt to exist by a life of plunder. Captain Fennell, the commandant of the district, had his headquarters at Bathurst; and a horse patrol had been established chiefly for the protection of the outlying settlers against the depredations of the blacks; but, almost before the blacks had been quieted, a more formidable evil in the shape of bands of bushrangers sprang up and demanded energetic efforts for its suppression. The most numerous and daring of these gangs, and one which for a short period kept the district in a state of great alarm, originated with six or eight convicts employed on two farms near Bathurst. These men, abandoning their employment, armed themselves with muskets and such other weapons as they could most readily procure, and compelled many of the other prisoners to join them in an insurrection which appears to have had no other object than an escape from restraint, and the enjoyment of such indulgences as they could obtain by plunder. On one station they shot the overseer because he refused to join them, and this produced such an effect on others that their numbers soon increased to eighty or a hundred men, who ravaged the settlers' farms for miles in all directions. They treated their victims in accordance with what they considered their deserts. Those who were regarded as good masters escaped very lightly, while those who had a character of harshness and severity towards their dependants suffered accordingly. They soon had possession of large quantities of arms, ammunition, food, and clothing; and, if they could have placed confidence in each other, might have set the efforts of the authorities at defiance, perhaps for years. Dissensions among themselves soon led to the desertion of many of the band, and the ringleaders sent all the others whose fidelity they suspected about their business. When this step had been taken only thirteen remained, and these, free from the check of their more timid or less desperate companions, gave themselves up to unrestrained plunder and violence. The military and police, with two parties of volunteer settlers, were despatched in pursuit of the robbers. One of the parties of civilians first fell in with them, but were met with so much boldness that they had to retreat, and gave such exaggerated accounts of the numbers and daring of the bushrangers that a request was sent to Sydney for more soldiers. Nothing was done before the expected reinforcement arrived; and when this took place it was

found that the alleged formidable organisation had dwindled to such small proportions that the ordinary police force was quite sufficient to deal with the difficulty.

Sir Thomas Brisbane, notwithstanding the excellence of his character as a man, was, until near the close of his career, an unpopular governor. The people could not sympathise with his philosophical pursuits; but they could understand that a governor who allowed himself to be dictated to, or managed, by his own officers and the class to which they belonged, could not be a good ruler. A circumstance which raised very strong feelings against him, was his putting a stop, in 1823, in a most injudicious and sudden manner, to the practice of receiving into the public stores the wheat and maize of the settlers at a fixed price, varying for the former from 7s. 6d. to 10s. a bushel. Instead of taking the whole year's supply, just after the harvest, at a fixed price, as was before customary, only the quantity absolutely required for consumption during the ensuing quarter was called for by tender. This alteration in a long established but vicious system, which had given rise to great jobbery and injustice for years, was productive of some loss and inconvenience to the storekeepers and dealers, who had been accustomed to receive from the settlers, almost as cash, their grain and produce, knowing that it would be taken into the public stores at the usual price; but to the settlers themselves it was absolute ruin. There was no market for the large quantities of wheat and maize suddenly and unexpectedly left upon the hands of the growers or their creditors. The Government had been so long accustomed to take it all, that no private traders in such commodities were prepared to purchase what the settlers had to dispose of; and the consequence was that grain suddenly fell to so low a price as scarcely to pay the expenses of carriage to market. The Government purchased the first quarter's supply for about a third of the price paid in previous years, and the lowness of price very naturally begot an opinion that there was a great superabundance of bread stuffs in the colony. Then, as there was no export trade nor any other outlet for such a surplus, those who held it thought it was almost worthless, and under this impression gave it to their pigs or wasted it in the most careless and reckless manner. It was not generally perceived that the suddenly altered system had produced a temporary glut, and that the price would soon rally again. The result was, as the season advanced, but when it was too late—when a great part of the produce of the harvest had been consumed by animals or destroyed by carelessness—it was perceived that instead of a superabundance there would be a scarcity. Under the alarm created by this discovery the rise in price was quite as sudden and far greater than the fall had been a short time before. From an almost nominal price of 3s. 9d. a bushel, wheat, in a short time, rose to £1, 4s. There was a reluctance to sell to the Government even at this price, and, at the recommendation of the officers in charge of the commissariat, a vessel was chartered to proceed to India for wheat and rice. On her return to Sydney some of the mercantile class, wishing to inconvenience and annoy the Government as much as possible, and hoping, no doubt, to reap a large profit by private enterprise, gave information to the captain of a ship of war then in the harbour, who seized vessel

and cargo, and carried off his prize to India, for having infringed the charter of the East India Company in carrying tea—of which she had a small quantity on board—without a license.

The sufferings to which numbers of the colonists were exposed in consequence of the high price of bread, were, of course, laid to the governor's account, and served to increase the unpopularity with which he was before regarded. His position was anything but an agreeable one; checked, controlled, and thwarted by the powerful influence of the official class and their friends on one side, and regarded with suspicion, if not absolute dislike, by the emancipists and the lower class of settlers on the other, his recall by orders from home in the latter part of 1825 must have given rise in his mind to feelings of relief rather than regret. His early endeavours to defeat the selfish designs of those by whom he was surrounded had not been sufficiently thorough to command the respect of the mass of the colonists; while his well-meant but sudden and ill-advised change of a long-established system had produced so much loss and suffering as to make them dread his interference and suspect the soundness of his judgment. A step which he took before leaving the colony—quite inconsistent with his previous conduct—betrayed great anxiety to stand well in the opinion of those to whose interest and claims he was generally thought to be inimical, and proved the strength of the class prejudices which then divided the community. He was, when on the eve of returning to England, invited to a public dinner by that section of the colonists generally known as the exclusionists. But, having heard that only a select class were to be permitted to be present, he refused to accept the invitation if all who wished were not allowed to join in the demonstration, provided they were willing to bear their share of the expense. The gentlemen who gave the invitation thereupon replied that they respectfully declined the honour of his Excellency's company on such conditions. The other party then set about making their arrangements in earnest, and the banquet, a very sumptuous one, and very numerously attended, took place at Nash's Hotel, Paramatta, a few days afterwards. The governor, by his conduct in this matter, acquired so much popularity with the common people, that, in addition to the dinner, public meetings were held, and very flattering addresses presented to him before his departure.

Sir Thomas Brisbane's administration lasted somewhat less than four years. It was towards the latter part of 1825 that he received intimation that his successor had been appointed, and early in December he sailed for England, having on the 1st of that month formally transferred the reins of government to the hands of Colonel Stewart, of the 3d Regiment or Buffs. In spite of some drawbacks to progress, the population, trade, productions, and substantial prosperity of the colony rapidly increased during his administration. The revenue raised in the country, which was but £36,231 in 1821, reached £71,682 in 1825. The expenditure, however, more than kept pace with the increase, and in the latter year reached £82,000. This was derived from import duties on spirits, wines, and tobacco, a small *ad valorem* duty on merchandise not of British manufacture, excise duties on colonial distilled spirits, a heavy impost

on coal and timber, whether for home consumption or for exportation; also on oils, skins, and several other articles, and licenses to publicans, hawkers, and others. As there was no custom house, the duties being collected by a functionary called the naval officer, it is impossible to ascertain the value of the exports. Some idea of the importance of the rising trade of the colony may, however, be gained from the fact that in the year ending January 1824, sixteen ships, of a total burthen of 5500 tons, cleared out from Sydney and Hobart Town for Great Britain, with cargoes of produce valued at £100,000. What the total value of the imports of the year was is not recorded, but in the following year (1825) they reached £300,000. The population in 1825 was 33,675; the number of sheep, 237,622, and the horned cattle, 134,519; the land in cultivation, 45,514 acres, and the wool exported, 411,600 lbs.—the quantity having been nearly trebled in three years. The most lucrative and flourishing branches of commerce were, however, at this period, what were called the island trade and the whale and seal fishery. In whaling alone the merchants of Sydney had, in 1825, nearly thirty ships engaged, while many others were employed in collecting sandal-wood, pearl-shells, *bêche-de-mer*, and other island produce.

CHAPTER IX.

SIR RALPH DARLING'S ADMINISTRATION.

DARLING A MILITARY MARTINET—HIS ARRIVAL AND COOL RECEPTION—DEPARTMENTAL CONFUSION—A SHARP ADMINISTRATOR—JARRING FACTIONS—NEW LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—SQUATTING MANIA—FINANCIAL CRASH—CASE OF SUDDS AND THOMPSON—PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY—ATTEMPTS TO GAG THE PRESS—TRIAL BY JURY—AN ELECTIVE LEGISLATURE—A MILITARY SCANDAL—PUBLIC MEETING FOR REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS—DEATHS OF OLD COLONISTS—KING BONGAREE—MATERIAL PROGRESS—LIEUTENANT LOWE'S CASE—PIRACY AND PENAL INSURRECTION—BUSHRANGING—FURTHER MATERIAL PROGRESS—FIRST LAND SALES—DARLING RECALLED—DISGRACEFUL PROCEEDING—DARLING'S CHARACTER—PROGRESS DURING THE PERIOD.

THE next Governor of New South Wales was Lieutenant-General Ralph Darling, a clever but narrow-minded officer who had been long employed at the Horse Guards, and who was so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of military routine that he was a most unsuitable person to preside over a civil administration. He arrived in Sydney on the 18th December 1825, and relieved Colonel Stewart from his temporary duties on the following day. Colonel Stewart had administered the government for about three weeks only. Sir Thomas Brisbane's latest acts had made him so popular with the lower classes, and they regretted his departure so much, that they were not inclined to receive his successor very heartily, and consequently he was allowed to land without a single cheer or any other manifestation of popular welcome. There were other causes, however, for the coolness with which General Darling was received. His character had preceded him. It had become known in the colony that he was a mere official formalist, a man of system and routine, a strict and severe disciplinarian, who had obtained his rank in the army, and his post as governor, solely from his skill in military affairs. The popular party, however, with Mr Wentworth at their head, anxious not to drive him into the ranks of their opponents, determined soon after his arrival to offer a complimentary address. A public meeting was called, at which Mr Wentworth, in moving the proposed address, made a long and effective speech. General Darling, upon assuming office, found the various departments of the Government in great confusion. Sir Thomas Brisbane's want of business habits was notorious, and this was no doubt the principal reason for his early recall. He had for some time before his departure been at variance with Mr Goulburn, the late Colonial Secretary, and under these circum-

stances affairs had drifted into a condition of extreme disorder. Mr Goulburn's place, upon his retirement from office, had been filled by Mr Alexander Macleay, a gentleman of some ability, of great experience in official business, and of considerable celebrity as a naturalist and a man of science. It was resolved by the new governor and the new secretary to re-organise all the departments of the public service, and to purge them of the emancipist element which had been introduced by Governor Macquarie, and continued under Sir Thomas Brisbane's administration. The carrying out of this measure was regarded by the emancipist party as a conclusive proof that Governor Darling was their enemy, that he had leagued himself with the exclusives, and that they had no favours to expect at his hands.

Governor Darling was one of those men who never do things by halves, and the system he introduced went to the opposite extreme. Under its operation order and regularity were introduced, but the complicated system of checks and counterchecks, and the multiplication of requisitions and forms, was carried to such an excess as to become a nuisance, and to cause the remedy to be almost as bad as the disease. The result was that the governor grew more unpopular every day with one party, while by the other he was looked upon as the kindest of patrons and the most generous of men. His antagonistic position in reference to a large class of the population, and the dislike in which he was generally held by the great majority of the colonists, drove him to regard those who composed the narrow circle of the exclusives with peculiar favour. It is not to be wondered at that under such a condition of things a social war more bitter than had prevailed at any previous time should have ensued. The governor and his policy were assailed in very strong terms by Mr Wentworth and Dr Wardell in the columns of the *Australian* newspaper, while, in the *Sydney Gazette*, the official journal, they were praised and defended in a way which was as nauseating and fulsome as it was feeble and impotent.

One of the first official acts of Governor Darling was the appointment of a new Legislative Council. The governor himself was, of course, the president. The official members were Colonel Stewart (lieutenant-governor), Chief-Justice Forbes, Archdeacon Scott, and Mr Secretary Macleay; non-official—Messrs John Macarthur, Robert Campbell, sen., and Charles Throsby. The Executive Council were Colonel Stewart, Chief-Justice Forbes, Archdeacon Scott, and the Colonial Secretary.

The fineness of the seasons and the extraordinary success which had attended pastoral pursuits for a few preceding years, the consequent influx of numbers of persons of capital who desired to embark in grazing, and the brilliant expectations excited by the extensive operations of the Australian Agricultural Company, occasioned at this period so remarkable a rise in the price of live stock that many of the old settlers, who possessed large flocks and herds, suddenly found themselves very wealthy men. The example of the fortunes they had so easily accumulated, or rather which had been thrust upon them, served to stimulate other colonists, as well as new arrivals, and the consequence was that a perfect mania for the possession of sheep and cattle was the result. Dr Lang,

an eye-witness of the excitement which followed, says: "Those only who witnessed the infatuation of multitudes in England on the formation of joint-stock companies in 1825, or the railway companies of a later period, will be able to form any idea of the state of things that immediately ensued in New South Wales; for no sooner had the Australian Agricultural Company been duly announced and its operations commenced in right earnest, than the sheep and cattle mania instantly seized all ranks and classes of its inhabitants. This mania evinced itself in impelling whomsoever it seized to the cattle market; and as my own residence in Sydney at that period was in the immediate vicinity of that busy scene, I had frequent opportunities of observing the congregated patients, and abundant reason to wonder how the matter would end: for barristers and attorneys; military officers of every rank, and civilians of every department; clergymen and medical men; merchants, settlers, and dealers in general, were there seen promiscuously mingled together, outbidding each other in the most determined manner, either in their own persons or by proxy, for the purchase of every scabbed sheep, or scarecrow horse, or buffalo cow, that was offered for sale."

Following the extravagant spirit of speculation in sheep and cattle came extravagance in other ways. Large quantities of goods, far beyond the legitimate requirements of the colonists, and including an undue proportion of articles of luxury and extravagance, were imported. Houses, furniture, equipages, dress, all increased in cost and in display. The profits of stock-keeping were to pay for all. The bucolic spirit of the antipodes was not one of rough simplicity and rural economy, but of costly ostentation and gaudy show. A crash of course followed. The season 1826 proved to be the last of a favourable series. A drought of three years' duration ensued, and the eyes of those who had suffered from the sheep and cattle mania were opened. Almost all the owners of live stock were under heavy liabilities. Bills had to be met and engagements redeemed in the face of rapidly-falling markets. The folly of the extravagant prices, and the profuse rate of expenditure which had been indulged in was seen, yet few had the moral courage to retrace their steps until it was too late. To cut down expenses, to dismiss servants, and to do away with horses and carriages, was to confess the near approach of pecuniary embarrassment, and thus to precipitate the dreaded crisis.

The financial crash which followed was of the most disastrous character. As everybody had bought at high prices almost at the same time, and a large majority of the purchasers had given long-dated bills in payment, when these bills began to fall due everybody wanted to sell almost simultaneously in order to meet their engagements. Week after week and month after month, as cattle were forced upon the market, prices continued to fall, until the value of a beast was measured by shillings instead of pounds. Distress and ruin fell upon scores of respectable persons who had been accounted wealthy but a few months before. In face of the prevailing drought, and the sudden and startling fall in value, nobody would buy except at prices which would hardly cover the cost of sending to market. The financial difficulty thus arising was aggravated by large sums of

money having to be sent out of the country for bread stuffs, for those who expected to make their fortunes by sheep and cattle thought agriculture almost beneath their notice, so that in the exciting chase of pastoral riches very little wheat or maize had been planted, and much of what was planted had been destroyed by the drought. In order to lessen their expenses, strong pressure was brought to bear upon the governor by the official and exclusive class to induce him to relax the regulations fixing the rations which they were compelled to provide for their assigned servants. Darling at last granted the request, the scale was reduced, and this circumstance was eagerly taken hold of by his opponents to bring him into still greater odium with the populace. The opposition press was loud in its denunciations of the governor and his advisers, while the official journal, the *Sydney Gazette*, by its indiscreet advocacy helped to render them ridiculous.

Previous to the period of the financial crash above spoken of, a case had occurred—known as that of Sudds and Thompson—which, although exceedingly grave in some of its aspects, was made to assume, under the influence of party prejudice and personal rancour, so much of a political character that the real significance of the facts themselves was overlooked or absorbed in other considerations. Sudds and Thompson were soldiers of the 57th Regiment, who, thinking the lot of prisoners preferable to their own, committed a felony, by stealing a piece of cloth from a shop in George Street, for the purpose of getting themselves convicted, hoping thus to escape the irksomeness of military service. The motive which led to the commission of the crime was disclosed on their trial, and it was asserted that other soldiers had committed offences for the same purposes, and that there was wide-spread discontent among the military. The men were convicted and sentenced to seven years' transportation to one of the northern settlements. This of course was just what they wanted and expected. But Governor Darling, fearing the consequences of such an example, determined to take the men out of the custody of the civil power and punish them in a manner calculated to deter others from committing offences of a similar kind. In pursuance of a general order which he issued, the two men were taken from the custody of the gaoler, brought to the Barrack Square in Sydney, and in the presence of the assembled military it was announced that their sentence had been changed to seven years' hard labour in irons on the roads, and that at the expiration of that period of punishment they were to be returned to their regiment; they were then stripped of their uniform, and having been dressed in prison clothes, iron collars with long projecting spikes were riveted round their necks, and fetters and chains on their legs. They were then marched off to gaol, with the band playing the Rogue's March. The tragical results which followed will best be told in the words of the survivor of these misguided and unfortunate men, as given at his examination, on the 23d April 1827, on board the "Phoenix" hulk. Sudds is stated to have been previously a remarkably well-conducted man, but Thompson's character was not so good, and it is believed that it was owing to his evil advice that Sudds engaged in the scheme :

"We were taken to the parade ground, and the regimentals taken off us, and

a suit of yellow cloth put on each of us, and a general order read to us by Brigade-Major Gillman, by the order of his Excellency, General Darling. After the order was read to us, a set of irons was put on each of us. The irons consisted of a collar, which went round each of our necks, and chains were fastened to the collar on each side of the shoulder, and reached from thence to the basil, which was placed about three inches from each ankle. There was a piece of iron which projected from the collar before and behind, about eight inches at each place. The projecting irons would not allow me to stretch myself at full length on my back. I could sleep on my back by contracting my legs. I could not lie at full length on either side without contracting my legs. I could not stand upright with the irons on. The basil of the irons would not slip up my legs, and the chains were too short to allow me to stand upright. I was never measured for the irons; and Sudds' collar was too small for his neck, and the basils for his legs, which were swollen. I never heard him say he had the dropsy in the West Indies. Sudds was turned out of the hospital the morning of the punishment, and taken to the barracks about an hour afterwards. Sudds was taken from the hospital to the sessions on the 6th November; he appeared to be very ill, insomuch that the man who was handcuffed with him was obliged to sit down on the grass in the court-yard in order to enable him to lie down. He continued in that way till after his trial. After the yellow clothes and the irons were put on us in manner before mentioned, we were drummed out of the regiment, the Rogue's March being played after us by two or three drummers and fifers. We were not drummed out in the usual way, which is, to put a rope about the neck, cut off the facings, and place a piece of paper on the back, with a description of the offence which the party may have committed. Instead of this, we had the inshacon and the yellow clothing. On our return to the same ward in the gaol, Sudds sat down with his back to the wall, saying that he was very ill, and wished to go to the hospital again, but he did not go to the hospital till next morning. The basils of his irons cut his legs during the time we were coming from the barracks to the gaol; it was owing to the sharpness of the basil and the weight of it that we were cut. The night of the day of punishment, Sudds was so ill that we were obliged to get a candle about eight o'clock from Wilson the under-gaoler, in order to keep up a light during the night. I gave him some tea which I had purchased. About ten o'clock he was very ill; I requested a fellow-prisoner to get up and look at him, thinking he was dying. The fellow-prisoner, whose name I do not know, did look at him, and said he was not dying, but he did not think he would live long. I then asked Sudds if he had any friends to whom he would wish to write. He said he had a wife and child in Gloucestershire, and begged that if he did not get better by the next night, I would read some pious book to him, adding, 'that they had put him in them irons until they had killed him.'

The report of the medical officer of the gaol upon the case of Sudds, was as follows: "On the 24th November he was admitted into the gaol hospital; on admission, the irons in which he was confined were removed (immediately), and medicines administered. He refused sustenance of every kind, except a little

tea ; and in talking to him of his disgrace, he declared he never would work in irons, and wished himself out of the world. Finding him in a state of delirium on the 26th instant, he was removed to the general hospital, where he gradually became worse, and expired the following morning. After a minute dissection of the body, no apparent disease was found to exist to account for his immediate death."

The governor and his friends endeavoured to account for the death of Sudds by stating that he had previously suffered from dropsy, and that he had been neglected by the medical officer ; but they were able to produce no evidence in support of their allegations.

The bitterness of feeling engendered against Governor Darling in consequence of the tyrannical proceedings which resulted in the death of Sudds, was never allayed during the remainder of his administration. Mr Wentworth, "the chief leader of the colonial liberals," drew up a formal impeachment against his Excellency, which he caused to be delivered by an attorney at Government House, and threatened never to lose sight of so great a criminal until he had brought him to justice. In pursuance of this object, repeated attempts were made to bring the matter before the House of Commons ; and shortly after General Darling's return to England in 1832, Mr Maurice O'Connell made efforts to procure the appointment of a Parliamentary committee to inquire into the circumstances. These efforts were unsuccessful for a long time, but at length, in 1835, the committee was granted. When the investigation commenced, however, it was found that Mr O'Connell was not prepared with sufficient evidence to support his charges, and Darling was consequently declared to be honourably acquitted. He was almost immediately afterwards knighted, and was looked upon in England, where the real facts of the case were almost unknown, as the victim of spiteful accusations and grossly exaggerated, if not wholly unfounded, charges.

Smarting under the attacks of the opposition newspaper, Governor Darling's next step was an attempt to extinguish the freedom of the press. This design could not, of course, be achieved without the concurrence of the Legislative Council. But he anticipated no difficulty in that direction, for all the members of the Council who were not officials were his own nominees—and nominated legislators have generally been the willing tools of power. Governor Darling's plan was to pass two Acts—one of them rendering the publication of newspapers illegal without a license, which license should in no case continue in force for more than a year, and might be withdrawn at any time at the pleasure of the Government ; by the second Act it was intended to impose a heavy stamp duty on each copy of a newspaper published. It was fortunate at this time that the colony possessed a man whose position, talents, and courage enabled him to prevent the accomplishment of Darling's tyrannical designs. This was Mr Forbes, the Chief-Justice, without whose signature, certifying that its provisions were in accordance with the law of England, no act of the colonial legislature could be valid ; and, to his immortal credit, the Chief-Justice refused his signature to the repressive Acts. The governor was therefore completely baffled.

He had no alternative left, therefore, but either to retire from the contest he had so unwisely provoked, or to direct the existing law to be put in force. He chose the latter, and prosecution soon waxed fast and furious. The publishers of both the offending papers were prosecuted both civilly and criminally. Mr Hall, the editor of the *Monitor*, was, within a short time, convicted of no less than seven offences against the libel law, was fined many hundreds of pounds, and received an aggregate sentence of upwards of three years' imprisonment. The publisher of the *Australian*, Mr Hayes, was convicted of libel upon the governor in accusing him of having substituted his own will for the law in the case of Sudds, and sentenced to a fine of £100 and six months' imprisonment; and others were dealt with in a similar manner. These cases were tried by military juries nominated by the governor. To escape the stamp duty, during the short period that it was illegally levied, Mr Hall was driven to publish his paper in the shape of a weekly magazine. But these vindictive prosecutions, although they resulted in the imprisonment of both, did not stop the publication of their papers or greatly subdue their tone towards the Government. They were certainly rendered more cautious in the use of expressions which the law could take hold of, but their attacks, if less violent, were not less stinging or effective. Mr Hall remained in gaol for many months, but was liberated upon the accession of King William IV., an occasion which Governor Darling—departing from his usual course of conduct—gracefully took advantage of to show a degree of magnanimity for the possession of which few had given him credit.

The contest between Governor Darling and the colonists about restricting the liberty of the press had not terminated when there arose a source of social and political agitation of a still more wide-spread character, although the contest, being of a less personal nature, did not perhaps involve quite so much bitterness of tone and temper. This new political movement was commenced for the double purpose of obtaining trial by jury and an elective legislature. The injustice of the largely increased taxation imposed by General Darling, by which the colonists contended that they were made to pay heavily towards the coercion and management of the British criminal class landed upon their shores, was the principal ground upon which those who headed the agitation urged their claims for an elective legislature. The issue of it was the passing of an Act in 1829, conferring a discretionary power upon the judges of the Supreme Court, enabling them to order a trial by a jury of twelve civilians in any civil case in which either of the parties to the suit should claim to have it so tried. This, although at first sight it might seem but a small concession, was in reality a very important one; and the mode in which it could be successfully wielded against the previously almost irresponsible power of the Government and the overwhelming influence possessed by Government officials, under the magisterial assessors and military jury system, was soon tested. It was the case of the prosecution of Archdeacon Scott by Mr Hall, the editor of the *Monitor* newspaper, for excluding him from his pew in St James's Church. From two magisterial assessors, any more than from a military jury chosen by the governor, Mr Hall well knew that he could not hope for a verdict; but as soon

as the new Jury Act was passed, he commenced an action for damages against his clerical oppressor. It was the first civil action ever tried in Australia before a jury of twelve citizens, and the result, as might have been anticipated from the facts previously stated, was a verdict for the plaintiff with damages.

A scandalous proceeding on the part of some military jurors, which took place in April 1830, assisted very materially in putting an end to the old military jury system. A jury of officers had been sitting for the trial of criminal cases in the Supreme Court, and when the business was concluded, the Court proceeded to try civil causes. A special jury having been called, the jurymen found, on entering the box, that the desks before them were covered with inscriptions of a character most offensive to the judge and to civil juries. The writers of these scandalous scrawls expressed their detestation at having to sit in a place which had been "polluted by the canaille of Botany Bay," and at having to listen to "the blunders of a superannuated old Whig." The last expression had reference to the well-known political leanings of the Chief-Justice, whose efforts to introduce trial by jury in its most extended form, and whose sympathy with those who advocated a more liberal form of government for the colony, were well known. In the local politics of the time, and more especially in the phraseology of the persons who used it, the term Whig implied the lowest radical leveller. The matter was brought under the notice of the judge then on the bench, Mr Dowling. His honour censured the conduct of the writers of the scandalous inscriptions in very strong terms, and intimated that, in his opinion, the Attorney-General ought to institute proceedings against them for a misdemeanour. Baxter, the Attorney-General, a man intemperate in habits and weak in mind, took no other step in the matter than to suggest that a complaint should be addressed to the governor as commander of the forces. It does not appear that anything was done, but the circumstance created so great a ferment in a community perhaps too easily excited on such a subject, that it aroused a feeling which never afterwards slumbered until military juries were altogether abolished.

The first public meeting called expressly to petition for trial by jury and representative institutions took place on the thirty-ninth anniversary of the foundation of the colony—January 26, 1827. The meeting, which was convened and presided over by Mackaness, the sheriff, was held in the court-house, and was very numerously attended by all classes. The petition was drawn up and its adoption moved by Wentworth in a violent speech. Sir John Jamison was the seconder; and to Mr Blaxland, then about to visit England, was entrusted the duty of conveying it to Sir James Macintosh for presentation to the House of Commons, and to the late governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, with a request that he would procure its presentation through some noble friend to the House of Lords. The meeting was followed by a banquet, at which a large number of influential colonists sat down. The exclusives contented themselves with a passive resistance to this movement, evidently regarding it as one having little or no chance of success, and therefore as not requiring any demonstrative opposition. The principal result which followed was the suspension of Mackaness

from his office as sheriff. His case was referred home, and the sheriff was dismissed.

The last two or three years of Darling's administration were remarkable as well for the number of old and prominent colonists that disappeared from the scene as the arrival of new ones. Amongst the former was Captain Piper, who, under the name of the port officer, filled for many years the position of collector of customs. He was dismissed from office in consequence of having been found to be a defaulter to a large amount. His successor was Mr J. F. Campbell, the first who was designated collector of customs. Mr Darcy Wentworth died about the same time, after a colonial career of more than thirty years, during which he filled several important appointments. Mr Oxley, who had filled the office of surveyor-general for many years, died in May 1828; and towards the close of the following year his successor, Major T. L. Mitchell, arrived. Mr C. Throsby, a member of the Legislative Assembly, and an old and enterprising settler, committed suicide, shortly after Mr Oxley's death, in consequence of having become security to a large amount for another old and prominent colonist, Mr Garnham Blaxcell, who had absconded. The circumstances that involved these gentlemen had their origin in excessive pastoral speculations. Mr J. T. Campbell, for many years secretary to the governor, and a member of the Legislative Council, died in January 1830. In November of the same year, Captain Logan, commandant at Moreton Bay, was murdered there by the blacks. His remains were brought to Sydney and buried at Garden Island, in the same tomb with Judge Bent, a friend of his early youth. Another colonial notability, generally known as King Bongaree, died, and was buried at Garden Island about the same time. He was a most intelligent aboriginal native, and had rendered great assistance to Flinders and other navigators in their intercourse with his people. Flinders speaks of Bongaree's services in the highest terms, and calls him "a worthy and brave fellow." Many years after his voyages with Flinders, Bongaree, who belonged to the Kamilroy tribe, was placed by the Sydney Government in charge of a little settlement of his people which was formed on the north shore of Port Jackson, near George's Head, where a tract of land was set apart for their use, and attempts were made to induce them to accustom themselves to fixed abodes, and to learn to till the ground. The result, of course, was a failure. The soil of the locality allotted to them was so barren that if they had been ever so well disposed to settled habits and agricultural industry they could have produced nothing; but had the soil been ever so fertile it is hardly probable that the result would have been different. Settled habits and steady industry are things too foreign to the nature of wandering savages to be acquired at once or even in a single generation. The estimation in which Bongaree was held not only by his own tribe but by the aborigines generally, and the position in which he had been placed by the Government, raised his self-importance to such a degree that he at last assumed the airs of aboriginal royalty, and for several years made it a practice to board vessels entering the harbour and to demand contributions in acknowledgment of his rights. Dressed in an old cocked hat and a dilapidated military coat, his majesty generally managed to extort a shilling and a glass or two of rum from

good-natured skippers. His wife, Queen Gooseberry, was a well-known character in Sydney streets twenty years after her husband's death. She was one of the last, if not the very last, of the Port Jackson aborigines.

Fortunately, class animosity and political differences—although they excite a great degree of public attention—do not very seriously interfere with the practical affairs of life; and during the time that they rage most violently things generally progress much the same as usual. It was during Darling's stormy administration that a very important undertaking—that of bringing to Sydney a supply of water from the Botany swamps—was commenced. Up to this period the inhabitants of Sydney were entirely dependent upon the small water-course, now entirely obliterated by the progress of buildings, but then known as the Tanks Stream, which ran about midway between George and Pitt Streets. To Mr James Busby, mineral surveyor, was entrusted, in 1827, the task of ascertaining the best means of procuring a supply of water for the rapidly increasing town. He recommended, as the cheapest and most available plan, that the swamps between Sydney and Botany should be tapped by a tunnel; and his proposal having been assented to, he was commissioned to carry out the undertaking. The work was completed in a reasonably short time. The supply of water proved to be of the best quality and sufficient in quantity for the requirements of the city for many years. About the same period the first regular system of contracts for conveying the mails throughout the interior was brought into operation; and thenceforward mails were regularly despatched twice a week to the principal towns of the interior. A census taken in 1828 gave the population of the colony as 36,598; horned cattle, 262,868; sheep, 536,391; land in cultivation, 71,523 acres; value of wool exported, £40,851; whale oil ditto, £26,431. The local revenue the same year was £96,713, and the expenditure £97,952. In 1829 the first step towards carrying the administration of the criminal law into the interior of the country was made by holding a circuit court at Campbelltown. The discovery, not long after the first settlement of the colony, of the rich lands of the Cowpastures, Camden, the valleys of Bunbury Curran, Mulgoa, and other tracts of fertile soil, made that district a favourite one with the more influential colonists, and it was there that many of them, having secured extensive grants of land, had settled with their families and formed their homesteads. Their residences were in many instances places of far more than ordinary pretensions; some of them indeed were mansions almost rivalling "the stately homes of England" in cost, extent, and appearance. Many non-resident colonists also possessed estates there on which they had numerous tenants and labourers. Some few of these estates still remain the property of the families or descendants of the original grantees, but most of them, in the sharp reverses of colonial life, have long since passed into the hands of strangers, and having been cut up and subdivided into lots, have been sold and resold under the hammer of the auctioneer, until their identity is almost lost.

A case which excited much interest in the colony, and which was in some respects a very exceptional one, inasmuch as no party or political feelings or

prejudices were enlisted in it, occurred in 1827. An aboriginal native, who, it is said, had murdered the servant of a settler, was apprehended and brought before Lieutenant Lowe of the 40th Regiment, who was in command of a small detachment of soldiers stationed at Wallis's Plains—the name then given to the flats on which West Maitland now stands. It does not appear that any form of trial of the blackfellow was gone through, or that any steps were taken by Lieutenant Lowe to ascertain the truth of the charge against him. It was proved, however, that the officer ordered four of the soldiers under his command to shoot the prisoner there and then. The men promptly did as they were told. The matter came to the knowledge of the authorities, and criminal proceedings were instituted against Lieutenant Lowe, who was soon afterwards placed upon his trial for murder. This was during the era of military juries, and at a time when, in the outlying settlements, fatal conflicts between the aborigines and the settlers were frequent. Under such circumstances it would have been exceedingly remarkable if a jury of officers had returned a verdict of guilty of murder against a brother officer for shooting a blackfellow. The result was, of course, an acquittal. A charge of a somewhat similar kind against a settler, tried at the same sittings of the Court, resulted in a verdict of justifiable homicide. In the case of an aboriginal native known as Black Tommy, who was tried at the following sittings of the Court for killing a white man, the Crown prosecutor had no difficulty in securing a verdict of guilty, and the man was hanged a day or two afterwards. It was clear that in the state of society and the administration of justice then prevailing, the law afforded little or no protection to the aborigines; while, on the other hand, it exacted from these unfortunate people the extreme penalty whenever they were found guilty of capital offences.

A very daring act of piracy was perpetrated in 1827 by some prisoners, under the leadership of a man named Walton, a convict of notoriously bad character. These men were being conveyed to Norfolk Island, and the vessel had nearly arrived at her destination, when the prisoners, by an artful scheme, managed to overpower the crew, and getting possession of the arms compelled the captain to steer for New Zealand, where they hoped to be able to procure sufficient supplies to enable them to reach South America. For this purpose they put into the Bay of Islands, where it fortunately happened that two Sydney whalers were lying. The masters of these vessels, although the pirates told a plausible story, quickly discovered the true state of affairs, and having enlisted the assistance of the natives, a combined attack of sailors and Maories was soon made upon them. The pirates quickly surrendered, and were taken to Sydney, and the ringleaders hanged. At Norfolk Island, about the same time, a somewhat serious insurrection of the prisoners took place. It began by upwards of fifty men, at a preconcerted signal, suddenly rushing on their guards and disarming them. Two or three soldiers were killed in the affray, but the desperadoes managed to obtain their object in procuring arms. They then took possession of three boats, loaded them with provisions and ammunition, and made for Phillip Island, about seven or eight miles distant. They could not be pursued for some time, because they had partially destroyed the only boat left behind.

The disabled boat was, however, on the following day patched up with some difficulty, so as to carry a few soldiers, who, under Captain Donaldson and Lieutenant Donnellan, proceeded in pursuit. On attempting to land at Phillip Island, a smart encounter took place, in which three of the insurgents were killed, several wounded, and eleven taken prisoners, and their boats and provisions captured. The little force not being sufficiently numerous to guard the prisoners and to follow up the insurgents at the time, returned to Norfolk Island with their captured men, boats, and provisions; and a day or two afterwards returned and captured ten others. The remainder of the desperadoes, now reduced to about twenty-five in number, held out for some time longer, but at length, on the capture of their ringleader, and being pressed by hunger, gave themselves up. The only lives lost on the part of the military were the soldiers killed in the first rush. These occurrences afford a sample of the history of Norfolk Island during the many years that it remained a receptacle for the offscourings of England's criminals.

Serious outbreaks among the prison population were not, however, confined to Norfolk Island. In 1830 daring gangs of bushrangers infested the Bathurst district, and several desperate contests between them and the police and volunteer armed settlers took place, generally without much loss on either side, although the latter, notwithstanding they displayed great courage, rather got the worst of it. In one skirmish, two or three of the police and several horses were killed, and the victory was decidedly on the side of the bushrangers. In another fight a few days afterwards, near the Lachlan River, with a party of troopers, Lieutenant Macalister, the commander, and several of his men, were wounded; but the arrival on the scene of conflict on the following morning of a party of men of the 39th Regiment, under Captain Walpole, so much intimidated the bushrangers that they agreed to surrender. They were taken to Bathurst, tried, and ten of their number executed.

While these and similar occurrences were transpiring in the western district, another notorious gang was committing depredations nearer Sydney, under the leadership of a youth named Donohue, who had arrived in the colony but a short time before, and who had commenced his colonial career of crime almost immediately after his landing. He had been captured, tried, and condemned to death, a short time after he first took to the bush, but effected his escape in a very daring manner, when being taken from the dock after receiving sentence. This circumstance, added to his youthful appearance and his desperate courage, made him quite a hero in the eyes of the prison population. The robberies and depredations of his gang were carried on within a few miles of Sydney, and almost every day brought some fresh account of his exploits. His companions were about a dozen in number, most of them as daring as himself, and many of them much more bloodthirsty and reckless. After several encounters with the police, in which lives were lost on both sides, Donohue, in August 1830, was shot through the head by a trooper, at Raby, a few miles from Liverpool. Macnamara, another of the ringleaders of the gang, had previously met his death in a similar manner, while others had been captured and hanged. The

last of the party, two men named Walmsly and Webber, were captured in January 1831, and the latter executed soon afterwards.

Two educational institutions of a superior character were founded in Sydney near the close of Darling's administration, viz., the Sydney College in 1830, and the Australian College in 1831. Dr Lang was the founder of the latter institution.

Dr Lang having been refused assistance by Governor Darling in establishing the Australian College, paid a visit to Great Britain in order to solicit the support of the home authorities. His mission was successful, and he returned in October 1831, in the ship "Stirling Castle," with a staff including five Presbyterian clergymen. Dr Lang also brought out with him about sixty Scotch mechanics, mostly connected with the building trades, and many of them accompanied by their wives and families. This was a most valuable addition to the population—the men being persons of good character and many of them of more than average ability.

Two or three months before the arrival of the "Stirling Castle" with the Scotch mechanics, a vessel arrived from Ireland, bringing fifty young women, who had been trained in an orphan school in the city of Cork. They were well conducted girls, and proved, first as domestic servants, and afterwards as wives and mothers, a most valuable addition to the lower class of the population, whose numbers had before been too largely recruited from undesirable sources.

The introduction of steam navigation into Australia took place in 1831. The first vessel built for a steamer in the colony was a little craft called the "Surprise," which was launched on 31st March. Before she was ready for use another vessel, called the "Sophia Jane," of 154 tons register, was brought out from England by Lieutenant Biddulph, R.N., by whom she was at first commanded. She arrived in the colony on the 16th May 1831. In the month of October following, another colonial-built steamer, named the "William the Fourth," 59 tons register, was launched at the William River. Her builders were Messrs Marshall & Lowe. From this time new vessels were added to the colonial steam marine in quick succession; and soon afterwards the first colonial steam company was formed under the name of the Australian Steam Conveyance Company.

A complete change in the mode of disposing of the public lands took place in 1831, under authority of orders from the Colonial Office dated 20th January of that year. From the time of the foundation of the colony in 1788, to the year 1810, lands had been granted without payment on conditions of residence, cultivation, and improvement, subject to a quit-rent of sixpence for every thirty acres in the case of emancipists, and of two shillings for every one hundred acres in the case of free settlers after the first ten years. In 1810 Governor Macquarie somewhat modified the original regulations. The new system of selling land by auction was established twenty-one years afterwards.

Towards the latter part of 1831, General Darling, having completed the term of six years usually allotted to colonial governors, received notice of his recall. The event was hailed in the colony with feelings of the most opposite kind.

The wealthy exclusives, regarding him as their patron and champion, looked upon his departure as a public calamity ; while the general population, and more particularly the emancipists, hated him as their most bitter enemy. His friends exerted themselves to the utmost to get up addresses expressive of the warmest sentiments of regard and esteem, while many of his opponents seemed to grow more bitter and violent as the day of his departure approached. There were, however, honourable exceptions to this rule. The Legislative Council voted a flattering address to his Excellency, and at the head of the list of names, forgetting former animosities, appeared that of the Chief-Justice. The Executive Council and the civil officers also voted complimentary addresses, but these were almost matters of course, and signified very little. An address of the "clergy, magistrates, landholders, and merchants," bore about seventy signatures, and contained a well-merited eulogium on the character and conduct of Mrs Darling, a most estimable lady, and one who had taken an active part in the promotion of every good and charitable work, and more particularly in connection with institutions which she was mainly instrumental in establishing for the instruction and care of female children.

Mr Wentworth, Darling's most bitter opponent, was guilty of conduct on this occasion which proved that he possessed one of the worst features in the character of the retiring governor—want of magnanimity. On the day named for Darling's departure, Mr Wentworth gave his friends and admirers an entertainment at his seat at Vacluse. The affair assumed the aspect of a revel ; for although the number of those who were specially invited to the house was not large, it was generally known that by roasting a bullock and an ample supply of drink, provision would be made in the grounds for all who wished to join in rejoicing at Darling's recall. The attendance, of course, under such circumstances, was far more numerous than select, and the proceedings which followed the feasting were anything but creditable. It is probable, however, that party and personal animosity has exaggerated what really took place, and that too much significance has been attached to the actions and expressions of a few excitable people, who had shared rather too freely in the hospitality of the owner of Vacluse.

It was announced by the governor's opponents that Sydney was to be illuminated on the following night, but this was the empty boasting of partisans, as, with one or two trifling exceptions, nothing of the kind was attempted. Darling embarked quietly on the morning of the 22d October, escorted by a considerable number of his friends, but there was no display of any kind whatever, either of a friendly or an unfriendly character. It was evident, either that the general public took little interest in the quarrels between him and his opponents, or that there was sufficient good feeling in the community to prevent any offensive display towards a departing representative of the Crown, who, whatever his faults as a ruler, possessed many estimable qualities as a man. Darling did not proceed direct to England, but, desiring to visit the East, embarked in the ship "Hooghly" for Canton. It is gratifying to know that in after-years, even his most bitter opponent, Mr Wentworth, not only regretted

the length to which in the excitement of party struggles he had carried his animosity, but cherished feelings of respect for the personal character of the old general, and declared his wish when in England to be reconciled to him.

Darling, although exceedingly narrow-minded, was undoubtedly a conscientious and honourable man. His military training, close adherence to routine, and strict attention to the details of business, had served to contract rather than to expand a mind acute without being large, and rigid without being strong. The close of his period of rule may be regarded as the close of an era in the history of Australian colonisation. The social and political contest between the exclusives and the emancipists, which had commenced nearly thirty years before, and of which the deposition of Governor Bligh in 1808 was the first and most striking incident, had, during Darling's time, reached its greatest intensity. From that period it rapidly waned. The arrival of large numbers of immigrants, the presence of a considerable native-born population, and inter-marriages among families of different origin, had all contributed to produce a large neutral party, which gradually overshadowed and absorbed the less numerous partisans of the contending factions. Instead of being mere exclusives or emancipists, the people became first colonists and then Australians.

The population of the colony at the close of Darling's administration (1831) was 51,155; the export of wool, 1,401,284 lbs.; of oil, £95,969 in value; the total exports were £324,168; and the imports, £490,152. The ordinary revenue of the year was £103,228. Of the expenditure there are no reliable records.

CHAPTER X.

GOVERNOR BOURKE'S ADMINISTRATION.

STATE OF THE COLONY—BOURKE'S FIRST DIFFICULTIES—HIS WISE MEASURES—HIS EXCELLENT ADMINISTRATION—PERSONAL TOUR—MEASURES FRAMED DURING HIS RULE—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—CHARACTER OF BOURKE.

THE successor to Governor Darling was Major-General Sir Richard Bourke, who arrived in the colony on the 2d of December 1831. An interregnum of six weeks had elapsed since the departure of his predecessor, during which brief period the duties of acting-governor were discharged by Lieutenant-Governor Colonel Lindsay of H.M. 39th Regiment. The colony, at the time of General Darling's resignation, was, and for some time past had been, in a state of excitement which affected both its political and commercial welfare. The causes of this excitement have already been briefly mentioned; they are reducible to two, namely, the undue interference of his Excellency with the public press; and his undue encouragement of one particular class of colonists, to the entire exclusion and positive hindrance of the other. The arrival of a new governor was consequently hailed by the colonists with the liveliest demonstrations of satisfaction; and seldom has any colonial governor arrived at the seat of his government with such favourable prospects of enduring popularity and usefulness, as those which opened on Major-General Bourke. The greatest results were augured from his administration, and it is gratifying to state that the colonists were not disappointed. His Excellency was found to possess, in an eminent degree, all the decision of character which distinguished his predecessor, combined with the public spirit and energy which had characterised the government of Macquarie; while his accessibility, and his unaffected desire to advance every beneficial undertaking, tended to confirm the prepossessions which the public had entertained in his favour.

During the year 1832, Governor Bourke made a series of tours to the most important settlements in the colony, with a view of personally ascertaining their actual condition and capabilities for future improvements. This judicious step tended greatly to strengthen his popularity, and the enthusiastic reception which he uniformly met must have been highly gratifying to his feelings. Sir Richard Bourke's memory still is deservedly popular among the humble, or the wealthy sons of the once humble settlers—a rare merit, and not a qualification for favour at the Colonial Office. The six years of his reign were crowded with measures and events of the utmost importance in the history of New South Wales:

1. The discussions of the Legislative Council became public, and the financial estimates were regularly submitted and discussed.

2. The Church and School Corporation (which had become a gross job) was abolished, and religious equality established by an Act of the Legislative Council.

3. An attempt was made to introduce the Irish national school system (which the bigots defeated).

4. Free grants of land were abolished, and sale by auction at a minimum price of five shillings substituted.

5. The despatch was received from Lord Glenelg, and steps were adopted which, in 1840, finally abolished transportation to New South Wales.

6. The squatting system was legalised and systematised on a plan which has since produced nearly £60,000 per annum.

7. Rules for regulating the number of convict servants to which each settler should be entitled (without favour), and the number of lashes which should be inflicted on a convict servant by a single magistrate, were framed and promulgated.

8. Port Phillip was peopled by settlers from Van Diemen's Land, and South Australia by colonists from England.

The powers of the Executive Council imposed on the Governor of New South Wales in the last year of Sir Thomas Brisbane's administration were, under Sir Ralph Darling, almost nominal. Not only were its deliberations secret and its dissent powerless, but Governor Darling illegally and systematically exercised authority in the only matter entrusted to the Council—the distribution of the revenues. Towards the close of his administration he introduced a bill indemnifying himself, and legalising his illegal assumptions. Sir Richard Bourke, on the contrary, earnestly co-operated in raising the character of the Council, treated the non-official members with the utmost respect, and endeavoured to give the Council, as far as possible, the tone and functions of a representative assembly—a course directly the reverse of his successor, Sir George Gipps. Both were able, but the one was a frank and generous, the other an astute and jealous man.

In his attempt to introduce an improved system of education, Sir Richard Bourke was defeated by religious jealousies, but his despatches and Act remain monuments of his patriotism and statesmanship.

In December 1837, Sir Richard Bourke retired—deeply regretted by all the colony, except a small section of magistrates and officials of the true colonial school. New South Wales had attained the highest state of prosperity; Port Jackson was crowded with shipping bringing free labourers and capitalists, the banks overflowing with money, and the whole population full of the happiest excitement.

The discussions of the Council, although still secret and irresponsible, had assumed a real character, and prepared the way for representative institutions. Restrictions placed upon the summary conviction of prisoners by magistrates, and preparations for the abolition of the assignment system, concurrently with the introduction of free emigrants by funds derived from the sale of lands, had laid the foundation of a free colony. The colonisation of Port Phillip and South

Australia by emigrants of a superior class had done much towards directing attention to an island which had previously been only considered a receptacle for criminals, while the discovery of vast tracts of fine land in the interior, with an overland communication between the three districts, and the establishment of the squatting system on a legal basis, greatly stimulated the increase of live stock, the growth of wool, and the general value of colonial exports. The Australians began to think they could walk alone without the aid of prisoner labour, and the money of the commissariat.

Bourke, in fine, was a statesman and a man of the most liberal principles. On the list of Australian governors no name stands higher than his. He framed wise and good laws; governed through an elective legislature; improved the condition of the prisoner population; established a universal system of education; abolished all civil inequalities founded on religion; and devoted the proceeds of the land sales for the encouragement of free immigration. He visited Port Phillip in 1837, and was warmly welcomed by the settlers there. His kindness and consideration for the prisoner population, however, gained him the enmity of some of the exclusive class, and this induced him at length to resign his post, after having ruled the colony wisely and well for six years. His departure was deeply regretted by all the worthier section of the community. His name is still held in affectionate remembrance; and a fine statue to his memory stands on a commanding site in the city of Sydney.

CHAPTER XI.

GOVERNOR GIPPS'S ADMINISTRATION.

EARLY CAREER OF SIR GEORGE GIPPS—HIS CHARACTER—STATE OF THE COLONY—
A BAD GOVERNOR—QUARRELS WITH THE LEGISLATURE AND THE COLONISTS—
DISPUTED QUESTIONS—HARD TIMES—BENJAMIN BOYD—MRS CHISHOLM'S PHILAN-
THROPIC LABOURS—CLOSE OF SIR GEORGE GIPPS'S RULE.

THE successor of Sir Richard Bourke was Sir George Gipps. During an interval of ten weeks, from the departure of the first and the arrival of the new governor, the administration was conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel Kenneth Snodgrass.

Sir George Gipps, who was a captain in the Royal Engineer Corps, owed his appointment entirely to the talent he had displayed while acting as secretary to the commission issued for inquiring into the grievances of rebellious Canada. During his residence in that colony, he had devised and published a plan for educating colonists to the use of representative institutions by "district councils" for the administration of local affairs. It was an ingenious theory, but no more suited for the state of society in pastoral Australia than an American river steamboat is for crossing the Atlantic. Nevertheless, the forcing this district council scheme on the unwilling colonists was the one great idea of Sir George Gipps's colonial career, to which he sacrificed them and himself.

He was a man of abilities far above the average; an eloquent speaker, a nervous writer; with industry, energy, and a special aptitude for the details of administrative business; but haughty and narrow-minded; impenetrable to reasoning which did not square with his preconceived views; filled with inordinate ideas of his own importance as "the representative of majesty;" with a violent temper, which in dealing with the colonists he took little pains to control, although his communications with the Colonial Office displayed a pliability almost amounting to subservience. He claimed to receive the deference due to a viceroy, and at the same time to exercise the duties of an English prime minister. With sharp and ready tongue he introduced and pressed legislative measures for carrying into effect theories most distasteful and unsuitable to his colonial "subjects;" but opposition, or even that fair criticism and discussion which a British premier would expect and even invite, he treated as personal insult to his authority, almost as high treason.

The period of his accession to power was in every respect most inopportune. Backed by a Secretary of State as obstinate as himself, with the sanction of a House of Commons utterly ignorant of the condition of Australia, Sir George

Gipps came determined to govern on high prerogative principles, at a time when the colony had advanced from the Algerine rule of Darling, to enjoy the externals of a free state. A Legislative Council no longer secret, although not elective, had superseded the irresponsible decrees of the governor. Courts regularly constituted, with juries in political cases, had taken the place of courts-martial. The press was free; the liberty of assembling to discuss political questions had been sanctioned and exercised. A rapid, enormous immigration from the mother country swelled the ranks of the thousands who, however descended, were born free; and, under the guidance of the burning eloquence of a native-born Australian, claimed to exercise those rights of representation and self-taxation which they had forfeited by becoming colonists.

Sir George Gipps was not without noble as well as brilliant qualities. He took no share in the jobs of the servile crew whom he used and despised. But he was intoxicated by the greatness thrust upon him. At one stride he passed from a subordinate military rank to the government of a great province of wealthy and discontented men; having in his hand authority which could make or mar a whole class or a whole district. In a different sphere, and subdued by the even competition of English parliamentary life, he might have done himself honour and the State service.

In the temper of the governor and the governed, questions of difference were not long in arising. Under Sir Richard Bourke the Legislative Council, although composed of salaried officials and an equal number of the colonists nominated by the governor, had nurtured enough of the spirit of independence to occasionally dissent from the views of the Home Government or its representative. But Governor Bourke took a colonial view of colonial subjects; he did not hesitate to dissent from the views of a Secretary of State; he treated the opinions of his Council with deliberate consideration and respect, even where he came to a contrary conclusion. Sir George Gipps adopted an opposite course. Nothing could equal the contempt with which he treated colonial opinions, except the zeal with which he echoed and carried out the instructions issued by the Secretary of State.

The following were among the more prominent political questions which formed the subject of contention and agitation on the part of the colonists against the governor:

1. The appropriation of the revenue of the colony.
2. The extent to which the colonists were taxed for gaols, police, etc., rendered necessary by the transportation system.
3. The manner in which the Home Government exercised the patronage of the Crown, passing over colonial claims, and appointing unfit persons, at high salaries paid by the colonists.
4. The price of land, and the arbitrary manner in which it was raised, lowered, and raised again, at the will of the governor.

These four grievances were discussed in one or more distinct cases. On each the governor took up the position of "high prerogative" in the most offensive manner, and found his policy approved by the Home Government. No sooner

had Sir George Gipps commenced his government than he became involved in discussions involving very important principles, which were carried on with such feeble means of attack as the colonists possessed, until, in 1842, an Act of the Imperial Parliament bestowed upon New South Wales a Legislative Council, which consisted of twenty-four elective members and twelve nominees. The opening of the new Parliament took place on the 3d of August 1843. It was with the representative members of the Legislative Council, while the colony was in a state of insolvency, that Governor Gipps's battles commenced, and were carried on with an acerbity on both sides which did not breed a rebellion, because the materials in the shape of coercive powers had not been conceded to the governor. The new Council lost no time in investigating the grievances of the colony, and soon collected a most formidable list, although the most oppressed class of all, the small settlers, were entirely unrepresented. The revenues, the price of Crown lands, the assessments on the pastoral proprietors, the abuses in the exercise of Crown patronage, successively attracted the attention of the opposition, vigorously led by William Wentworth, a man of brilliant talents and great oratorical powers, whose influence was to a certain extent unfortunately impaired by a violent temper and want of tact, the result of a provincial education among men vastly his inferiors in intellect, and long exclusion from a legitimate exercise of his powers.

In 1843, when the elective Legislative Council commenced its labours, the dissatisfaction of the colonists with the fixed minimum price of £1 an acre had become universal. The wealthy parties who had expected their free grants, and their purchases at five shillings an acre, to be augmented in value by the increased price, were disappointed—the speculators who, following the example of the South Australians, had purchased large estates in the hope of realising large profits, by laying out paper towns and villages, were either insolvent or encumbered with tracts of useless waste land, unsaleable and unprofitable—the small settlers were deeply discontented with the impediments thrown in the way of purchasing small farms in good agricultural districts—while the great pastoral proprietors, or squatters, who were many of them also landowners in the settled districts, were *worried*—no other word will express the policy of Sir George Gipps—by taxes, regulations, and restrictions imposed, repealed, and re-imposed in a most arbitrary manner, with a view of compelling the purchase of their occupations at the ruinous price of £1 an acre. Live stock became absolutely valueless; cattle were allowed to rove wild, unbranded, on the hills; and sheep which had cost 30s. a piece were unsaleable at 1s. 6d., until it occurred to an ingenious gentleman to boil them down for tallow, by which the minimum price was raised to 3s. Land sales had ceased; the fund, which had previously imported labouring emigrants to take the place of convicts, was exhausted. The pastoral interest, whose fortunes had already been seriously injured by the depreciation of their stock, determined to resist the governor in his attempt to regulate their taxation, and to virtually confiscate their property on the fiat of himself and his irresponsible representatives, the Crown Commissioners.

To resist the aggressions of Sir George Gipps on the pastoral interest, the

squatters had formed themselves into a protective association, and by an easy process the association, founded to resist unjust confiscation and taxation, branched off into a combination for permanently lowering the wages of the colony. At the head of this association was Benjamin Boyd. Mr Boyd arrived with the express purpose of making investments at the time (1841) that the colony was in a general state of insolvency, or, as he expressed it, "in a jam." A yacht of the Royal Squadron, an apparently unlimited capital, an imposing personal appearance, fluent oratory, aristocratic connections, and a fair share of commercial acuteness, acquired on the Stock Exchange, at once and deservedly placed him at the head of the squatocracy. His aim was the possession of a million sheep. He was the chief of the hundred thousand sheepmen, with whom he combined to obtain fixity of tenure for their sheep pastures, to put down small settlers, and to reduce wages.

At the period we are describing, from 1841 to 1844, the colonial labour market presented the most curious contradictions. The bounty agents were pouring in a crowd of most unsuitable persons, who, once landed, were soon left to shift for themselves. Among the merchants of the town of Sydney distress prevailed in consequence of the cessation of building and other works, the wages of mechanics were depressed to a rate before unknown, and newly-arrived immigrants were astonished at the low rate of pay for town labour, so different from the representations of the agents by whom they had been collected. But in the country districts, and especially in the bush, where sheep and cattle were breeding, while their proprietors were going through the insolvent process, wages were maintained; and the anomaly was presented of large bodies of men being employed at the expense of Government, at high wages, at public works, on a sham labour test, while flocks were wanting shepherds in the interior. Several causes supported this anomaly: 1st, There was no Government machinery for distributing newly-arrived emigrants; 2dly, The preference of the squatters for single men left families on the hands of the Government; 3dly, The Squatters' Club were not sorry to see the Government embarrassed by the presence of a large body of unemployed labourers in Sydney; 4thly, The dishonest conduct of certain masters in withholding or unfairly deducting wages promised had given the bush a bad name; 5thly, Many of the emigrants were of a class who, having left parish aid behind, liked to keep close to Government rations and wages. All were engaged, as far as their short-sighted views would permit, in killing the golden goose of colonisation.

Mr Boyd's evidence before the immigration committee of 1843 affords, when read with the notes we can supply, a fair specimen of the haughty, gentlemanly, selfish class he represented. He had then been eighteen months in the colony, and was employing two hundred shepherds and stockmen, besides artificers. He was building a town and port at Twofold Bay; had two steamboats, and a schooner yacht, the "*Wanderer*." He had devised a scheme of saving labour, by putting three thousand sheep, instead of eight hundred, under the charge of one shepherd on horseback. He said that he despaired of the prosperity of the colony "unless the wages of a shepherd could be brought to £10 a year, or

about 3s. 10d. a week, with meat and flour, without tea and sugar." The two last had been previously universally allowed; but he expressed his intention of doing away with them, "being of very questionable utility and necessity, although such is the waste and extravagance here that 8 lbs. of tea and 90 lbs. of sugar are consumed per head." He stated further, that he "had no difficulty in engaging shepherds at £10 with these rations, but much difficulty in getting men engaged at these low wages forwarded to stations, as they were generally picked up on the road." "Any money advanced towards travelling expenses was usually spent in public-houses;" and it is his decided opinion that "more than £10 a year only does harm to shepherds, by sending them to public-houses."

But Boyd and his schemes both came to a sudden ending. He was murdered by the savages of some island unknown while engaged in making a cruise in the South Pacific. And the revolution produced by the gold discoveries completely swept away the selfish schemes of those who were bent on keeping Australia for themselves and their descendants in perpetuity as a vast sheep-walk.

It was at this period that Mrs Chisholm began her benevolent labours. She arrived in Sydney in 1839, with her children and husband, Captain Archibald Chisholm, of the Madras Army, who had been making a tour of the Australian colonies during a limited sick leave. On returning to India he decided to leave his family in New South Wales. Soon after their arrival, during the first crash of insolvency of 1839, some Highland emigrants, who spoke no English and had large families, found difficulty in obtaining employment; a little money lent them by Captain Chisholm to purchase tools, and a little useful advice, set them up as wood-cutters, and they prospered. While assisting his countrymen, having seen the neglected state of the bounty emigrants, he pointed them out to his wife as fit objects for her charitable zeal and energy. There is a wonderful freemasonry among the poor—by degrees Mrs Chisholm's rooms were crowded by emigrants seeking advice. But it was the unprotected position of female and often friendless emigrants that awakened her warmest sympathies. She commenced her *work*, in the literal sense of the term, by at the same time gathering information and acquiring the confidence of the working-classes. She found young women who had emigrated nominally under the care of friends, but really under that of strangers, at the instigation of the bounty agent, without home; some lodged in tents with companions of indifferent character, others wandering friendless through the streets of Sydney. Many of them having been collected in rural districts, knew more of cows and pigs than housework, and if engaged in town, soon lost their situations, and were superseded by more accomplished servants from ships which arrived daily. Some of these poor creatures slept in retired nooks out in the public gardens and in the rocks, rather than face the contamination of the streets. The total number of respectable females unemployed in Sydney at one time in 1840-41 amounted to six hundred. There were other and more serious evils attendant on emigration, as then conducted, than the condition of the emigrants on landing. A considerable number of females of notoriously bad character were sent out in the bounty ships for whom bounty was never claimed. The immorality carried on

in many of the emigrant vessels was dreadful, causing the ruin of many hundreds of innocent girls.

Mrs Chisholm had courage and foresight. She began by appealing to the press and to private individuals on behalf of the poor destitute girl immigrants. At first she met with much discouragement, a few civil speeches—no assistance. The most imperious section of the employer class saw no advantage from the protection of the employed. The officials foresaw more work, some supervision, and no increase of pay. But she pressed on her plan of a “Home,” and when almost defeated was nerved to determination by the sight of a Highland beauty, “poor Flora”—whom she had last known a happy, hopeful girl—drunken, despairing, contemplating, and hastening to commit, suicide. Mrs Chisholm offered to devote her time gratuitously to a “Home of Protection,” and to endeavour to procure situations for the emigrant girls, unengaged and out of place, in the country—an offer which was eventually accepted, after “she had given an undertaking not to put the Government to any expense.” The Government building appropriated to the “Home” consisted of a low wooden barrack fourteen feet square. Mrs Chisholm found it needful, for the protection of the characters of the girls, to sleep on the premises. A store-room seven feet square, without a fireplace, and infested with rats, was cleared out for her accommodation. There she dwelt, eating, drinking, and sleeping, dependent on the kindness of a prisoner employed in the adjoining Government printing-office for a kettle of hot water for tea, her only luxury; and there she laid the foundation of a system to which thousands owe their happiness in this world and the world to come—saved from temptation to vice, and put on the road to industrious independence. But there was no machinery extant for distributing them, so Mrs Chisholm determined to send them into the country. The first dray that came to the door was sent away empty: frightened with foolish board-ship stories of blacks and bushrangers, not one girl would go. A second attempt, the first failure having been kept a secret, was successful. Mrs Chisholm, at her own risk and expense, took a party up the Hunter River district by steamboat. The enterprise was considered so Quixotish by her friends that, as she sat on deck in the centre of her troop of girls, no one of her acquaintance dared to expose himself to the ridicule of owning acquaintance by offering any refreshment. The plan succeeded; the girls were well placed in the families of respectable married people, and committees were induced to undertake the charge of “Branch Homes” in the interior. The bush journeys were repeated with parties of young women, varying from sixteen to thirty, who were conveyed to various localities, where she went from farm to farm, scrutinising the characters of the residents before she trusted them with “her children.” The settlers came forward nobly, and supplied provisions, horses, and drays; the inns universally refused payment for Mrs Chisholm’s personal accommodation; and the coaches, a most costly conveyance in Australia, carried her sick women and children free. Mr William Bradley, a gentleman born in the colony, a member of the Legislative Council, gave an unlimited credit to draw for anything for the use of the emigrants—of which she was not

obliged to avail herself, so liberally did the colonists of the interior come forward. Very soon the fathers, brothers, sons, and husbands claimed the same care, and asked to be permitted to form part of her parties. Her journeys became longer and her armies larger; 147 souls left Sydney, which increased on the road to 240, in one party, in drays and on foot, Mrs Chisholm leading the way on horseback. She established a registry-office for servants, where names could be inscribed and agreements effected on fair terms gratuitously: she drew up and printed a *fair* agreement, of which the master took one, the servant one, and one was filed. The result of this registration was to extinguish litigation as far as regards servants engaged at the "Home." Out of many thousands only two were litigated. Yet in the course of her experience, before she stirred in the matter, and for want of *agreements* and speedy justice, fifty-one cases occurred up to 1843 of wages unjustly detained or taxed. For the first time the emigrant found a "friend."

The abuse of power by captains, and the immorality of the inferior sort of surgeons, at that time engaged in the Australian trade, were checked by a prosecution which she compelled the governor to institute against parties who had driven a girl mad by their violence. When Sir George Gipps, hesitating, said, as officials will say, "A Government prosecution is a very serious matter," she answered, "I am ready to prosecute: *I* have the necessary evidence; and if it be a risk whether *I* or these men shall go to prison, I am ready to stand the risk." That trial established a precedent and checked the abuse.

By the end of 1842 Mrs Chisholm had succeeded in placing comfortably two thousand emigrants of both sexes, and then, when slowly recovering from the effects of a serious illness brought on by her exertions, she published a remarkable report. It is a collection of notes and memoranda, interspersed with pithy remarks and pathetic and comic sketches from real life—a valuable contribution to the art of colonisation, and a literary curiosity. It was an outspoken book; it did not mince matters—as, for instance, in the following passage, which went far to kill the bounty system, and so, although people were shocked, the evil was abated: "One girl, long known at Liverpool as the *Countess*, arrived per ship; the last time I saw her was on a Sunday; she had evidently started in the morning, with an intention to look interesting at either St James's or St Mary's, for her book was in her hand; but she had taken a glass by the way, and was so far aware of her state that she retired to the Domain. I saw her fall twice. Now people express their astonishment that English girls are not sent out. We will suppose that some Liverpool families are meditating this step, and, in their anxiety to obtain all information, they learn that the *Countess* is missing—has left for Australia (by a bounty ship). They condemn all for one—they shrink with horror from sending their daughters where the *Countess* is received—they are strangers to all on board, therefore all suffer for one. I wish particularly to call attention to the injustice done to girls of good character by a case of association, and not a solitary one like the one I have stated. Again, in Sydney, the character of the *Countess* is known in less than two hours, and the girls of good character in the same ship suffer." In this "*Countess*" story was the germ of

one great feature of Mrs Chisholm's Family Colonisation Society, protection for single females.

This plain speaking and unusual style of colonial publication—hard truths without acidity—did its work. A considerable reform was introduced. Government protection was granted to friendless young women; an agent appointed to superintend and witness the agreements with men on board ship; and the colonial press, when furnished with the materials, did good service to emigration reform. The whole cost to Government of the guarding and distribution of the emigrants was little more than £100. The other expenses were borne by Mrs Chisholm and the friends whom her honest, clear-sighted policy had made among persons of all politics and various religious views.

In 1843, before a committee of the Legislative Council, which was appointed to consider the condition of the "distressed labourers," and especially of three hundred parties with large families whom, in the depressed condition of the colony, the settlers could not afford to engage, Mrs Chisholm took another step forward. She proposed, and entered into, the details of a plan which, at a very trifling expense, would have placed these three hundred families in a self-supporting position on land, instead of continuing to receive three shillings a day for nominal labour on Government works. Sir George Gipps's instructions precluded him from granting or *leasing* of Crown land for this valuable, or any other purpose, except feeding sheep. Nevertheless, on private property, on clearing leases, Mrs Chisholm succeeded in placing some families of mechanics. By her exertions, applied to the elastic resources of Australia, before 1845 the distress of two thousand souls was so far removed that some parties were ready in a few years to assert, forgetting that a detailed list was on record, that it had never existed; and in 1845, as Mrs Chisholm, in her evidence before the committee of 1844, prophesied, the demand for labour was more vigorous than ever. It was while making forced marches at the head of armies of emigrants, as far as three hundred miles into the far interior, sometimes sleeping at the stations of wealthy settlers, sometimes in the huts of poor emigrants or prisoners; sometimes camping out in the bush, teaching the timid, awkward peasantry of England, Scotland, and Ireland how to "bush it;" comforting the women, nursing the children, putting down any discontented or forward spirits among the men; now taking a few weary children into her covered tandem-cart; now mounting on horseback and galloping over a short cut through the hills to meet her weary caravan, with supper foraged from the hospitable settlers—it was in the midst of marches in which she managed the discipline, the route, the commissariat, the hospital, and the billeting, all herself, with such aides-de-camp as each army happened to furnish, that she commenced another great work subsidiary to colonisation, the "Voluntary Statements of the People of New South Wales," for the use of the home country. These were statements in answer to the series of printed questions, taken down in the words of the informant, of which we shall give some examples at the end of this chapter. They were written down in all manner of dwellings, but chiefly among the humbler; in cottages and bark huts; on the roadside, on the top of a hat; in the field, on a plough; in the forest, on

the first log of a frugal bush servant's first freehold. There were nearly eight hundred of these statements from natives of almost every county of the United Kingdom, from emigrants, from "old hands," and from ticket-of-leave men. These records proved incontestably that Australia was a country in which any industrious man could thrive; that there was ample verge and room enough for millions; that land which squatters asserted to be only fit for sheep pasture would support yeomanry in comfort and independence. They laid bare much injustice, exhibited in a striking manner the demand and necessity for an increased female population, and presented a more perfect, truthful, and valuable picture of bush life, painted by servants and settlers, than had ever been drawn in travellers' tales or Parliamentary blue books.

In 1846 Mrs Chisholm sailed for England, and before her departure a committee, which consisted of some of the foremost men of Sydney, presented her with an address and testimonial raised by public subscription.

During the time she spent in Australia, Mrs Chisholm, without wealth or rank, or any support except what her earnest philanthropy gradually acquired, provided for eleven thousand souls. During her sojourn in England she did much more. With less than two thousand pounds, between 1850 and 1852, she personally sent out more than one thousand emigrants of the best class, and advised, corresponded with, or otherwise assisted tens of thousands. Her benevolent labours were continued up till the very day of her death.

"The guardian angel of her helpless sex,
Whom no fatigue could daunt, no crosses vex;
With manly reason and with spirit pure,
Crowned with the blessings of the grateful poor,
For them with unrepining love she bore
The boarded cottage and the earthen floor,
The sultry day in tedious labour spent,
The endless tale of whining discontent:
Bore noonday's burning sun and midnight's chill,
The scanty meal, the journey lengthening still;
Lavished her scanty store on their distress,
And sought no other guerdon than success."

Throughout the whole course of Sir George Gipps's rule the quarrel between the Executive and the Legislative never ceased for a moment.

The ability and integrity of the Colonial Secretaries of State during the administration of Sir George Gipps, and of Sir George himself, are indisputable; but they obstinately insisted on knowing whether shoes fitted or not better than the people who wore them, and insisted too that they should wear them, whether they pinched or not. Fortunately the prosperity of the colony did not entirely depend on the crotchets of a colonial minister, or of a governor, although both could, and did, seriously retard its progress. But while the Legislative Council were contesting, inch by inch, the "elementary rights of Englishmen," the grass was growing, the sheep were breeding, the stockmen were exploring new pastures, and the frugal industry of the settlers was replacing and increasing

the capital lost by wild speculations. And in 1845-46, Sir George Gipps was able to announce that the revenue exceeded the expenditure, and the exports the imports, while the glut of labour which followed his arrival had been succeeded by a demand which the squatters termed a *dearth*.

In July 1846, Sir George Gipps retired from the government of New South Wales, and embarked for England, worn out in body and mind by the excitement of perpetual contests with colonists as unscrupulous in their attacks as he was obstinate and haughty in maintaining his opinions and position. It was a war to the knife on both sides. The last measure he presented to the Legislative Council (a bill to renew the border police) was rejected, and an address voted, by a large majority, after two nights' debate, which was virtually a vote of censure on his government, after which the Council adjourned itself for a month.

During an administration of eight years, distinguished by unusual official and literary aptitude, Sir George Gipps succeeded in earning the warm approbation of the Downing Street chiefs, and the detestation of the members of every colonial class and interest, except his immediate dependants. The squatocracy, the mercantile, and the settler class were equally opposed to him. Yet even with the same political and economical views, erroneous and baneful as many of them were, with much less talent, but with a more conciliatory temper, he might have been a happy, a popular, and a really useful governor. The value, as well as the popularity, of a colonial governor depends more on the manner in which he conciliates and advises the people under his charge, than on the manner in which he pens a despatch or delivers a speech from the vice-throne.

CHAPTER XII.

GOVERNOR FITZROY'S ADMINISTRATION.

SIR CHARLES FITZROY—HIS CHARACTER—A DANDY GOVERNOR—CONCILIATORY LANGUAGE—PUBLIC QUESTIONS—WENTWORTH'S RESOLUTION—EARL GREY'S BAD POLICY—PUBLIC EXCITEMENT—THE TRANSPORTATION QUESTION—THE "HASHEMY"—TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE—THE GOLD DISCOVERIES.

SIR CHARLES FITZROY, a younger son of the Grafton family, and a brother-in-law of the Duke of Richmond, who had previously been lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward's Island, and governor of Antigua, in the West Indies, succeeded Sir George Gipps in August 1846; Sir Charles M. O'Connell, Commander of the Forces in New South Wales, having administered the colony during the intermediate space of a month.

Sir Charles Fitzroy was in every respect the reverse of Sir George Gipps. His talents were not above mediocrity, but his manners were conciliatory. On colonial politics he had no opinions and no prejudices; apparently his chief object was to lead an easy life. It is said that on landing he exclaimed: "I cannot conceive how Sir George Gipps could permit himself to be bored by anything in this delicious climate." Sir Charles was in fact an eminent example of how far good temper and the impartiality of indifference, in the absence of higher qualities, may make a very respectable colonial governor. By placing himself unreservedly in the hands of men of colonial experience—by yielding every point left to his own discretion by the Home Government to the wishes of the majority of the Legislative Council—and in fact by never taking the trouble to have any opinion on any colonial subject, he glided over difficulties on which men of more intellect and obstinacy would have made shipwreck. And perhaps, after all, the sporting, four-in-hand driving, ball-giving governor,

"A dandy of sixty, who bows with a grace,"

and leaves the political part of his work to his secretaries and law advisers, was then the best governor for Australia—until some nobleman or great commoner could be found of common sense and conciliatory manners, not only able to initiate the business of colonial government with advantage to the dependency and the parent state, but to teach the rising generation of Australia by example, that without a taste for art, science, and refined intellectual amusements, the most fashionable tailor, the most correct equipage, the most beautiful horses, the most

stately mansion, and the most varied wine-cellar, will not make a gentleman, as colonial plutocrats often fancy.

Sir Charles Fitzroy, warned by the error of Governor Gipps, in his first address to the Legislative Council, assured them that he should defer any legislative action on his own part until he made such a stay and such investigations as were "necessary to acquire personal experience upon several momentous questions upon which it would be presumptuous to offer any opinion at so early a period of our intercourse;" and he added: "I take this opportunity of publicly declaring, in perfect sincerity, that I have assumed the responsible trust with which our Sovereign has honoured me, unfettered by any preconceived opinions on every subject affecting the interests of any class of her Majesty's subjects in this territory."

Among the important subjects affected by this timely and sagacious declaration stood foremost the renewal of transportation; the upset price of Crown lands; the terms on which those lands were to be temporarily occupied by pastoral proprietors; the control and appropriation of the colonial revenues; and the establishment of steam communication.

In 1848 the Legislative Council received some accession of strength from the squatter party; the colony was in straits from the cessation of immigration, which had fallen from some 6000 in 1842 to barely 3200 during the whole five years of 1843-47, and it ventured to pass a resolution assenting to a proposition made by Earl Grey, by which he undertook to forward a certain number of criminals who had passed through a course of discipline in British penitentiaries, to be landed with tickets-of-leave; and further, to accompany their immigration with that of an equal number of free emigrants to be sent, not at the cost of the Colonial Land Fund, but of the British Exchequer. The passing of this resolution was the signal for the organisation of a fierce agitation against the renewal of transportation, which was kept alive by the arrival from time to time of small bands of prisoners under the new name of exiles.

Sir Charles Fitzroy's despatch, enclosing Mr Wentworth's resolution in favour of the renewal of transportation, reached England in August 1848. The financial state of the country deterred the English Government from proposing the vote needful for defraying the expenses of the free emigrants promised to the colony, in consideration of their receiving prisoners. But Earl Grey, in a defiance of public opinion in the colonies, as exhibited in a crowd of petitions, resolutions, and reports of public meetings forwarded to him, as well as in the universal tone of the colonial newspapers, adopted that part of the bargain which suited the mother country, and neglected to fulfil the colonial conditions on which the concession was made. He decided to send out prisoners but no free emigrants—revoked the order in Council of 1840, by which New South Wales had ceased to be a place for the reception of convicts—and commenced to send out the pets of Pentonville and Parkhurst. The publication of this despatch in the colony was received with one universal outburst of indignation. From that time compromise was impossible; the breach of faith became a potent rhetorical weapon in the hands of political agitators. The excitement and fury of all parties was

such, that it only needed the presence of an obstinate and haughty governor to provoke a rebellious outburst. Fortunately Governor Fitzroy preferred a pleasant day on the race-course to any assertion of vice-royal attributes.

In 1849 the "Hashemy" convict-ship arrived in Sydney harbour. At one of the largest public meetings ever held in that city, speeches of the most violent character were delivered, and resolutions passed, calling upon the governor to send back the cargo of England's crime to England. At the same time certain of the great flockowners eagerly engaged the ticket-of-leave men, tamed somewhat by penitentiary discipline, and all unencumbered by wives and families, at lower wages, in preference to a thousand free emigrants, consisting of men, women, and children, who arrived at the same time.

In the latter end of 1848 the results of distress in England and famine in Ireland were felt in Australia in the shape of an inflowing of free emigrants more numerous than had been received since the frantic mania of 1841; and this was increased to such an extent in 1849, that little short of thirteen thousand labouring people were landed in Sydney, and an equal number at Port Phillip. An addition of many thousand free emigrants to the population could not fail to produce an effect on the anti-transportation feelings of the colony. The Legislative Council voted an address to the Queen in which they protested against the adoption of any measure by which the colony would be degraded into a penal settlement, "and entreated her Majesty to revoke the order in Council by which New South Wales had been again made a place to which British offenders may be transported." That in this address they only echoed the feelings of the great majority of the colonists was proved in the next election, when gentlemen with the highest claims to the honours of legislation were rejected on the one ground of having supported the transportation compromise. The obnoxious order in Council making New South Wales a penal colony was, after a brief contest, withdrawn, but the seed of agitation had been sown, the anti-transportation league, embracing all the Australian colonies and Van Diemen's Land, had been organised. The gold discoveries proved to every one, except to the son and heir of the great man who carried the Reform Bill, that transportation was not only odious to the colonists but absurd as a punishment. Within a few years afterwards it was finally abolished by the Duke of Newcastle.

In the midst of the first session of the new Colonial Parliament, all political contests, internal and external, were cast into the shade by the gold discoveries: land question, transportation question, taxation question, all were absorbed by the digging up of gold, over which flocks and herds had long been carelessly driven. The year 1850 found New South Wales with 200,000 free people, an export of £2,899,600, an import of £2,078,300, and 7,000,000 sheep—a surplus revenue and an annual demand for labour—nominal freedom of self-government, actual restriction from legislation on every vital interest. Who could say in what condition, social and political, 1860 would find the feeble colony of 1788?

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GOLD DISCOVERY.

THE GOLD DISCOVERY—MR E. H. HARGREAVES—PREDICTIONS OF GOLD IN AUSTRALIA—THE FIRST DESPATCH—MACGREGOR THE SHEPHERD—THE FIRST RUSH—a HUNDREDWEIGHT OF GOLD—THE FIRST ESCORT—THE FIRST SHIPMENT—THE FIRST GOLD COMMISSIONER—TROUBLES WITH THE MINERS—LIFE AT THE SUMMER-HILL DIGGINGS—LIFE AT THE TURON—EFFECTS OF THE GOLD CRISIS—SIR CHARLES FITZROY—SEPARATION OF VICTORIA—AND OF MORETON BAY—SIR WILLIAM DENNISON—SIR JOHN YOUNG—EARL BELMORE AND SIR HERCULES ROBINSON.

It was in May 1851 that the citizens of Sydney were startled with the announcement, in the columns of the *Morning Herald*, that gold had been discovered in the native state within the territory. "It is no longer any secret (ran the paragraph) that gold has been found in the earth in several places in the western country. The fact was first established on the 12th of February 1851, by Mr E. H. Hargreaves, a resident of Brisbane Water, who returned from California a few months since. While in California, Mr Hargreaves felt persuaded that, from the similarity of the geological formation, there must be gold in several districts of this colony, and when he returned here his expectations were realised. What the value of the discovery may be it is impossible to say. Three men, who worked with very imperfect machinery, realised £2, 4s. 8d. each per diem; whether they will continue to do so remains to be seen. The subject was brought under the consideration of the Government, who admitted Mr Hargreaves's claim to some consideration for the discovery, but of course could make no definite promise until the value of the goldfield was ascertained. Mr Stutchbury, the Government surveyor, is now in the district, and Mr Hargreaves has proceeded thence to communicate with him, and in a few weeks we may expect definite information. At present all that is known is that there is gold over a considerable district; whether it is in sufficient quantities to pay for the trouble of obtaining it remains to be ascertained. Should it be found in large quantities, a strict system of licensing diggers will be immediately necessary." Such were the terms in which—with commendable editorial caution—the "small beginnings" of auriferous discovery in Australia were chronicled by the journalist.

The discovery of gold amongst the mountain ranges of Eastern Australia was not altogether accidental. As early as 1844, attention had been drawn by that eminent geologist, Sir Roderick Murchison, to the remarkable coincidence

between the structure of the great mountain chain of New South Wales (as developed for the first time by the scientific researches of Count Strzelecki), and that of the auriferous system of the Ural Mountains, from the examination of which he had recently returned. And upon subsequent occasions Sir Roderick urged upon the notice of the practical geologists of Cornwall, as well as upon that of the colonial minister, the strong probability which (arguing by inductive reasoning, founded upon a comparison of the rocks of two widely-distant countries) he inferred to exist, of the search for gold amongst the Australian cordillera being found productive of successful results. Nor is this the only instance in which the great auriferous discovery may be said to have been anticipated by speculative reasoning, long previous to the practical confirmation of the theory which such considerations involved. Mr G. W. Earle, in a paper which appears in the fifteenth volume of the Royal Geographical Society's Journal (published in 1845), referred to the uniformity of direction maintained between the mountain chains of South-Eastern Asia and those of the Australian continent, and drew the inference that great mineral wealth would probably be found in the latter.

Sir Charles Fitzroy wrote a despatch to Earl Grey, then colonial minister, announcing Hargreaves's discovery, dated the 22d of May 1851. He stated that a goldfield had been discovered near the town of Bathurst, at a distance of about 150 miles from Sydney; at the same time adding his suspicions that the nature and value of the discovery had been exaggerated, and that the gold sent for inspection was Californian gold; notwithstanding this, he deemed the accounts sufficiently important to require an efficient police to be placed on the Bathurst road. A communication from Mr Stutchbury undeceived his Excellency. On the 19th of May that gentleman wrote from Summerhill Creek, that gold had been obtained in considerable quantities with no better washing instrument than a tin dish, which sufficed to procure one and two ounces per day. At the same date he reported that four hundred persons were hard at work, and that the gold existed not only in the creek, but far above its flood-line, thus affording evidence of its general existence. The camp of the gold-finders was called the city of Ophir, and the first public record it had was the following postscript added by Mr Stutchbury, "Excuse this being written in pencil, as there is no ink in this city of Ophir."

Earl Grey, to whom Sir Roderick had expressed his views on the subject in 1848, refrained from taking any steps in the matter, from a fear that the discovery of gold would prove a source of embarrassment to a wool-producing country, such as New South Wales!

But evidence of a more practical character had existed in the colony itself long previously to the period of the actual discovery of Australia's golden treasures—or, rather, long previously to the general and confirmed belief in the reality of that discovery. Small quantities of native gold had, during many years past, been known to be in the occasional possession of the shepherds or other residents in "the bush," and they had even found their way to Sydney upon various occasions—though no one appears to have taken any particular trouble

to ascertain whence they had been derived. One old man, named Macgregor, was even in the habit of coming once a year to Sydney with small pieces of gold, which he always disposed of to a jeweller ; but he never divulged the secret place of his treasure, nor does it seem that any particular curiosity was entertained on the subject. About two years before Hargreaves's discovery, a Mr Smith, who was engaged in some ironworks in the vicinity of Berrima, showed the Colonial Secretary a lump of gold embedded in quartz, and asked a large sum for naming the locality; but the offer was refused.

But notwithstanding all this evidence, and much more of a similar kind, the colonists at large appear to have pertinaciously closed their eyes to the riches spread so abundantly over the very surface of their soil, and the discoveries of Mr Hargreaves in the Bathurst district burst upon their astonished senses like a thunder-clap. At first its reality was doubted—the tale appeared too enticing for belief—or, in the words of an old Scotch proverb, “ower good to be true.” And when every day's experience proved its correctness, and showed, too, that the real extent of the treasure far exceeded even the most sanguine anticipations that had been originally formed regarding it, the fact that Australia was a gold-producing region came upon its inhabitants, as upon the world at large, invested with all the brilliancy of a great discovery. During the two preceding years, thousands had left the colony of New South Wales for California, in the hope of enriching themselves by a share in its lately-discovered treasures ; the tide had now turned, and, instead of crossing the Pacific in search of gold, all classes amongst the population of Sydney directed an anxious and longing eye towards their western chain of mountains, and the auriferous regions which were ascertained to lie beyond.

In the meantime, the excitement rose to a high pitch throughout all classes of the community; thousands wending their way to the goldfields, and mechanics and tradesmen deserting certain and lucrative employment for the prospect of sudden wealth. The governor was willing to have prevented this for the sake of peace and order. He issued a proclamation, claiming the goldfields as the prerogative of the Crown, threatening with prosecution those who should dig gold. People only laughed good-humouredly at the proclamation, and hundreds flocked out of Sydney for the hard labour and exposure to the winter season in an elevated region like the Bathurst Mountains. Finding it impossible to check the search for gold, the Government prepared to turn it to account, by adopting a system of licensing to dig for gold. An amount of thirty shillings per month was demanded for the purpose, and cheerfully given, from the large quantities of the precious metal extracted.

The locality in which the first discovery of gold was made by Mr Hargreaves was the neighbourhood of Summerhill Creek—a small feeder of Lewis River, one of the tributaries of the Upper Macquarie, on its left or western bank, situated in the direction of north-west from Bathurst, from which place it is about thirty miles distant (or about 140 from Sydney). A spot on the banks of Summerhill Creek soon acquired, and has retained, the attractive name of Ophir. But the Ophir diggings were shortly surpassed in amount of produce by those of the

Turon, a river which flows into the right bank of the Macquarie some distance above the junction of Lewis River. Merroo Creek, farther to the northward, another of the sites of auriferous wealth, also belongs to the basin of the same river, the whole valley of which, from the neighbourhood of Bathurst downwards, appears to possess the glittering treasure.

It was at Merroo Creek that the largest quantity of gold hitherto discovered in a single mass was found by a black shepherd, in the employ of Dr Kerr. It contained nearly a hundredweight of gold, and realised upwards of £4000. It was found amongst a number of quartz blocks, forming an isolated heap, which was lying about a hundred yards distant from a vein of quartz stretching from the creek up the ridge. This splendid specimen of the Australian "El Dorado" was unfortunately broken into pieces by its lucky possessor, for the sake of greater convenience in its removal: in its complete state, it would have been the largest known mass of native gold in the world. The Imperial Museum at St Petersburg contains a *pepîte* (or, in Australian phraseology, a *nugget*), brought from the Siberian mines, which weighs eighty-seven pounds, and lumps of considerable magnitude have been discovered in California and elsewhere; but a hundredweight of gold, in one mass, was a thing hitherto unheard of. The discovery of this "monster" lump of the glittering treasure was altogether accidental; it was made by a "blackfellow" while engaged in tending a flock of sheep, and in a spot where the surrounding herbage had grown for centuries, undisturbed by the hand of man, and unheeded. Gold being at the time the universal theme of conversation, the sable tender of flocks had provided himself with a tomahawk, and—sharing in the general excitement—had amused himself with exploring the country adjacent to his master's land. His attention was called to the spot in question by observing a glittering substance upon the surface of a huge fragment of quartz rock, a portion of which was soon broken off by a blow of his tomahawk. He at once started home and disclosed the discovery to his master, and shortly afterwards the blocks of quartz, with their embedded hundredweight of gold, were released from the soil in which they had rested for ages. The adjoining country was, of course, diligently explored, but, with the exception of dust, nothing of any consequence has ever been found in the immediate neighbourhood of the spot that had been occupied by the golden mass.

In return for his very valuable services, Dr Kerr presented the blackfellow and his brother with two flocks of sheep, two saddle horses, and a quantity of rations, and supplied them with a team of bullocks to plough some land in which to sow a crop of maize and potatoes. One of the brothers, mounted on a serviceable roadster, accompanied the party into town, and appeared not a little proud of his share in the transaction.

On the 15th of August, 5800 oz. of gold had passed through the customs for shipment. Much, however, was exported without having passed through the customs; merchants' accounts estimated the quantity at 8329 oz., value £28,000. A regular escort was now established; the gold was conveyed to the capital under charge of the Government, the charge being 1 per cent. on the value. On the 8th of July, the number of licenses on the Turon was six hundred.

In the meantime, Mr Stutchbury had been engaged on an extensive geological and mineralogical survey, the result of which was that he found gold almost wherever he tried for it. He traversed the Macquarie, from Walgumballa to the Turon, and found gold at every place he tried. Leaving the Turon, he crossed the mountain range, and came upon the Macquarie at Nelly's Corner. Here he found scale gold, which ceased higher up the river. At Stony Creek gold was also found. In the course of his survey he made the remark: "In no instance have I found gold in what I should consider as its natural matrix. The bars and detritus of the rivers and creeks are the spots in which it is usually found, and in every case it presents the appearance of being waterworn. When the matrix from which all these particles were washed is discovered, gold in our day, as in the days of Solomon, will be nothing thought of." Mr Stutchbury found also platinum; and quicksilver has, in more than one place, been reported to exist.

On the 19th of August, the exports had reached £70,000 in value, and H.M.S. "Havannah" brought as a present to the Queen a number of specimens of the gold in its various forms, enclosed in two elegant gold boxes, the manufacture of Mr Andrew Lenchan, of Sydney, from colonial woods. By the 6th of September, the shipments had increased to £150,000. On the 8th of November they had reached £219,000. A remarkable discovery of a mine on Mr Wentworth's estate now took place. In one day, a single miner raised £500 worth of gold, the earth averaging 25 per cent. of pure gold. The "golden lode," as it was termed, was closed up immediately after the discovery, and a company was formed in Sydney for effectually working the mine.

The mines now began to be more productive, from the greater number of persons who resorted to them; and in the first week of December, 12,036 oz. were brought to Sydney, valued at £40,000. A single nugget was amongst these, which sold by auction for £1155, and the "Alert" was despatched with £130,000 worth on board. Nuggets of gold were now common; three were found at Louisa Creek, of the respective weights of twenty-seven, twenty-six, and twenty pounds. Ophir and Little Oakey Creek also yielded a large number. All this success had occurred in unfavourable weather, the dry season having set in. The large lump just spoken of was found not very far from the same spot in which Dr Kerr's famous hundredweight had turned up. It was nine inches in diameter, twenty-one in circumference, and weighed 336 oz. There had now reached England by various ships upwards of a million of Australian gold, the produce of New South Wales and Victoria. By the middle of January, both colonies had shipped eight tons of gold to the mother country, the value of the Port Phillip portion being about three-quarters of a million. An estimate was now made that the annual yield would be from Port Phillip about five millions, and from New South Wales three millions, making eight millions annually to be added to the surplus wealth of the vaults of the Bank of England.

John Richard Hardy, Esq., chief-magistrate of Paramatta, was appointed the first gold commissioner, with instructions to organise a mounted police of ten men; to issue licenses to gold-diggers, at the rate of 30s. a month; to receive in

payment gold obtained by amalgamation at £2, 8s. per ounce, and at £3, 4s. per ounce for gold obtained by washing. And, to preserve the peace and put down outrage and violence, he was further instructed to co-operate with the local police, and to swear in special constables from the licensed diggers.

When the existence of gold was first ascertained, there were flockowners who disapproved of the course pursued by the governor in raising gold-digging to the condition of a regular industrial pursuit, and recommended "that martial law should be proclaimed, and all gold-digging peremptorily prohibited, *in order that the ordinary industrial pursuits of the country should not be interfered with*;" that is to say, some of the same order who patronised bachelor shepherds, and opposed the establishment of wives, families, and small farms in the interior, were ready to risk a civil war rather than endanger their wool crops. But, fortunately, the governor had no taste for spilling the blood of his countrymen in a "futile attempt to stop the influx of the tide."

Provincial Inspector Scott, of the police, reported from Bathurst that the distance thence to Summerhill Creek is forty miles, over a clear and defined but mountainous road, fit for the passage of drays. He "thought that the deposits of the creek would be exhausted soon—that any mechanics in full work would commit an act of insanity to resign their situations in search of gold; that on Sabbath all parties left off work, and the Rev. Mr Chapman, a Wesleyan minister, preached to a large congregation. Further, Mr Scott anticipated difficulty in preserving the peace, unless prompt and energetic measures were adopted, viz., to swear in all respectable persons as special constables, and permit them to be armed; to grant licenses to other classes (not respectable), and take their arms away to be locked up in Bathurst Courthouse." From the letters of the provincial inspector of the same date, reporting the preparations he had made to assist the gold commissioner, in case of the anticipated resistance, it is evident that no ordinary degree of alarm was generally experienced. But, fortunately, the miners proved themselves more orderly and sensible than the police and other timid individuals had imagined; and in Mr Hardy, the first gold commissioner, the governor had selected a man of judgment, temper, and cool courage, who was determined to let the industrious miners have fair play, and equally determined to enforce his lawful authority. His despatches were models of sound common sense.

The journey to Bathurst was easily performed by mail-coach or on horseback. Arrived at Bathurst, the explorer found himself in the midst of a rich pastoral and agricultural district, in which every fertile valley had a small colony of settlers, ready to supply flour, meat, milk, and butter, at reasonable charges. The Summerhill diggings and the style of life which prevailed throughout the interior of Australia were well depicted in the following sketch by a correspondent of the *Sydney Morning Herald*: "*Monday, June 2.*—In the morning the ice was thick upon the water in the dishes outside, and the ground covered with hoar frost, as it always is here in fine weather at this season; hot days and frosty nights. To an unscientific eye the gold country (Bathurst district) consists of a mass, not of ranges, but apparently of points of ranges, thrown together without any regular

arrangement, but dovetailing into one another like the teeth of two saws placed close together, face to face; these teeth again being cut into smaller pieces by narrow precipitous gullies, many of them nearly as deep as the main creek itself. Small creeks twist and twine down these narrow gullies, which have a sudden bend every half-dozen yards, into the Summerhill or main creek, which twists and twines like the others, but on a larger scale. The banks of the gullies are precipitous on both sides, but in the main creek there are alternate bluffs and low points, the teeth of the saw sloping gently down, diminishing in height as they do in width, till they come to a point overhung on the opposite side by a high bluff or precipice, which forms the inside of the nick of the opposite low; and, as we stood upon the edge of the cliff, we looked down nearly two hundred feet over and along each side of the opposite point, dotted with tents and gunyas of bark or branches, each with its fire in front, sending the blue smoke up into the clear frosty morning air; some under the noble swamp oaks at the water's edge, others behind and under the box and gum trees which towered one above another till the rising branch was merged in the main ridge behind. The point was occupied by about fifteen parties cutting straight into the hill; and, as we looked down upon their busy movements, digging, carrying earth, and working the cradles at the edge of the water, with the noise of the pick, the sound of voices, and the washing of the shingle in the iron boxes of the cradles, I could scarcely believe that two months ago this was a quiet secluded gully in a far-out cattle run, where a solitary stockkeeper or blackfellow on the hunt were all that ever broke the solitude of nature. On saying so to Scotch Harry, he said that he had stock kept there for nearly twenty years, and when he came there were flocks of kangaroos; these were driven off by the cattle, and now they were as completely driven off by the gold-diggers. 'Little enough the first occupiers thought of gold,' I remarked. 'Yes,' answered Scotch Harry, 'and it would be well for some of these fellows if they thought as little;' and he told us of two who had gone mad already—one, a shepherd in the neighbourhood, found a piece while poking about his run, and came to him making a great mystery about the place, till he could find no more, when he took him to it, but it was a chance piece, and not accompanied by five or six more, as is usually the case; the fellow, however, was not satisfied, and continued searching about, till, from excitement and anxiety, he went mad; the other was a man who, after starving for two days, found 5 lbs. weight, fainted repeatedly, and is now in confinement. Kerr said that two months ago hardly a traveller passed his house in a week, now they were in crowds every hour; his children never thought there were so many people in the world before, and wondered what it all meant; he could hardly believe it himself. We did not find our dray, but heard of it close at hand, and sat down to look about us. Drays and parties of men were arriving every few minutes, many of whom gave a cheer as if they saw fortune in their hand when they looked down upon the workers in the bed of the creek below; some were putting up tents and gunyas, and some working, but all busy and all in good humour, barring the men who were constantly leaving, and looked sufficiently disgusted. We were a good deal puzzled how to get our baggage carried to Messrs Roach and

Barrington's, as it would take us at least two days to carry seven hundredweight over two miles of such ridges, or down the bed of the creek, cut up as it is in every direction; but, just as the last rays of the sun were leaving the top of the ridge, a party of nine native warriors, in their new Government blankets, painted and armed with spears and boomerangs, came winding down the bank. As they passed through our camp, I asked the foremost if they would carry our baggage, to which they at once agreed, and camped with us. We were all astir at daylight, and found the water frozen in the bucket, and the top of our blankets quite wet within the tent. The loads were adjusted, and the blacks, with the two men, started under the guidance of the company, and returned about noon by a short cut, we remaining to erect the tent. On loading them again, one fellow complained that a pot of beef hurt his head, so I gave him a roll of brown paper, but soon found my mistake, as not a man would move without the same, so that when I came to the last there was not a scrap left; he had only bedding to carry, and I explained to him that no pad was necessary, but he drew himself up and asked if I thought him a fool; 'Another one blackfellow hab it.' He was evidently in earnest, and would have left his load there and then, had I not clapped a calling-card on his shaggy bullet head, and he went off quite proud; we gave them one shilling each and their rations, which is high pay for a black. Many return at once, without giving it one minute's trial. I saw one party arrive, six respectable-looking, hard-working men, all well provided with tools, clothes, and provisions. As I stood conversing with one of them, who was putting his things together to move to their tent, a parcel unrolled, and a Bible and Prayer-book fell out. He looked up, and said they should not forget these even for gold, to which I assented, with the remark that men would get none the less gold for minding them."

Another correspondent writes from the Turon at the same date: "These wilds, a few months since only known to the stockman and the shepherd, now contain one of the most singularly constituted assemblages which the world can present. It would be scarcely correct to call it a society, for the social element is absolutely wanting, more so even than in the much-abused California, where selfishness and a disregard of everything but individual interests scarcely prevailed so much as in the New South Wales gold-diggings. The scene has been so often described as scarcely to bear repetition, but it is not easy to convey the conception of it by any description on paper. Gunyas and tents of every conceivable shape and construction, from the lined and comfortable marquee down to a few boughs or a calico sheet, stand in certain spots, as thick almost as houses in a street, tenanted by as many as can find room to lie down in them, busy at daybreak with cooking preparations, but deserted as soon as the meal is hastily prepared and swallowed, then closed and left to take care of themselves till the return of the miners for an equally hasty mid-day meal, and again till supper time. At night the fires are made up, and the appearance of long lines of blazing logs with a few dark figures hovering round, is striking and picturesque in the extreme. But the labour of the day soon produces its effect, and the majority soon drop off to repose, leaving the bush as silent as if untenanted,

except when broken by the barking of some restless dog. Morning brings back the same scene. Work, work, unceasing work, only varied by the most necessary occupations for the actual preservation of life, or by prospecting or migrating when the hole is exhausted or threatens to become so. All occupations, other than digging and cradling, are with few exceptions, reserved for Sunday, which is especially the favourite day for removing."

The crisis of the gold discovery having mingled among the records of the past, the colony of New South Wales was fairly started, in 1852, on the third era of her eventful history, which may be literally termed the golden era. Fresh discoveries of deposits of the precious metal occurred, but they all proved inferior in richness and quality to the goldfields of Victoria. At the same time, the average yield per digger equalled that of the younger colony, where the population on the goldfields was five times greater.

The progress of the colony during 1853, compared with its previous advancement, was in every way encouraging, both as regards its political condition and material prosperity. In common with the neighbouring colonies, New South Wales benefited by the establishment of steam communication with the mother country. A line of steamers was laid on between Australia and Singapore by the Peninsular and Oriental Company, conveying a mail every alternate month to join the overland mail from India to Europe, which carried news from the colonies to England in sixty-five days. This was afterwards made a monthly communication *via* Galle, and the mails are delivered in London within fifty days.

The government of Sir Charles Fitzroy was more popular than that of his predecessor. Two significant facts occurred, which tended to show the amicable relations between the Government and the elected representatives of the Council. One was the Council's voting a considerable increase to the Colonial Secretary's salary, and handing him over back pay, with the full concurrence of all the elected members. The other was his Excellency recommending to her Majesty that their Speaker should receive the honour of knighthood in virtue of his office. This title was conferred upon Sir Charles Nicholson, not, however, to be considered as the precedent for a rule. Sir Charles was some years afterwards made a baronet.

The growing wealth and prosperity of Port Phillip—which until 1851 was a dependency of New South Wales—likewise induced the Queen's Government, in 1850, to grant the petition of the colonists in that section of Australia to be separated from the parent colony, and declare it to be a distinct province of the British Crown under the title and name of her Majesty, Victoria; at the same time granting to the new colony a representative legislature, besides extending the constitution of New South Wales. The Port Phillip district became the separate colony of Victoria on 1st July 1851. On 1st December 1859 the Northern, or Moreton Bay district, became similarly the colony of Queensland.

Sir William Denison succeeded Sir Charles Fitzroy. Sir William, who had been Governor of Tasmania, where he had acquired some public odium in connection with the convict system, which he supported against the views of the colonists, proved a popular as well as an able man when in his new sphere at

Sydney. As a military engineer he took great interest, and an effective part also, in the railways and other public works which, at the time of his arrival, and in the near prospect of colonial self-government, were being projected in the colony. The new Constitution Act arrived on 16th October 1855, was proclaimed on 23d November, and came into operation the next year. The governor took the initiative in the new legislature by himself naming the first premier of the new system. Mr Donaldson, the premier so named, resigned after a short tenure, and the transition from the old to the new system continued to be marked by such short-lived administrations. After two years of contention in the Assembly, or lower house, the ministry, under Mr Cowper, passed a reform measure conferring a greater electoral equality, universal suffrage, and the ballot. The legislature under that measure assembled in 1859.

Governor Denison, who was transferred to the Madras Presidency, was succeeded by Sir John Young, formerly of the Ionian Islands. Sir John's title was that of Governor-in-Chief of New South Wales, instead of Governor-General, as with previous governors. This change was no doubt made in deference to the importance of Victoria. The next two governors in succession were the Earl of Belmore, and Sir Hercules Robinson, the present governor (1878).

BOOK VII.

HISTORY OF VICTORIA.

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CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST EXPEDITION.

A NEW COLONY—PORT PHILLIP—DESCRIPTION—FIRST DISCOVERY—MURRAY, BAUDIN, FLINDERS—COLLINS—MICA OR GOLD?—GRIMES THE SURVEYOR—BUCKLEY, THE WILD WHITE MAN—JOHN BATMAN—JOHN PASCOE FAWKNER

THE colony of Victoria came into national existence on the 1st of July 1851, on which day the district of Port Phillip was formally separated from New South Wales by royal proclamation, and declared an independent colony under the name of Victoria after her Majesty.

The history of Port Phillip is singularly barren of incident, and may be comprised in a very few pages, while volumes might be filled with the moving accidents which have chequered the career of colonies which have not attained, and are not likely to attain, one-tenth of its wealth and importance as a field for British labour and capital.

Lying between the 34th and 39th parallels of south latitude, and the 141st and 150th meridians of east longitude, with a coast-line of nearly 600 miles, an extreme length from east to west of 420 miles, and a breadth at the widest point of 260, Victoria embraces an area of 86,831 square miles, or 55,571,840 acres, being about one thirty-fourth part of the entire continent of Australia. The size of this colony, therefore, is slightly in excess of that of the two Carolinas; while its population, amounting (in 1878) in round numbers to 870,000, closely approximates to that of the State of Mississippi, as shown by the census of 1870. In point of climate the country lies between the same isothermal lines as New Mexico and Arizona, but the range of the thermometer is much less, as the temperature of the coast-line, more especially of this island-continent, is materially modified by the great preponderance of sea over land in the southern hemisphere. The coldest month in the year is July, and the hottest January. All the cereals of Europe flourish here, as well as the fruits of France, Spain, Italy,

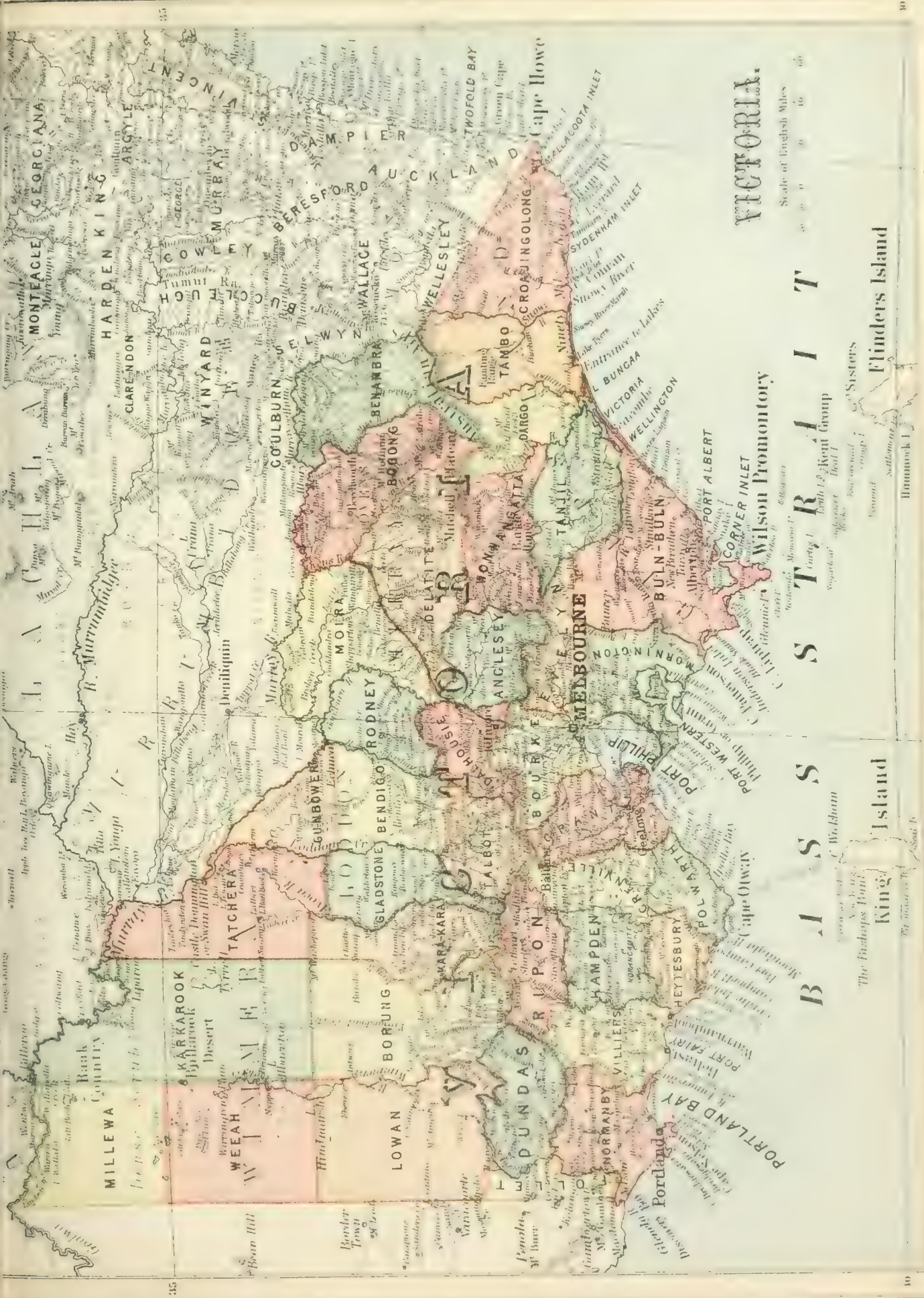
and Greece. Flax, hemp, hops, tobacco, and the sugar-beet are also cultivated; and the vineyards of Victoria are already becoming celebrated for their choice and varied products in the best markets of the old world—for the soil and climate of the southern and eastern portions of this continent appear to be peculiarly favourable to the industry of the *vignerons*. Sericulture promises also to become an important source of wealth; and the mulberry-tree is being extensively planted with a view to future operations.

Such is the territory which, in the year 1834—less than half a century ago—was a desert, barely known to Europeans except by the reports of wandering shore-parties of whalers and sealers. The date of the earliest discovery of any part of Victoria has not yet acquired the modern antiquity of a century. On the 19th of April 1770, Captain Cook came upon the coast at a little westward of Ram Head, close to Cape Howe, at the extreme eastern boundary; but no further exploration of its outline took place at that time. The great navigator had turned his ship to the northward, where he named and visited many places that have since become busy and familiar scenes of other settlements, including Port Jackson, as well as Botany Bay. Excepting this eastern extremity made known by Cook, the coasts of Victoria continued a blank in the geography for some time longer. Indeed, extraordinary as it now seems, we enter the nineteenth century ere this reproach to modern science is entirely removed. In the year 1797, Bass, in his adventurous voyage of discovery from Sydney in a whaleboat, passed into the strait that has since borne his name, and proved for the first time that Van Diemen's Land was separated from Australia. He was able to proceed, however, only as far as Western Port; and it was not until the year 1802 that the rest of the Victorian coast was made known. Amongst the latest of the discoveries of Australia was that of Port Phillip, the noble harbour of the commerce of Victoria, which, so soon after its introduction to the world's acquaintance, was to become one of the great centres of the world's traffic. Port Phillip was discovered on the 15th February 1802, by Lieutenant Murray, in the "Lady Nelson." He, in the first instance, named the inlet Port King, in honour of the Governor of New South Wales; but this name was afterwards, at Governor King's request, changed to Port Phillip, in compliment to his predecessor, the first governor of the colony. Murray entered the harbour and gave to several prominent objects the names they still retain, including Arthur's Seat, a hill at the south-east bend of the harbour, so called from some fancied resemblance to the classic hill at Edinburgh. Six weeks after Murray's visit, Port Phillip was entered by Baudin, the French explorer, and four weeks after him by our own distinguished Flinders. He, too, bestowed several local names, particularly Indented Head and Station Peak, the latter so called from observations that were made from its summit. Australia has remembered the latest even more than the earliest discoverer of the coast of her great colonies, and thus his name is more plentifully distinguished than that of Cook over her maps. Flinders' Street is the great mart and thoroughfare of the wholesale and import business of Melbourne; while the Flinders' River, familiar to us by the journey of Burke and Wills, is probably the largest of the streams of her northern area.

Entering Port Phillip on the 27th April, Flinders landed on the northern shore of Geelong harbour, from whence he walked across the grassy plains to Station Peak, noticing and commenting on the pastoral adaptation of the country, which must have appeared to advantage during the pleasant temperature of the later autumnal season of his visit. The Geelong and Melbourne Railway now wakes up the solitudes thus traversed by Flinders; while from the summit of the Peak we can detect, in the steam of the passing trains, another railway, a part of the great system that entirely crosses the colony between Melbourne and the river Murray.

Flinders having been captured by the French, and detained for six years at Mauritius, the results of his successful explorations remained long unknown. But Murray's account of Port Phillip had attracted sufficient notice to induce the Home Government to project the formation at that place of a settlement supplementary to that already established at Port Jackson. Accordingly in 1803, a year after Murray's discoveries, Lieutenant-Governor Collins—who held the office of Judge-Advocate under Governor Phillip in the first colony, and on his return to England in 1796 had published an "Account of New South Wales"—was sent out with H.M. ships "Calcutta" and "Ocean," with detachments of royal marines, a number of free settlers, and several hundred prisoners, to found a settlement at Port Phillip, where, having sailed on 27th April, he arrived 3d October. The expedition disembarked on the southern shore of the bay, where the beach was unfavourable for landing, and there was no fresh water. It is evident, from a narrative published by one of the party, Lieutenant Tuckey, that from the first Colonel Collins had no earnest desire to form a settlement at Port Phillip: he had heard glowing accounts of the beauty and fertility of the opposite shores of Van Diemen's Land, and, after a very cursory survey, he decided on removing thither. In the course of a walk round the bay, undertaken by the officers of the ship, they found "on the eastern shore, twenty-eight miles from the entrance, a stream of water emptying itself into the port." "The bed of the stream is covered with folicacious mica, which our people first conceived to be gold-dust." At the present day we cannot be so sure that it was mica. According to an account given in a Tasmanian almanac, which does not agree with that of Lieutenant Tuckey, the expedition remained at Port Phillip from the 3d of October to 30th of January. If that were so, it is difficult to understand how the great natural advantages of Port Phillip could have escaped the observation of two ships' crews.

Previous to the arrival of Collins, Mr Charles Grimes, the surveyor-general of the colony, had completed the marine survey of Flinders by making an outline of the harbour, where he reported the existence of the river now known as the Yarra Yarra, or "ever-flowing water." It has always been a puzzle to the local historians to discover why Collins abandoned the settlement at Port Phillip. But recent researches, made by Mr J. J. Shillinglaw into the archives of New South Wales, have brought to light the curious and valuable manuscript journal of Grimes's explorations, accompanied with a chart of Port Phillip, showing the soundings of Hobson's and Corio Bay, and the course of the Saltwater and Yarra



VICTORIA.

Scale of English Miles
0 10 20 30 40

B A S S T R A I T

King Island
The Fishers' Band

Flinders Island
Hammock I.

Sisters
Island I. Kent Group

Island I.

Yarra rivers. The discovery and ascent of the latter river was made on Sunday, the 30th of January 1803. From the documents just mentioned it appears that the "Calcutta" came up from the Port Phillip Heads, and refilled her water-casks at the mouth of the Yarra. So that it was not from want of fresh water the place was abandoned. The truth seems to be that Collins was influenced by the report of the surveyor-general—which was not favourable—and that he found the sand-hills on the coast where he landed too dry and barren a spot for a settlement.

During Collins's encampment on the shores of Port Phillip three of the convicts escaped into the interior: one of them was William Buckley, a native of Macclesfield, who had been a grenadier, served under the Duke of York in Flanders, and had been transported for striking his superior officer. His life, edited by Mr Morgan, was published at Hobart Town in 1852. He tells us that the two vessels "Calcutta" and "Ocean" entered Port Phillip, the "Ocean" on the 7th, and the "Calcutta" on the 9th of October. The ships turned eastwards after entering the harbour, in the direction of Arthur's Seat, near which they came to anchor, the whole party landing and forming a settlement. Buckley's unsettled disposition gave him a longing for liberty. With three other prisoners he projected a plan of escape. As the fugitives passed out from the camp bounds, one of them was shot by the sentry on duty; the others, including Buckley, disappeared into the unknown wilderness. Amongst the three who were now at large, they mustered some rations, a gun, several tin pots, and a kettle. The last commodity was found rather heavy, and was, therefore, thrown away at the end of the first day's journey—a circumstance not without interest, as the kettle was again found many years after by a party of colonists while clearing ground for agricultural purposes. The party directed their course along the east coast of Port Philip. The day of their flight was the 27th of December, the middle of the southern summer. Toiling over a dreary solitude, they seem to have crossed the river Yarra, rounded the head of the harbour, and traversed the plains westward to the Yowang Hills, or Station Peak range of Flinders. From thence, impelled by hunger, they descended to the sea-coast of Geelong harbour, in the hope of procuring at least a supply of shell-fish. With precarious supplies of this kind they passed round to Indented Head, and from Swan Island took a view of the ship "Calcutta," as she lay at anchor on the opposite side of the harbour. Worn out with fatigue and starvation, all the party would fain at that time have returned to their bondage, and accordingly they made repeated but vain attempts to attract the notice of those on board the ship. Once, indeed, it seemed as though they had been seen, and their signals responded to, for a boat had started from the "Calcutta" in their direction; but after it had accomplished half the distance across the bay, it turned back. Buckley's two companions now decided to attempt a return by the way they had come. Buckley himself, however, was not to be persuaded to this course. At once cherishing liberty, and dreading punishment, he preferred remaining where he was, not, however, without a pang of grief as he reflected on his solitary position. His companions left him, but were never again seen, and must have

either perished from hunger, or been killed by the natives. Buckley, thus left alone, continued to follow the sea-coast, which took him in a southerly direction. His subsistence was almost solely on shell-fish, and as he was not always able to strike a light and enjoy a fire, he was often compelled to eat his food raw. He also suffered severely from the want of fresh water to drink. His wanderings at length brought him to a part of the coast where a stream of fresh water entered the sea. Here, perched upon a rock, he erected a hut, and having tolerable supplies of fish and shell-fish, he seems to have felt himself, comparatively speaking, well off. This stream, as he afterwards learned, was called by the natives the Karaaf. The place is still pointed out about three miles to the westward of the present delightful watering-place of Queenscliffe, the Brighton of Victoria. Thus passed Buckley's first summer, shortly after which he was seen and taken possession of by a tribe of the natives. In his new position he appears to have been treated with some consideration. These, as well as other Australian natives, had a superstitious belief that white people are persons of their own race who have come to life again after death. If such resuscitated persons are deemed to be their own friends, the tribe will treat them well. Buckley came upon the scene opportunely in this respect. A chief of the tribe with which he afterwards lived had died about the time Buckley was spending his first summer of wild independence near the Port Phillip Heads, and had been buried near Buckley's rude domicile. A piece of a native spear had been left to mark the grave. Buckley had seen and appropriated this fragment, and as he carried it in his hand when first seen by the tribe, they joyfully hailed him as no other than their deceased chief himself come again to life. In accordance with this happy prepossession, Buckley found he was always well cared for. He often saw himself indeed to be the subject of very ardent and earnest discussion; and on the occasion of the frequent tribal battles he was carefully secluded among the females, so as to be out of harm's way. Buckley describes the frequency of these battles, which were generally of a very ferocious character, the women often joining in the strife with the men, and often too getting most of the blows that were freely dealt about. On the other hand, he tells us, these darkey "fair ones" were usually the cause of the contentions. For instance, some ardent wife-hunting youth of one tribe would succeed in carrying off a female, perhaps the wife of some member of another tribe. Sometimes the object of attraction was a frail consenting party; sometimes, as we may hope, she was not. But this alternative seems to have made but little difference in regard to the laws of native warfare. There must be a fight, and, on Sir Lucius O'Trigger's principle, one course of facts is just as good for the purpose as another. Buckley, as he adhered to one tribe, gradually acquired their language, a circumstance that greatly pleased his native associates. Next he ventures to take a native wife, who, however, leaves him again after a season. At length, growing weary and disgusted, as he states, with the constant spectacle of strife and bloodshed, he retires for a time to his former solitude on the coast at the mouth of the Karaaf. While here in tolerable comfort, a young native female of the tribe he had left walks into his quarters, and, after the aboriginal fashion, sits down as his wife. He is too loyal an

Australian to forbid the short and summary banns, and Mrs Buckley and he seem to get on very amicably in the world for another interval of time, when she too leaves him like the previous partner. Subsequently he himself is induced to rejoin the tribe. They had come down to see him at his place of abode, and he delighted them all by a method he had contrived of catching great numbers of fish. Thus days, and months, and years rolled over. Buckley had lost all accurate note of time, but he saw that those whom he remembered as young native children had grown up to manhood, and he could thus infer that a long interval must have passed away. It is rather remarkable that more than once in this interval vessels with white people on board had appeared within the Port Phillip waters. Buckley says he longed to rejoin his people and the civilised world, and would fain have communicated with these casual and unknown visitors, but on each occasion he was disappointed. One of these vessels, while anchored off Indented Head, sent a party ashore, who, as the natives reported, buried something in the ground and then re-embarked. Buckley, hearing of this incident, and supposing that possibly something of a useful character might have been left concealed, repaired to the spot; but, on removing the earth, he ascertained that the object was the dead body of a white man. We may suppose these visitors to have been whaling parties either from Sydney or Van Diemen's Land. These colonies, which, at the time of our wanderer's escape from the "Calcutta," had enjoyed but a brief existence, were now, after the many years of Buckley's seclusion, advancing to a very noticeable importance. Van Diemen's Land indeed had been founded only in the year of Buckley's absconding. During this interval of Buckley's adventures, the island had been traversed and settled from south to north; and now at length the colonists sought to recross the straits, and appropriate for the use of their increasing flocks those grassy plains and open forest lands that Buckley, hitherto their solitary white occupant, had so often traversed. The turning point in this long career at last arrives. One day two young natives are seen by Buckley and the tribe running up from the marshes near the coast, each of them waving a coloured handkerchief from the end of his spear. White men are once more at hand. The lads report that they have seen three white people and six blacks, who had all landed from a *koorong*, or ship, off the coast of Indented Head, but that the ship had afterwards left them and sailed again out of the bay. Buckley, enjoying the hope of soon seeing his countrymen, prepares to set out the following day. Meanwhile, however, he is alarmed to hear of a plan among the natives to murder all these new-comers, that they may get possession of all the good things they have brought with them. For this purpose they were to invite a neighbouring tribe to give them assistance; while as to Buckley, seeing he had long been regarded as one of themselves, he too is expected, as matter of course, to aid the common cause. He, however, resolves to counteract these nefarious schemes, and setting off in the direction indicated by the youths, he arrives at the white people's encampment on the following day. This was the 12th of July 1835.

But now, as he approaches the spot, as he hears the noise of the white man's industry, and soon after can distinguish the features of his countrymen, and

when on the eve of realising an event so long wished for, new and strong emotions seize him. What is he to say or do, for he cannot recall a word of his native speech? And again the recollection comes back upon him, after more than a generation of years, that he is still a prisoner. With his restless turn of mind, and his long wandering habits, he dreads above all things restraints on his personal freedom, and in the simplicity of his mind he imagines that he would still be seized by the Government, and shut up as a runaway convict. Uncertain how to act, he sits down on a spot near to where the white people are at work, and with his bundle of native implements collected between his knees, gazes at what is going on, with the look of one who seems to be either half stupid or half indifferent. Some natives who had gathered together near the colonists, first perceived Buckley, and pointed him out to his countrymen. The latter, on seeing him, were nearly as perplexed, although in a different way, as Buckley himself. They beheld a figure of extraordinary size, for he was six feet five inches high, while his light brown hue, as he appeared naked before them, showed plainly that he was no native Australian. Strangely fell the long-forgotten words of his native tongue upon his ear. At first he seemed to have no apprehension of what was said to him, and could only attempt, slowly and with difficulty, to repeat each word. One of the party, in pronouncing the word "bread," and accompanying the sound with a present of a substantial slice, seems to have produced somewhat of a talismanic effect in the vivid recall of old times and associations. He was not long in understanding other things said to him, or in making himself in turn understood. Having lost all note of time, he had a vague idea that twenty years must have elapsed since he left his convict party in 1803. He was, therefore, much surprised to learn that many more seasons had gone over his head, and that it was now already the year 1835. His new friends were busy pitching their camp upon the elevated part of the projecting land of Indented Head. Batman, their leader, after selecting the spot, and making his grand purchase of territory, had left them in charge, with instructions to prepare a homestead against his return with his family. It was in the month of July, the winter of Australia, and it was in cold and tempestuous weather, as Buckley tells us, that he made his journey to the place. It was altogether a memorable occasion—a settlement so small in its beginning, so rapid in its course, and so great in its future. Buckley's efforts were now for a time directed to the means of keeping the peace between his old and his new associates. At first he persuades the natives to defer their intended attack upon the intruders, suggesting that if they waited until the ship returned, there would be a vast addition to the expected plunder. Afterwards, by the promise of considerable presents, and by an occasional gift of biscuit, blankets, and other necessaries, he succeeds in changing their purpose. No doubt he has somewhat magnified the importance of the whole affair, and perhaps, too, the accounts of the strifes and turbulence of the natives generally. Buckley, however, made himself useful as an interpreter and peacemaker between the colonists and the aborigines. In this capacity he entered Batman's service upon the return of the latter from Launceston with his family to settle at Indented Head; and he

subsequently followed his master to the banks of the Yarra, where the party settled upon the slope of the little green hill at the western extremity of Melbourne. Here poor Buckley seems to have got gradually into such a hot-bed of annoyances—the cares and troubles, the envyings and jealousies ineradicable from civilised life—that we may believe he almost longed to be back again to his undisturbed wigwam at the Karaaf, or to his native tribe, where he was tended well nigh with the honours of a queen bee. He joyfully, however, records one pleasant fact of these days, which is that he received a free pardon, and was no longer in danger as a runaway. Mr Wedge, one of Batman's party, brought him the document elevating him to the position of a free man, given under the hand of the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land, Sir George Arthur, and dated the 25th of August 1835, almost thirty-two years after he had left the convict settlement.

Batman had not encountered Buckley, nor apparently any of his tribe, at his first visit towards the end of May, when he took his excursion into the interior, and made his treaty for the Port Phillip lands. Each tribe claims an area that is peculiarly its own, within which it usually resides, or rather wanders about; but there may be tribes adjacent with whom there is more or less of a friendly disposition, so as to enable one to visit another with proper notice and ceremonial. Buckley's tribe seems to have ranged to the south and west of the Port Phillip entrance and Lake Modewarri, but they "visited" as far as Indented Head, a distance of probably twenty miles from the usual whereabouts. He had, therefore, been a little to one side of the scene of these transactions, and had no hand in the land conveyancing arrangements. Indeed, he pronounces them to have been a mere hoax, as among these natives, he says, there are "no chiefs claiming or possessing any superior right over the soil," their rights consisting only in their being heads of families. Conspicuous among the Australian "chiefs" who transferred their lordly domains were the two brothers Jagga Jagga, whom Batman met at the Merri Creek. From Batman's service our hero was promoted to be a constable, and he had the additional satisfaction to hail, in his new master, an old fellow-soldier, an officer of Buckley's own regiment. This officer was Captain Lonsdale, who arrived in the year 1836, accredited from the authorities at Sydney to take charge of the young settlement. But Buckley seems to have soon become restive in this position, and this, too, notwithstanding, as he mentions with some triumph, that he succeeded in establishing a rise of pay from £50 a year, with rations, to £60. He found rebuffs and disagreeables at every turn. Not the least among these were caused by the troubles and misunderstandings with the natives. Buckley no doubt aimed to be of consequence in this direction, by way of revenging his dignity in finding himself behind the age in other respects. As he would appropriate all guidance in native matters, so when harmony did not always or immediately result, poor Buckley came in for all the blame, and was plentifully accused of indifference or double-dealing. Batman took his part in these disputes; but as the two chiefs of the settlement were at incurable feud, and now more especially, since they had settled close to one another, whenever Batman befriended, Fawk-

ner was sure to oppose ; so that Buckley, completely worried out of his peace and comfort between the two hostile parties, bethought himself of making off for a quieter home. One great cause of his distress, and it was a most legitimate and creditable cause, was the mutual ill will and misunderstanding that were daily extending between the colonists and the natives. The former, pouring in one after another with their flocks, rushed away with hot haste into the interior, anxious to secure a share of the fine pastures lying still unoccupied, and ready at nature's hand for immediate use. It was Buckley's earnest wish that the poor natives, whose territories were thus summarily disposed of over their heads, should be approached with consideration on the subject, and with a patient effort to gain their consent and goodwill ; and he thought that he might himself have been successful in dealing with them. But as all such preliminaries seemed mere waste of time to our eager and competing colonists, there was a lamentable result between them and the natives in constant mutual distrust, frequent hostilities, and repeated atrocities on either side. Nor were the natives in their turn unconcerned with the lawless category. They stole sheep and murdered shepherds as often as their fewer means and opportunities gave them the power ; and Messrs Gellibrand and Hesse, who were most probably among their victims, may be considered to have paid the penalty of their disorderly countrymen. At length Buckley made up his mind to leave Port Phillip, for he was thoroughly wearied of the life he had latterly been leading. He had seen the little colony, however, fairly started on the road to greatness. Sir Richard Bourke, the Governor of New South Wales, had visited it in the year 1837, and had given his sanction to the selection and naming of Melbourne and Geelong. As to those spacious solitudes that had so long been familiar to him, their day was rapidly passing away, and now he bade final adieu to the changed and busy scenes which they presented. He directed his steps to Hobart Town, where he received employment for a time from the Van Diemen's Land Government, and where too he married a wife—not this time, however, a native one. When the infirmities of age came upon him that Government allowed him a pension, a sadly poor one, when we regard his interesting antecedents, of £12 a year, to which, however, £40 was afterwards added by the Government at Melbourne, when the Port Phillip district was separated from New South Wales, and became the colony of Victoria. Mr Westgarth met Buckley in the streets of Hobart Town in the year 1852, seventeen years after he had emerged from his barbarous solitude. He was then seventy-two years of age, and looking marvellously well, particularly for one of his rough experiences. He was a man of few words and apparently still fewer ideas, but of remarkable appearance from his great stature, a quality that had given him consideration with the natives, and was thus probably the cause of preserving his life amongst them. He died at Hobart Town, on the 2d of February 1856. He had lived to see the greatness of the land of his many wanderings, as he survived for several years the event of the gold discovery ; and we can hardly be satisfied that he should have received so little of the fruits of this greatness.

CHAPTER II.

THE NEW COLONY.

HUME AND HOVELL—A SELF-SUPPORTING COLONY—MESSRS HENTY—BATMAN AND FAWKNER—BATMAN'S ACCOUNT—FAWKNER'S ARRIVAL—THE FIRST FOUNDERS—GELLIBRAND AND HESSE—SITE OF MELBOURNE FIXED—THE "ENTERPRISE"—PROCLAMATION OF THE TERRITORY—HUMBLE BEGINNINGS.

FOR twenty years after the departure of Collins from its shores, Port Phillip remained an unknown and unexplored country. But, in 1824 (as has been already narrated), Messrs Hume and Hovell, two stockowners of New South Wales, made an expedition to explore new pastures, and travelling from near Lake George four hundred miles, in the course of which they traversed the flanks of the Australian Alps, and crossed three rivers, which they named the Hume, the Ovens, and the Goulburn, emerged on shores which they imagined to be those of Western Port; but there is now little doubt that they had really reached the western arm of Port Phillip Bay, near the site of the port of Geelong. In looking at a map of the Melbourne district, a spot will be found marked *Mount Disappointment*, about thirty miles from Melbourne. It was this hill that the weary travellers climbed, calculating that from its summit they would behold the sea. They were right in the direction, and a long line of coast and a stretch of the finest sheep plains lay in a line before them; but, unfortunately, lofty broad-boled trees hid everything from their longing eyes, and they descended sad and disheartened. It would seem as if there had been a spell over this fortunate land which guarded its wealth from the discovery of a series of explorers, from Cook to Hovell and Hume. Mr Hovell was afterwards employed by the Government to form a settlement at Western Port, which, however, was soon abandoned; and the fine pastoral country traversed in the course of his journey with Mr Hume excited little attention, in consequence of the discovery, about the same time, of Brisbane Downs, better known as Maneroo, which were more accessible from the previously-occupied districts.

The origin of Port Phillip is curious and instructive; it constitutes an honourable tribute to the energy and perseverance of our countrymen, and shows strikingly of how sterling a material the Anglo-Saxon race is composed, and how strong is the power of adaption to circumstances which its members everywhere manifest. It is a fact much to the credit of its first settlers that this colony attained all its solid prosperity without the aid of colonising companies or Acts of Parliament, or governors or regiments, or any of the complicated machinery

with which sham colonies are bolstered up, and real colonies are so often encumbered. A small band of experienced colonists, a succession of flocks and herds from the opposite coast, a magistrate, a few policemen and customs officers, then a sort of deputy-governor under the modest name of superintendent—these were found sufficient for building up the most flourishing dependency of the British Crown, without calling on the home country for a single shilling.

In 1833 Messrs Henty, engaged in the whaling trade at Launceston in Van Diemen's Land, formed a branch establishment at Portland Bay, and soon afterwards imported a few sheep and cattle to feed on the splendid pastures which there, unlike the other districts of Australia, carpeted the shores almost to the water's edge. Mr Thomas Henty of Launceston is the man who rightly deserves to be called the Father of Victoria. Mr Henty had despatched several flocks of sheep, together with implements of agriculture, under the care of a detachment of his large family; for he had no less than seven sons, who have all since attained to prominent social or political position in the one or the other colony. The country around Portland was well adapted for both pasture and agriculture, and a scene that so lately presented but an empty solitude had thus been soon transformed into a lively spectacle of industry and progress. Henty, like Batman and his company, claimed a grant of the country he had thus settled, and with all the better argument from his having thus turned the land to such good account. But so fair a claim (and regretfully one must state the fact) was refused by Lord Aberdeen, then Secretary for the Colonies. His lordship, however, gave a very distinct hint that such lands as were actually in cultivation, and properly fenced in, might form a case for special and favourable consideration. But this hint, even to the limited extent to which it applied, was not regarded by the Colonial Government when the lands in this locality were afterwards disposed of; and it is almost painful to have to record, in connection with such courageous and useful enterprise, that Mr Henty and his family acquired no advantage beyond others upon the scene of their successful pioneering. It has already been mentioned how Sir Thomas Mitchell and his party, at the close of their exploring journey into Australia Felix, in 1836, enjoyed a pleasurable surprise upon discovering the hospitable homestead of the Messrs Henty at Portland Bay.

Two persons are conspicuous in the early colonisation of Port Phillip. These are Mr John Batman and Mr John Pascoe Fawkner. They each proceeded from Van Diemen's Land, and from Launceston, the northern seaport of that colony. This was in the year 1835; and although both movements were not quite simultaneous, the latter was not far behind in the traces of the other. Batman was the first to enter Port Phillip, where he preceded Fawkner by about two months. But to Fawkner, or rather to the party that went forward under his instructions—for he himself was compelled by illness to turn back from his first expedition—is due the distinction of having selected for settlement the site of the future capital, a distinction which gained for him the title of the Father of Melbourne. Here were debatable grounds indeed for a rivalry of merits between the two founders of a great future. The mutual contention, nourished

by some other antagonistic incidents, waxed warmer with each step of the early progress. It was a new Rome, where Romulus and Remus were this time not brothers. Batman, however, died at Melbourne, after but four years of his new prosperity. Fawkner was more fortunate, and lived to a good old age, dying full of years and much honoured. A bust to his memory stands in the Melbourne Public Library.

Batman, in a letter to Governor Arthur of Van Diemen's Land, dated the 25th of June 1835, describes himself as a native of New South Wales, resident for some years in the first-named colony, engaged in civilising the natives. He had long been impressed with a high opinion of the character of the country across Bass's Strait, and so far back as 1827 he had asked permission of the Government of New South Wales to occupy land there. The request, however, was refused. He proceeds to state that he left Launceston on the 12th May in a small vessel, which, as his diary further tells us, was the "Rebecca," of only thirty tons, and which, delayed by storms and winds, did not enter Port Phillip till the 29th. Batman is careful to inform the Van Diemen's Land governor that Port Phillip, the all but unknown place to which he steered, is "on the south-eastern extremity of New Holland." With characteristic ardour he landed on Indented Head on the day of his arrival, and waded with delight through the long grass. Observing the fires of the aborigines, and being desirous of communicating with them, he journeyed into the interior, accompanied by seven of his New South Wales aborigines. After some search, they met with one of the native tribes; and it appeared that the language of this tribe so closely resembled that of two of Batman's natives, that the respective parties could readily understand one another. Having persuaded the people of this tribe to accompany him back to the place where he had landed, Batman delighted the simple creatures with a variety of presents. Having, by similar means, gathered together and favourably impressed still larger bodies of the natives, he proceeded to unfold to them his plans for the future, stating that he meant to take up his residence amongst them, and to bring across the seas his wife and his family of eight children, including no less than seven daughters; and also proposing to buy from them a tract of their country.

Batman established his position upon the rising ground of Indented Head, as a sort of Mount Lookout for the guardianship of his rights from all intruders. From this commanding point the little vessel, the "Enterprise," sent forth by Fawkner, was promptly descried, as she passed within the Port Phillip Heads on the 16th August. Fawkner has sarcastically related how his party were met by a message despatched by a boat from Batman's camp to the enemy below, warning away these and all other trespassers, in the name of John Batman, King of Port Phillip! But even Fawkner's dogged party was a small difficulty in Batman's way compared with the authorities, both colonial and imperial, who, as he doubtless feared from the first, would be apt to criticise somewhat narrowly the whole case of his land bargaining. Like a good tactician, therefore, he put himself in the best legal position the case would admit of. He describes very gravely, in his letter to Governor Arthur, how the "chiefs" entered into the

matter with thorough cognisance and goodwill, and on the 6th of June 1835, conveyed to him, with all legal ceremonial, two tracts of territory around the western coasts of Port Phillip. The consideration given was a present supply of flour, blankets, and tomahawks, those most attractive objects to aboriginal wants, besides an annual tribute of the same for the future. The territory disposed of comprised the Geelong country (or Jeelong, as it should have been spelt), of about 100,000 acres, and the adjacent Douti Galla country to the north-east, having about 500,000 acres more. Batman's colossal bargain was not confirmed at headquarters. Had the case been otherwise, there would have been a bargain on record that most likely the world never witnessed before. Prosperity rolled over the settlement at a rapid rate, even from the first, and a climax still surpassing all before came with the discovery of the goldfields. Within twenty years this vacant territory, upon which the cities of Melbourne and Geelong have since sprung up, carrying on a large commerce with most of the countries of the world, and for which the aboriginal occupants were willing to accept about £200 worth of merchandise, might have been estimated to have attained, during the height of speculative excitement, a value of more than £40,000,000 !

Some time before Batman's expedition, Governor Arthur had suggested to him to carry out his longings for a colonising adventure to Port Phillip by means of a company, and by making, as he had done, a bargain with the natives for a tract of their country. Batman therefore formed his company, and a nephew of the governor's was one of its members, as well as Mr J. Hilder Wedge, an early and ardent abettor of the Port Phillip enterprise. It also included Mr J. T. Gellibrand, who was more enthusiastic if possible than even Batman himself, and to whom perhaps is due more than to any other individual the colonising enterprise that had by this time set in towards Port Phillip, and that was now described as the Port Phillip fever. The names of the members of this company, the fathers of Port Phillip colonisation, justly deserve record. They are fourteen in number, namely: Charles Swanston, Thomas Bannister, James Simpson, J. T. Gellibrand, J. and W. Robertson, Henry Arthur, J. H. Wedge, John Sinclair, J. T. Collicott, A. Cotterell, W. G. Sams, M. Connolly, and George Mercer.

Governor Arthur, however, when he came to the answer to Batman's communication, either thought it necessary to be somewhat guarded in his expressions, or had learned from some late experiences that the prospects of the enterprise in regard to the land question were not by any means encouraging. In his reply, dated the 3d of July, Batman is warmly commended for his enterprise, but he is informed that the Port Phillip territory is not within the Van Diemen's Land jurisdiction. It is further intimated that Batman's bargaining with the natives would appear to stand in opposition to the principle assumed by the Imperial Government in establishing, very recently before, the colony of South Australia, which principle was that the title to Australian territory was parliamentary, and was not derivable from the aborigines. As a further discouragement, it was added that the application of Mr Henty the

year before for a grant of land at Portland Bay, had been refused by the Home Government. The reference of the claims of the colonising association to the Home Government brought a very inadequate result to the persons who had commenced so important a movement as the colonisation of Port Phillip. They had founded a settlement which even from the first gave promise of high importance, and they had expended several thousand pounds in the cause, besides a much greater value in time and personal exertion; while all the liberality extended to them was a compensation in the form of a remission of purchase money for land to the extent of £7000. At a land sale held in Geelong, in February 1838, the Association bought in 9416 acres of land at the price of £7919, 7s., from which sum the compensation money was deducted.

Fawkner was somewhat behind Batman in his arrangements, but was busy projecting a colonising expedition at the time of Batman's departure from Launceston on his first visit to Port Phillip. He had offered to accompany Batman, but the latter would not allow him, and he therefore proceeded to organise his own independent expedition. Disappointed of a vessel he had endeavoured to secure for the conveyance of his party across Bass's Strait, it was not until the middle of July that another, the "Enterprise," was got ready for this purpose. Meanwhile Batman had been over to the El Dorado, and back again to Launceston, where he made quite a commotion in the quiet little seaport by the account which he gave of the great domain he had purchased from the Port Phillip aborigines. This account quickened Fawkner's movements. He and George Evans definitely arranged their party, and sailing down the beautiful river Tamar, had reached the sea at Georgetown, when they were driven back by a storm, and were unable to resume the voyage till the 4th of August. In the interval, however, Fawkner had become so unwell that he was compelled to return to Launceston, leaving his party to go under his instructions left with Mr Lancey, who had now the charge of the expedition, and of the varied outfit that Fawkner's practical mind had led him to embark for the advantage of the young colony. The names of Fawkner's party are entitled to historical record equally with those of Batman's, when we consider that they all actually settled, at this early stage, at Port Phillip, a circumstance which, with a few exceptions, was not the case with the others. The party consisted of Captain Lancey, George Evans, Evan Evans, Robert Hay Marr, W. Jackson, a blacksmith named James, and a ploughman named Wyse.

Port Phillip colonisation was no new idea at this time in Van Diemen's Land. We have seen that Batman contemplated the subject eight years previously, with the prospect of assistance in his plans from Mr Gellibrand. The latter was a legal gentleman in good position at Hobart Town, and seems to have been both the most zealous and the most influential of all his fellow-colonists in promoting emigration to Port Phillip. To this zeal and enthusiasm for the new country, indeed, he afterwards forfeited his life; for proceeding into the western interior in the year 1836, accompanied by his friend Mr Hesse, and tempted to go farther and farther by the spectacle of boundless pastures, the two adventurous travellers either perished from hunger, or more probably, and

in accordance with subsequent report, they were killed by the aborigines. Gellibrand's Point still marks the entrance to Hobson's Bay, while Mounts Gellibrand and Hesse, two adjacent hills near the Colac district, to the westward of Geelong, commemorate still the unfortunate journey of the two friends.

The "Enterprise" was again upon her course on the 4th of August, accompanied by a small schooner named the "Endeavour," which had been equipped by Mr John Aitkin, who subsequently became a wealthy squatter in the new settlement. The "Enterprise" stood, in the first instance, for Western Port, Phillip Island being reached on the 7th August. The Western Port entrance was examined with a view to settlement in this quarter; but as it was not of inviting appearance, Western Port was abandoned on the 15th, and Port Phillip entered the next day. Sailing along the eastern shore, the bar at the mouth of the Yarra was reached on the 20th, and the party were engaged until the 29th in sounding and beaconing the river. They then ascended the Yarra, taking at first its minor branch, the Saltwater River, as it seemed to be the largest and straitest tributary; but returning, they ascended the main stream for about eight miles in all, and arrived at a part of the river where it expanded naturally into a small basin. The basin was immediately below a slight fall in the river, caused by a ledge of rocks that ran a short way from the north side into the stream, and that, by the direction it gave to the force of the water, appeared to have been the cause of the excavation of the basin. Charmed by this scenery, whose beauties were enhanced by the undulating character of the grassy and open forest country of the northern bank, the party came to an anchor under some trees just below the falls.

This action fixed the position of Melbourne. Fawkner, although absent, was a chief party to the business, as his instructions were that a settlement should be formed only where there was fresh water. Batman, in the course of his previous tour, in the month of June, from Geelong to the Merri Creek, had evidently noticed this spot, for in his journal he records, speaking of the Yarra: "I am glad to state that about six miles up found the river all fresh water, and very deep. This will be the place for a village." But he went back to Indented Head, and only reappeared at the future capital to share the good things with Fawkner's people, and to keep them in check upon what he still claimed as the Association's territory.

The "Enterprise" cast forth upon nature's wharf the first of many cargoes that have since been landed at and around the same busy spot. Fawkner had sent much household goods, two horses, several ploughs, a great variety of seeds, and 2500 fruit-trees. The spring season was already coming upon the party, and they were forthwith at work, building, ploughing, and planting. Fawkner himself arrived on the 10th October, and infused fresh stimulus into the work. A month previously his people had planted with wheat five acres of land that form now the south-western extremity of Melbourne. Afterwards, when Batman's party obliged him to transfer his labours from this spot, he crossed with his implements to the south side of the river, where the low flat ground was ploughed up. His party first settled themselves upon a pretty knoll, green

with its fresh grass, and covered with a little forest of shea-oak trees. There they marked out the ground eastwards and northwards into ten-acre sections for distribution amongst the party. After a while there was a remove a little farther up the river to the bank just behind the present custom-house of the city, where Fawkner opened a public-house and hotel. Mr Jackson, and others of the party, moved inwards, where they selected tracts of pasturage, and afterwards transported their flocks from Van Diemen's Land. Those who settled there were, however, not so well off as those who went farther on, and were subsequently less disturbed.

The "Enterprise," although turning to the eastern coast of the bay, which was the opposite side from Indented Head, had been seen by Batman's party, as already related, and some of the Sydney blacks were set to watch the doings of the intruders. Fawkner's account is that these blacks having brought word to Indented Head as to the spot where the "Enterprise's" party had settled themselves, Mr Wedge, one of Batman's Association, proceeded to the place, and ordered the intruders off the ground, as the place they had occupied was within the limits of the Association's land, purchased from the aborigines. Mr Wedge, on the other hand, states that being over on a Port Phillip visit about this time, and roaming over territories in which he hoped he had more than an ordinary interest, he came unexpectedly upon the little "Enterprise," lying at anchor in the Yarra basin, and conveying a charming effect, as if he had come all at once upon an unknown settlement. But, doubtless, the romance of the case was one thing, and the assertion of the Association's supposed rights another. The intruders, however, were deaf as before; nor were they any further convinced when Henry, the brother of John Batman, arrived also, accompanied by several men and a variety of stores, for the purpose of effecting a settlement nearer "the enemy." Finally, in the month of November, Batman himself arrived with the remainder of his party and their effects, settling himself permanently on the slope of the green hill that subsequently bore his name, the place that Fawkner's people had occupied shortly before. Here Batman opened that great colonial requisite, "a general store," while Fawkner, a little farther eastward, administered his public-house. The times grew stirring and prosperous, and there was proportionately an ambitious rivalry between the two patriarchs regarding their respective merits as the conjoint founders of so promising a settlement. In other respects, both the parties were placed much upon a level as to rights and privileges by the effect of a proclamation issued by the Sydney Government, dated the 26th August 1835, claiming all the territory in dispute, and declaring all bargaining with the natives for land to be illegal. The mutual bickerings gradually lost their soreness of edge in the busy realities of profitable industry.

Such were the humble beginnings of the great city of Melbourne, the capital of the magnificent colony of Victoria. "We went down," says a lady, who was then a little child in Launceston, "to see the six adventurers embark for Port Phillip, with the same feeling as if it had been Cortez or Pizarro; but very soon there was the same universal rush for Port Phillip that there is now for the gold-diggings." The adventurers took with them two horses, the same number of

pigs, three kangaroo dogs, and a "harmless necessary cat." The new-comers found, when they reached Port Phillip, that they had set foot in the midst of as beautiful a sylvan scene as the eye of an artist could desire to rest upon. The ground heaved into softly-rounded hills, and sank into curved depressions, in the hollows of which the winter rains had worn some winding water-courses, which emptied themselves into the river. Rich pasturages looked their greenest at that season of the year ; and the timber, dispersed in clumps and exhibiting every variety of fantastic form and gnarled grotesqueness, lent a perpetually varying charm to the lovely landscape. Here was an open glade, upon which you might have almost expected to see a herd of dappled deer grazing with the confidence inspired by perfect solitude ; and there, crossing a gentle eminence, stood a cluster of giant eucalypti, some of the columnar trunks of which looked like pillars of white marble in the sunlight. In the far distance ranges of purple mountains, thickly wooded to their very crests, defined their outlines sharply against the pale blue sky ; and, look in what direction they would, the members of the expedition found something to delight the eye, and to convince them that their lines had fallen in pleasant places. So they pitched their tents, landed their stores, ploughed five acres of open land, and sowed it with wheat ; and sent the schooner back to Launceston with tidings of their settlement, and with orders for a flock of sheep to be sent as early as practicable, so as to utilise the natural grasses of this pastoral Arcadia. This was the site of Melbourne two-and-forty years ago ; and these were the virtual founders of the colony. Five hundred sheep and fifty Hereford cows arrived in the following November, and before the end of the year the name of Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, had been bestowed upon the infant settlement.

CHAPTER III.

AUSTRALIA FELIX.

SIR THOMAS MITCHELL'S EXPLORATION—AUSTRALIA THE HAPPY—FIRST LIVE STOCK—FIRST OVERLANDER—FIRST SUPERINTENDENT—LIEUTENANT HOBSON—FIRST SALE OF MELBOURNE ALLOTMENTS—FIRST AGRICULTURE—FAWKNER'S ENTERPRISE—FIRST NEWSPAPER—SUPERINTENDENT LA TROBE—HIS UNPOPULARITY—CAUSES OF IT—JEALOUSY OF NEW SOUTH WALES—REVENUES IN 1837—FIRST MEETING FOR SEPARATION—MOVEMENT CARRIED ON—JUDGE WILLIS.

THE expedition of Sir Thomas Mitchell into the Port Phillip district in 1836 has already been recounted. Charmed with the mild climate and beautiful scenery of the country he passed through, Sir Thomas named it AUSTRALIA FELIX, or, the Happy. He was a soldier, and to many of the more noticeable features in the landscape he gave names associated with military history. The new settlement, however, did not constitute a colony, but only a district of New South Wales. But its first settlers came from Van Diemen's Land; and on the 25th of May 1836 the population amounted to only 177 persons, comprising 142 males and 35 females. This census was taken by Mr Stewart, a Sydney magistrate sent over by Sir Richard Bourke to assert the rights of the Crown, and to announce the invalidity of all purchases from the aborigines. He found that the settlers possessed 35,000 sheep, with a number of horned cattle and horses; the stock being spread over a large extent of country in the direction of the present Ballarat. Already the principle of squatterism—each man trying to grasp as extensive a run as he could obtain—had fixed its roots firmly in the young settlement. The first importation of live stock was from Van Diemen's Land, and it took place within less than six months of Batman's first visit. On the 10th of November 1835, the "Norval" landed the first of the flocks and herds, consisting of fifty pure Hereford cows and five hundred sheep. Many more importations quickly succeeded, and in the following year the inpouring tide was largely augmented as to both population and live stock by the "overlanders" from the Sydney district, where every one seemed now thoroughly alive to the merits of the long-neglected Port Phillip. The first overlander was Mr John Gardiner. Setting off from the river Murrumbidgee towards the end of 1835, accompanied by Messrs Hovell and Hepburn, he conducted a herd of cattle to the Yarra in the short space of three weeks. Messrs Ryrie, Ebden, and other early and well-known colonists, followed soon after, and the journey that immortalised Hume and Hovell soon became an everyday occurrence.

Captain Lonsdale had arrived at Port Phillip, charged by the authorities at Sydney with the care of the young community, on the 29th of September 1836. Prior to that time the colonists had recourse to certain law and order arrangements among themselves. Their first magistrate was Mr James Simpson, a highly-respected colonist, long afterwards familiar in magisterial office, and deservedly conspicuous amongst the "conscript fathers" of the young republic. In the same year the harbour was surveyed by Lieutenant Hobson, R.N., in H.M.S. "Rattlesnake," the vessel that had brought Captain Lonsdale to the seat of his authority. The well-known Hobson's Bay, at the northern extremity of Port Phillip, is named from this officer. In the following year, Governor Bourke visited the district in March 1837. Meanwhile, the Sydney authorities were not indifferent to the fortunes of their southern settlement, and the Sydney merchants and speculators took up an interest of a different kind. While the former were considering as to the people, the latter pondered over the land allotments, that were presently "in the market" after the governor's visit. The first sale of Melbourne allotments took place on the 1st of June 1837. The prices were decidedly low, considering the rising repute of the settlement. One of the regulations of the occasion, that all purchases must be paid for in gold, is said to have greatly damped speculative ardour, and to have operated greatly in favour of the Sydney purchasers. The prices of the first sale averaged about £35 per half-acre lot; those of the second sale, which took place in November, about £42; but within two years some of these lots were resold at several thousand pounds each. Stories are told of cautious hesitation even at these moderate first prices. One purchaser of a lot in a central part of Collins Street, afterwards a principal thoroughfare of the town, conceiving the £80 he had bid to be too much for a half acre of grass sward, was content to extricate himself by forfeiting his £8 of deposit. The lot was consequently resold to some bolder spirit for the balance of £72; within two years it was valued at £5000. After the gold discovery the same half acre was re-disposed of for £40,000. The names of Sydney purchasers appear largely on the original maps and Crown conveyances of these early days; and a good many fortunes, or substantial accessions to fortunes, both at Sydney and Port Phillip, date from this opening of the Port Phillip land-market.

The governor, who found already the rudiments of a town at Melbourne, confirmed the selection of that site for the capital, and named it in honour of the British Premier of the day. His surveyors had already laid out Melbourne, as well as two other towns, Geelong and Portland, together with three counties which were defined respectively around these towns, namely, Bourke, Grant, and Normanby.

Although in this successful launch of the Port Phillip settlement, Batman stands before Fawkner in point of time, and no doubt also in respect to the origination of the enterprise, yet the practical mind of the latter soon placed him in the front as the most efficient pioneer of the young settlement. He had provided for the ploughing, sowing, and planting of the new soil. The early colonists were dealing with Fawkner for his Port Phillip wheat ere the first

summer had passed over. He did not, however, confine his energies to this vocation. With a disposition for more general enterprise, he took a conspicuous part in most colonial affairs. Owing nothing to social position and its amenities, he marked out with ready originality a course of his own, which, while often rough handed, was generally useful and not seldom creditably disinterested. In these early days, while yet busy with his hotel, he undertook a newspaper. Shortly afterwards he laid out a large garden upon his property a few miles to the north of Melbourne, called Pascovale, where are still to be seen some of the oldest vines of the colony. Fawkner's newspaper was a curiosity of its kind, besides being the first that was published in the place. The *Melbourne Advertiser*, as this originating member of the colony's fourth estate was called, commenced with the New Year's Day of 1838, and as a weekly publication. The earlier numbers were necessarily in manuscript, for such articles as a press and types seemed not yet to have been thought of by the outer world as likely to be amongst the wants of the young settlement. After an issue of nine of these weekly documents, a few types and an old press were procured, and the *Advertiser* appeared with some approach to more usual newspaper aspects. Fawkner, however, had been transgressing the press laws, and very stringent they were in those days. He was therefore ordered to suspend his publication until he had entered into the requisite suretyship. As this could at that time be done only at Sydney, Fawkner had to wait until, by a change of the colonial law, the arrangements could be made at Melbourne. Meanwhile a literary rival, the *Port Phillip Gazette*, entered the field, the proprietors, Messrs Arden and Strode, having supplied the requisite securities at Sydney. This new broadsheet appeared on the 27th October 1838. Fawkner was unable to show himself again until the 16th February of the following year, when his paper came forth under the new and auspicious title of the *Port Phillip Patriot*. Still we may hold him father of the colony's press, as well as of its capital city.

The Port Phillip settlement was now at full speed in colonial life, and the great distance of so important a place from its seat of government gave weight to the constant demand for a local administration. Captain Lonsdale had been entrusted with but little of authority, having acted during three years, besides doing duty as a police magistrate, rather as a resident representative secretary of the Government at Sydney than an independent functionary. He was superseded, as local head of the community, by Mr Charles Joseph La Trobe, who, under the new title of superintendent, arrived at Melbourne on the 1st October 1839. Mr La Trobe, who belonged to a family, and an active Christian body, well known in religious circles, was a gentleman of taste and information in the artistic and literary world. As a public man he did not achieve decided popularity amongst the great proportion of his busy practical subjects. As regarded public policy, they held him to be rather too quiet in disposition and hesitating in purpose; while either from constitutional character or his view of his official duty, he placed himself in the way of the people's yearnings for increasing political privileges and self-government—an unpardonable offence to colonists. His appointment was not tantamount to an independent administration to Port

Phillip, which still remained as a district of New South Wales ; nevertheless, a joyous welcome saluted the new ruler ; and he, in his turn, improved the occasion by some kindly hints to a numerous auditory, who were mostly absorbed in the reigning land speculation, that there were still higher interests to be aimed at in their new home. Captain Lonsdale became the secretary of the new local government, and, like his chief, held office during all the colony's transactions from its small to its great developments. This period, however, was but the day of very small things, the superintendent having only £800 a year of salary, but it was afterwards increased to £1500.

The great cause of Mr La Trobe's unpopularity was the line of conduct he followed during the period he held office as superintendent. In the first phase of its political existence, Port Phillip was a dependency of a dependency, the form of government being an irresponsible despotism. Whatever was done amiss was unwillingly borne by the colonists, because the blame could not be placed at the door of any officer of the Government. Mr La Trobe disavowed all responsibility, declaring that he was only the nominee of the Governor and Executive Council of New South Wales. There is little doubt, however, that he was allowed to govern Port Phillip according to the dictates of his own judgment ; for, whatever faults may have been attributed to Sir George Gipps, he has never been accused of duplicity, and he used the following remarkable language : " He had great experience of the difficulty of governing Port Phillip, at a distance of six hundred miles, and it would be a subject of congratulation to him to get rid of it. He was glad when Mr La Trobe arrived, and since then the administration of the affairs of Port Phillip might be truly said to be the administration of Mr La Trobe ; he (the governor) had acceded to all his wishes as far as he could, and on no occasion had he found it necessary to interfere with or censure any of his proceedings." This assurance was given by the governor, in the Legislative Council, in the most solemn manner, and is well deserving of credit. The line of policy which Mr La Trobe thought proper to pursue was calculated to stop the progress and injure the prosperity of the district. During the extended period that he administered the government as superintendent he never assisted the struggling colonists to obtain that justice to which they were entitled, and for which they were earnestly fighting. While public meetings and agitations of momentous importance to the district were being held in Melbourne, the superintendent either kept aloof, or assumed an attitude of direct hostility. The public documents connected with Port Phillip, which, by the oversight or rashness of the Imperial Government, were permitted to see the light, exhibited to the colonists the spectacle of the head of the local government arrayed against them. In three instances he was thus found using his position to misrepresent the feelings and wishes of the colonists. He never, during his extended term of government, except in one instance, the landing of the convicts by the "*Randolph*," incurred any responsibility, or did one solitary act deserving of commendation : even after his elevation to the rank of Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria, at the era of separation, he displayed few qualities likely to inspire confidence. His administration was notoriously vacillating and pusillanimous.

His proclamations were treated with derision by the people; rash and bold up to the very point where resistance seemed probable, he succumbed to the dictation of the diggers when they assumed an attitude of hostility or defiance towards his government. Overbearing towards the people when he ought to have been conciliating, no sooner did symptoms of insurrection appear, and it was necessary for him to exhibit firmness, than he sank into a state half-way between timidity and imbecility. To his conduct in weakening the authority of the Government may be attributed the outrages which burst forth during the administration of his successor, and which helped to hurry that gentleman to an untimely grave. To his maladministration of the public lands may, in a great measure, be traced the terrible financial crisis of 1853 and 1854, in which many persons had their hopes blasted and their fortunes ruined. He shut up the whole of the lands during the first years of the gold-diggings, not alone in the country, but also in the suburbs of Melbourne, and the inevitable consequence was that, there being no legitimate outlet for surplus capital in Crown lands, it went into other investments, such as lands already alienated—which were thus raised to an exorbitant price—and merchandise and other property. Private landowners occupied themselves in subdividing their suburban lots into very small pieces, and enormous speculation went on in them. In the very midst of this the Government threw great quantities of suburban land into the market, thus reducing it again to its legitimate price. But those who had been speculating at the fictitious rates were ruined, and they involved many others; then came the scarcity of money, which was increased by the drain from the enormous Government land sales. Many, nearly all, the old colonists of standing had, at one period, a portion of their capital embarked in squatting pursuits, and his Excellency went as far as he possibly could in favour of this powerful body, who uniformly adhered to him. He supported all religious and charitable institutions, not only from the public funds, but also, as his friends asserted, from his private purse. There was, moreover, a particular clique who had received many favours from him, and who were constantly sounding his praise: but however Mr La Trobe was lauded or tolerated by many in the colony, there were few reflecting minds who had not long earnestly desired his recall. This was so long deferred, upon one frivolous pretence after another, that the public mind became quiescent; and the people began to consider him as a fixture. When his departure was at length announced, he was deeply sympathised with in consequence of a severe family bereavement, which he had just experienced. Those who condemned the governor could not help feeling for the man who had grown grey amongst them, and who was now quitting their shores in trouble and distress. There can be no doubt that, with his fair abilities and unimpeachable private character, he might have acquired very great popularity had he been unequivocally honest and straightforward in his public capacity, and, even if he had not joined the people in obtaining justice, had only acted an impartial part in the struggle. He was not, perhaps, worse than the majority of officials who, in former days, previously to the era of responsible government, held an almost irresponsible power from Downing Street; indeed, he was not so haughty and

overbearing as many of the order who were to be met with in the colonies. He was accessible and generally courteous. That he sacrificed the interests of Victoria to please his superiors in Sydney can be too easily demonstrated. It is probable that, had those interests and the interests of the authorities in New South Wales been identical, he would have been pleased; but the contrary being the case, he devoted himself, heart and mind, to gratify the hostile view of the latter without any compunction of conscience. The Governor of New South Wales at an early period in his career was not so inimical to the interests of Port Phillip as the other members of the Executive Council, who wished to appropriate its revenues in order that they might use them in improving the middle district, and they found Mr La Trobe willing to aid them in this system of spoliation. It will thus be evident that any impartial historian must condemn Governor La Trobe and his system of government. He displayed an almost undisguised antagonism to free institutions and social progress—he retarded the separation of the southern district from New South Wales as long as possible—he prevented money voted by the legislature of New South Wales for public works urgently required from being expended; and this, moreover, at a period of great distress, when many families were out of employment, and had to seek for it in other countries. His friends have asserted that he opposed the efforts of the squatters to confiscate the lands and to shut up the country, against legitimate occupation by *bonâ fide* purchasers; but it will be found, on bestowing some attention to the subject, that, while he did oppose some most unreasonable requests which were from time to time preferred by private parties, and did allow a few comparatively poor squatters within the settled districts to be driven away from the Government land, he was, upon the whole, favourable to squatting domination.

As may naturally be supposed, the aristocracy of New South Wales viewed the fine lands of Port Phillip as lawful spoil; and the governor was, to some extent, influenced by those views, and could not act altogether according to his own judgment. When the new settlement was rising into notice, an order was issued, bearing the royal signet and sign-manual, dividing the colony of New South Wales for all purposes connected with the sale of land. At this time Sir George Gipps, who had succeeded Sir Richard Bourke, was anxious to become popular with the Council of Sydney, and, at their desire, made every effort to retard or overturn the movement. The whole influence of the wealthy colony of New South Wales was brought into operation, and every effort was made by the legislature (composed, at the time, of nominees of the Crown) to prevent even the territorial dismemberment of the colony. The Bishop of Australia (Dr Broughton) was particularly energetic, and his arguments evinced too clearly that the colonists of the Sydney district looked upon the revenues of Port Phillip as fair spoil. His lordship said: "The revenue arising from the district of the colony, it must be remembered, would go into other treasuries, and the emigrants would be landed at other ports; and where the emigrants arrived there would be the greater demand for produce of all descriptions; there stores would be built and merchants congregate; where ships arrived there would the wool be carried for shipment,

and there would the supplies be purchased for the stations, and there would the money circulate." The right reverend father had as great a fear of Port Phillip receiving the benefit of her revenue, and, in consequence, becoming prosperous, and the rival of Sydney, as the temporal potentates—such as Sir John Jameson, Messrs Macarthur, Jones, Berry, and Blaxland. Mr Hannibal Macarthur, the ablest man, perhaps, next to the governor, in the Legislative Council at this time, said the change had come upon them like a thunderbolt, but they resembled more the earthquake threatening to involve the colonists of New South Wales "in universal ruin." The governor was not only backed up by the Legislative Council, but by a public meeting of the colonists, and, nothing loath, considered himself justified "in not obeying his instructions in reference to Port Phillip."

In 1837 the revenue of Port Phillip was £2358, 15s. 10d.; in 1842 it had risen to £84,566, 9s. 3d. In those six years the land sales had brought into the Sydney treasury nearly half a million sterling. The 177 persons of 1836 had increased to 11,728 by 1841.

A public meeting of colonists, on the exciting subject of separation, took place in Melbourne on the 30th of December 1840. The chair was occupied by William Verner, Esq., the first Commissioner of Insolvent Estates. The leading merchants of Melbourne, as well as the lawyers, physicians, stock and land owners of the district, were present, and it was demonstrated, in a gratifying degree, that there existed a strong political cohesion amongst the colonists, and that public opinion was aroused on the all-important topic—the independence of Port Phillip. A petition to her Majesty, to allow a separate Government for Port Phillip, and to preserve intact the boundaries as appointed by an order in Council of 23d May, was adopted, and numerous signed. A great deal of public spirit was displayed by the colonists of Port Phillip at this period, and a strong effort was made to counteract the influence of the aristocracy of Sydney, which had been brought to bear on the Colonial Office, in order to prevent the dismemberment of the colony. On the 1st of March 1841, another meeting was held, and a memorandum was unanimously adopted for distribution among Members of Parliament. The cause of the new settlement was warmly espoused by John Richardson, Esq., M.P., to whom the petition for separation had been entrusted. Lord John Russell, however, and other persons of rank and influence, received the advances of the Port Phillip advocates rather coldly, and it was too evident that Sydney influence had been at work, and that it would be a hard struggle to obtain the boon so much longed for by the colonists of Port Phillip.

In the early part of 1841 it was found necessary to appoint a resident judge to the Port Phillip district. The choice fell on Mr John Walpole Willis, one of the puisne judges of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, a very accomplished gentleman and an unusually able lawyer. His father was the well-known Dr Willis, rector of Wapping, who attended George III. in his illness, and was celebrated for his skill in treating the insane. He was a man of eccentric character. When he opened the Supreme Court he intimated that

he would insist upon the attendance of justices of the peace at all future sittings of the Supreme Court in its criminal jurisdiction. He did this that they might learn something of their duties. The magistrates not attending as suggested, the judge again stated that he had power to inflict a fine for non-attendance. He declared he would enforce this clause, and also have their names struck off the commission of the peace, and others appointed in their stead, if they did not obey him. In this manner did the judge proceed, until he aroused a strong feeling of indignation against him amongst the gentry of the district, and which, eventually, led to his removal from the bench.

CHAPTER IV.

STILL A DEPENDENCY.

SIR GEORGE GIPPS'S VISIT—GIPPSLAND—ACT FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT—FIRST GENERAL ELECTION—JUDGE WILLIS SUSPENDED—FIRST IMMIGRATION—A SEVERE CRISIS—FIRST BOILING-DOWN—INCREASING REVENUE—MOVEMENT FOR SEPARATION—MR ROBERT LOWE—EARL GREY MEMBER FOR PORT PHILLIP—GREAT FLOODS—TRANSPORTATION SCHEME BAFFLED—LOSS OF AN IMMIGRANT SHIP—PRINCE'S BRIDGE COMMENCED, AND MELBOURNE HOSPITAL FOUNDED—CENSUS OF 1846—THE NAME OF THE QUEEN PERMITTED TO BE GIVEN—BISHOP PERRY'S ARRIVAL—THE "RANDOLPH" CONVICT SHIP—MEETING AGAINST TRANSPORTATION—THE AUSTRALIAN LEAGUE—SIR CHARLES FITZROY'S VISIT—ACT FOR SEPARATION—NEWS OF ITS PASSING—PRINCE'S BRIDGE OPENED—THE BOUNDARY QUESTION—NEW ELECTORAL ACT—SWEARING IN THE NEW GOVERNOR.

IN 1841 Sir George Gipps visited Port Phillip, and made an inspection of Melbourne and Geelong, with the country surrounding both. In the month of January 1841, an accident occurred to a steamer named the "Clonmel," in her voyage from Sydney to Melbourne, which had no little influence upon the fortunes of now a very important out-district of the colony. This ship left Sydney on the 30th of December 1840, and on the 2d of January following struck on the beach near Corner Inlet. She went ashore during a spring tide, and became embedded in the sand, at some distance from the outer edge of the sandspit. Several small vessels were despatched to Corner Inlet, and a regular communication by water was, by this means, established with that fertile district of Victoria. An association to settle this district was formed, consisting of several influential stock-owners, and a vessel named the "Singapore" was chartered to convey the pioneers to the new country. The passage to Corner Inlet proved very tedious, and it was not until the 13th February that the vessel arrived. The passengers attempted to effect a landing on the north-west side of Corner Inlet, but were unable to accomplish this; and, after undergoing much fatigue, were under the necessity of abandoning the attempt. They effected a landing in another quarter, and travelled along the shore in quest of a desirable spot to form a settlement, until they came to the wreck of the "Clonmel." They traced the channel in boats, and explored the country, which was discovered to be very favourable for settlement. This was the beginning of the fine district of Gippsland, now so well known for its wealth and fertility.

The imperial Act for the Australian Colonies, passed in the year 1842,

contained important provisions for the Port Phillip settlement, which thenceforth became, until 1851, officially the southern district of New South Wales. By this Act, representative institutions, legislative and municipal, were conferred upon the colony. Instead of the council of Crown nominees that had existed at Sydney previously, there was now to be a Legislative Assembly, consisting of elective members to the extent of two-thirds of its number, the remaining one-third being still a nominee element. The franchise, legislative and municipal, was to be a £20 rental. In a total of thirty-six elective members to be assembled at Sydney, the Port Phillip district was to be represented by six. The Act was brought into operation in the colony in the following year. Port Phillip was stirred for the first time with the noise of political elections; but it was a feeble stir, for the province was bent on withdrawing entirely from the New South Wales connection, and obtaining a separate government of its own. It was already in full career with an agitation for "Separation." Far different, however, was the reception given by the colonists to the municipal institutions, for in them they had really local government of its own kind. Melbourne and Geelong had been incorporated, and their respective citizens braced themselves up for the activities of the future. The general election for the Legislative Council, upon the popular basis, took place in June 1843. The Mayor of Melbourne, Henry Condell, Esq., was returned for the town; and Messrs Ebdon, Walker, Nicholson, Thompson, and Lang, for the district. There was no excitement in reference to the district election, but party feeling ran to a considerable height in Melbourne, where the contest became one of a religious rather than a political character. Mr Condell was opposed by Mr Edward Curr, a Roman Catholic, of very considerable experience, and who had held a respectable position in the adjoining colony of Van Diemen's Land, and after a strong contest, carried on with some violence on both sides, Mr Curr was defeated by a small minority. He was one of the foremost in fighting the battle for separation, and died almost at the same time that the announcement was made of Victoria's independent existence.

On the 24th of June an event occurred which tended still further to increase the excitement of party feeling. On that day Judge Willis took his seat on the bench, as usual, but had hardly commenced the business of the Supreme Court when a letter was placed in his hands, from his Excellency the governor, containing his suspension from the office of Resident Judge of Port Phillip. The people generally were in favour of the judge, but the majority of the magistrates and gentlemen were opposed to him, and the most ill-natured reports were spread in reference to his character and former career. The people appeared to think that in Mr Willis they had a sincere friend, and when the intelligence spread that he had been dismissed upon a "hole-and-corner" petition, and that no opportunity had been afforded him of defending his conduct, public opinion turned in his favour, and against the governor. Previous to his departure, addresses, very numerous signed, were presented to him from nearly every part of the district; and the majority of the people saw him quit their shores with the utmost regret. On his arrival in England he brought his case before the Privy Council, and received a considerable sum as compensation, it having been at once decided that the

governor had acted illegally in suspending him without giving him an opportunity of answering the charges which had been made against him. He was succeeded by Mr William Jeffcott, of the Dublin bar, who, if he had not the shining qualities of Mr Willis, had more prudence than that learned judge, and avoided making any enemies. Mr Jeffcott did not retain the situation more than two years; he resigned, and was afterwards appointed Recorder of Singapore, which office he held till his death, which occurred a few years afterwards.

The district of Port Phillip received a large accession of population direct from Great Britain in 1841 and 1842; and many, who have been most successful settlers, landed at this time with little or no capital, except stout hearts and strong arms. The progress from this period up to the reflux consequent upon the cessation of immigration, was almost magical. The grazing lands were gradually taken up for stock; the cultivation of the soil occupied a considerable share of the attention of the colonists; and the commercial interests of the district began to expand into considerable importance. But in 1842 and 1843 the colony of New South Wales, including Port Phillip, had to struggle with a severe monetary crisis. In Melbourne the distress was very great, as trade was bad, and most of the merchants, and many of the stock-owners, were passing through the Insolvent Court. The depression was occasioned by the cessation of immigration, over-speculation, and extravagance. Real property became so reduced in value that only about one-tenth of its former price could be realised for it, even in Melbourne. Sheep, which at this period formed the main source of production, had depreciated so much that flocks, worth from £1, 10s. to £2 in the first phase of Port Phillip settlement, had been sold at from 1s. 2d. to 4s. a head. Wool was very low; few settlers at this period were able to meet the expenses of their stations, and it began seriously to be feared that a great many sheep-owners would have to abandon their flocks to the tender mercies of wild dogs and aborigines. The gloom which overspread all classes of colonists at this period was so great, that it seemed far from improbable that the industrial pursuits in which the people were embarked would be abandoned. Many settlers had purchased stock on credit, and as the bills they had given in payment fell due, it was found that their cattle and sheep would not sell at any price; and the whole of the flocks and herds of many unfortunate colonists had to be sold to pay insignificant balances for which they were pressed. At this time Mr O'Brien, of Yass, came forward and showed his fellow-colonists how a standard value of about nine shillings a head could be given to sheep by boiling them down into tallow. Hope again visited the breasts of many who had abandoned themselves to despair. There were from a million and a half to two millions of sheep in Port Phillip alone, at this time, which, even for tallow, were worth three-quarters of a million of money. The settlers once more began with spirit; large boiling-down establishments were set on foot; and hundreds cleared off their encumbrances by turning their old ewes into tallow. In a year or two the stock-owners had materially improved in circumstances, and the balance of trade had turned in favour of the district. The imports of 1842 were £288,000; the exports only £222,000; leaving a balance against Port Phillip of £66,000. The imports of 1843 were

only £188,000, and the exports £254,000; leaving a balance in favour of the district of £66,000. The great majority of the colonists had received a severe lesson, which taught them the necessity of a strict economy, in order to succeed in their new mode of living.

The first popular legislature for New South Wales met at Sydney in August 1843, and elected Mr MacLeay speaker. There was no business of much importance to Port Phillip brought before the Council during 1843; but early in the session of the following year Dr Lang moved—"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to direct that the requisite steps may be taken for the speedy and entire separation of the district of Port Phillip from the territory of New South Wales, and its erection into a separate and independent colony." This motion was seconded by Joseph Phelps Robertson—who had, on the resignation of Mr Condell, been elected member for Melbourne—and supported by all the Port Phillip members. On the vote being taken it was lost by nineteen to six; all the members, with one exception, voting against the motion, except those who represented Port Phillip. The exception was rather a marked one; the member who recorded his vote in favour of Port Phillip, with the representatives of the southern district, was Robert Lowe, Esq., then a Government nominee, and very little known, but who was afterwards returned by the constituencies of Cook, St Vincent, and Sydney, as their representative, and distinguished himself in the Legislative Council of New South Wales as the opponent of the squatting system. He subsequently returned to England, where he attained the high distinction of being appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and achieved fame as a parliamentary orator. The Port Phillip colonists now began to ask themselves what was the use of elections for the Sydney legislature? As they produced no result in the right direction, the Melbourne electors laid their heads together for a more efficient process. Resolved on producing an effect, they proposed, on the first opportunity, no less a personage than Earl Grey, her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies. His lordship was duly elected; and when the return was so made to Sydney; when some inconveniences and difficulties were apprehended in consequence; and when, upon the news of this political stroke reaching home, his lordship was jocularly questioned upon it in the House of Lords, and replied in the same good temper—the success of the affair was complete; and it probably expedited the cause it was intended to serve more than all the other previous doings put together.

In October 1844 the Yarra River was flooded to a greater height than had ever been seen, even by the aborigines. On the first of that month the waters were observed to rise very suddenly, and in the course of the following night they swept over the flats around the city. The utmost consternation prevailed amongst those who resided in the swamps on both sides of the river, on finding their abodes insulated from the city and surrounding country. The residences of the settlers were swept away by the rush of water along the banks of the river; and the lower portions of Melbourne, adjoining the Yarra, were submerged, and all communication had to be carried on by boats. The stores and

foundries were flooded, and much damage was done to property. A boat, starting from about Flinders Lane, in the city, could be steered across the flats straight to Liardet's Beach, near where the Railway Jetty now stands, at Sandridge. Several persons were missing, who, it was supposed, were lost in this great inundation. The Ovens, and most of the other rivers, overflowed their banks, and many lives were lost.

At this time the Imperial Government attempted to send shiploads of prisoners to Port Phillip, and the attempt was backed up by some of the squatters; but the colonists generally were so strongly averse to receiving these visitors, that the home authorities abandoned their design, and ordered the vessels to be sent to Van Diemen's Land.

A very sad catastrophe occurred in August 1845 in Bass's Straits. The only emigrant ship that had been despatched from Britain that season was wrecked, and the whole of the emigrants, amounting to 423, were lost, with the exception of nine. So disastrous a shipwreck has seldom occurred, and, as the emigrants were urgently required in the district, the loss was incalculable, and the colonists were overpowered with regret at the event, which was instantly recognised as a great national misfortune.

The 20th of March 1846 was a day worthy of commemoration, as the bridge across the Yarra and the Hospital—two great public works—were commenced upon it. The foundation-stone of Prince's Bridge was laid by Mr La Trobe, superintendent of the district, under the direction of the Freemasons, an oration having been delivered by Brother E. J. Brewster, M.C., on behalf of that ancient fraternity. Immediately afterwards the foundation-stone of the Hospital was laid by the mayor, Dr Palmer. A census taken the same month showed the population to be 32,875 souls.

In anticipation of separation, it was announced in the beginning of 1848 that her Majesty had been graciously pleased to allow Port Phillip, when erected into an independent colony, to be named after herself, and that, instead of continuing to be called Port Phillip, the southern district should have the popular and world-wide name of Victoria—a name endeared to every subject in her dominions. Victoria will be associated with the proudest period in the history of Britain.

In the year 1847 the Rev. Charles Perry, D.D., was appointed Bishop of Melbourne; he arrived in the "Stag" on the 23d of January 1848, and was installed on the 28th of the same month, in the cathedral church, St James's, Melbourne.

On the 8th of August 1849, the "Randolph," a convict ship, approached the Port Phillip Heads, where instructions had been left by the authorities that the captain should not allow her to enter, but at once proceed to Sydney. He thought fit to disobey this order, alleging that he was chartered for Hobson's Bay, to that port only was he insured, and there he was determined to go. The excitement was considerable, and the people resolved that if any attempt should be made to violate the promise given, by landing the convicts on the shores of Port Phillip, they would oppose it by physical force. The superintendent wisely averted bloodshed, and, in accordance with the arrangement which had been

entered into between the people and the governor, directed the "Randolph" to proceed to Sydney. Public meetings were then held, at which resolutions were passed strongly protesting against the designs to make Port Phillip a penal colony. In August 1850 the question of transportation was once more brought before the Legislative Council of New South Wales by Mr Lamb, who moved a series of resolutions to the effect that no more convicts ought, under any circumstances, to be sent to the colony. An amendment having been moved, that the debate be adjourned for a month, the votes were equal, and the Speaker gave his casting vote in favour of the amendment. A public meeting was held in front of the Police Office, Melbourne, on the 19th September, and resolutions were passed in favour of Mr Lamb's motion. A similar meeting was held at Sydney, and very strong resolutions carried against transportation in any shape. The result of the debate on Mr Lamb's motion surprised nearly every person, for, with the exception of Messrs Wentworth and Martin, none of the members appeared in favour of the resumption of transportation, and the motion was carried without a division. The last resource of the imperial authorities was Van Diemen's Land, and here the battle continued to rage as fiercely as ever. The neighbouring colonies sympathised warmly with the Tasmanians, and in the beginning of 1851 it was resolved that all the Australian colonies should make common cause, and enter into a league for obtaining the abolition of transportation to any portion of Australasia. In Melbourne the cause was warmly taken up, and thirty-five of the leading colonists put down their names for subscriptions of one hundred guineas each to the funds. The Victorian branch of the League selected Mr J. C. King, the town-clerk of Melbourne, to proceed to England as delegate of the League. On the 7th of April a great public meeting was held in Sydney, at which the people resolved to dissolve the New South Wales Anti-Transportation Association and join the Australian League; and the delegates from Victoria and Van Diemen's Land were received in that city with the greatest enthusiasm. The unanimous feeling of the colonies against transportation, thus so plainly demonstrated in the League, and the great discovery of gold, which immediately afterwards succeeded, fortunately prevented any further attempts to thrust convicts upon the three colonies.

In the month of March 1849, the district was honoured with a visit from Sir Charles Fitzroy, the Governor of New South Wales, who arrived in H.M.S. "Havannah." He met with an enthusiastic welcome; the citizens turned out to meet him on his landing at Sandridge. Sir Charles remained ten days in the district; he received deputations from all the public bodies of Port Phillip, and held levées in Melbourne and Geelong. His Excellency well deserved the good opinion of the future inhabitants of Victoria for the concession he made to the colonists—that no convicts should be allowed to land contrary to their wishes. On his return to Sydney he was severely censured for having made this promise; but Sir Charles Fitzroy probably saw that the people of Port Phillip would resist the landing of prisoners, and that they would repel any such attempt by force of arms.

Meanwhile, the trade of Port Phillip had been steadily increasing; the

exports for 1848 amounted to £737,067, and the imports to £479,831. The ships inwards for 1849 were 484; and pastoral pursuits had expanded with great rapidity.

The bill for conferring representative government on the Australian colonies, and separating Port Phillip from New South Wales, was passed by the Imperial Parliament in August 1850. Her Majesty, as a matter of course, gave the royal assent, and Port Phillip at length was free. The joyful intelligence reached the colony by the "*Lysander*," from Adelaide, which entered Hobson's Bay on the 11th of November. That epoch, which had been so long anxiously looked forward to with an inexpressible longing by the old colonists, had now, at length, arrived; and the district which had been made the adopted home of many brave hearts had been, at last, formed into an independent colony, under the name of the most illustrious sovereign of the age. The public had been on the tip-toe of expectation watching for the intelligence of the passing of the bill. The people cared but little that it had been materially altered by the Lords, that the clauses which had reference to the Federal Assembly had been expunged, that the powers of the colonial legislatures had been abridged;—they were so happy at the prospect of emancipation from the thralldom of Sydney, that they would have welcomed almost any separation bill, however objectionable some of its details might have been in principle. The city of Melbourne was illuminated on the evening after the intelligence arrived, and in no part of the world, at any period, has any community been more gratified. It appeared as if each individual had received some inestimable present, and was unable to conceal his gratification. The decorations in the windows expressed the triumph which had been gained over Sydney, and the gratitude that the colonists felt to the Queen and the Home Government for affording them even a tardy release from political oppression. The separation rejoicings were extended over four days, during which period no work was done; all classes, even the printers, keeping the jubilee.

On the 15th of November, Prince's Bridge in Melbourne was opened. The day was beautiful, and the whole of the inhabitants turned out to behold the ceremony, which was one of the most imposing hitherto witnessed in the colony.

The last act of tyranny perpetrated by New South Wales towards Victoria has now to be considered. By the division between the middle and southern districts, as settled by the Imperial Government, in 1840, and announced to the colonists in a despatch from Lord John Russell, dated 1st of May of that year, the large country known as the Tumut and Murrumbidgee district formed a portion of Port Phillip, and the Billibong Creek was supposed to be the proper dividing line. The Bishop of Australia had moved an address to the Crown against this boundary, and the imperial authorities were induced, in the new Act, to adopt his view. An attempt was now made by the Port Phillip members, assisted by Dr Lang, to have the matter adjusted in an equitable manner, but this Mr Wentworth opposed, and the boundary for the time was left as settled by the Act; and Victoria was unjustly deprived of one of her most flourishing provinces, now generally designated Riverina.

The electoral Acts and other necessary arrangements having been duly passed, the old Council of the united colony was dissolved, and with its dissolution ceased the connection of the southern district. The Port Phillip members returned home to find they belonged henceforth to an independent colony. The superintendent, who had also been in Sydney during these important proceedings, returned at the same time, to find himself the lieutenant-governor of the new territory. The dignities and congratulations of the occasion were completed in the acceptable intimation that the colony, by express wish of the Queen, had been honoured by her own name of Victoria.

No inconsiderable amount of ceremonial—the swearing in of the governor, and various other duties that completed the inauguration of the new colony—took place on the 1st July 1851. There was a general procession in honour of the day, and after almost every colonist within reach had been pressed into the line by virtue of some rank, personal or official, or associated membership in something or other, there was still a world of outside spectators in addition. The anniversary of this 1st of July is still a general holiday for Victoria, and many yet remember the agreeable excitement of the time. To the colonists the prospect at last of a Government of their own, and above all, of a local representative legislature, the most coveted of all the objects of the past struggles, was especially inspiring. And in regard to material welfare, there was cause for general satisfaction. Everywhere the envied condition of “comfortable circumstances” seemed applicable alike to the individual and the community. The colony was rolling along upon a steady and pleasantly progressive wave of prosperity. It had already made a very fair position amongst its sister colonies of the empire. The census of the 2d March preceding showed that it contained at that time above 77,000 colonists, of whom Melbourne possessed 23,000; while the import and export commerce, collectively, for the preceding year, 1850, had amounted to nearly two millions sterling.

CHAPTER V.

A PROSPEROUS COLONY.

PROGRESS IN TEN YEARS—THE LAND QUESTION—THE SQUATTING QUESTION—BLACK THURSDAY—FIRST MEETING OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—LARGE REVENUES—THREE ERAS IN VICTORIAN HISTORY.

DURING the ten years the province had been settled it had been daily progressing in population and wealth. Vast interests had been silently growing up, and new classes were beginning to emerge into importance. All depended upon the land. The first wealth of Port Phillip was acquired from pastoral pursuits, and nearly every person was either directly or indirectly engaged in squatting. The tenants of the Crown had been informed that they only held the land until required for a denser population, and that, so soon as sheep and cattle could be replaced by people, it must be relinquished by the squatter in favour of the *bond fide* cultivators; but the evil day appeared distant, and those in actual possession laid the flattering unction to their souls that a very considerable period would, in all probability, elapse before their right would be questioned. The first victims to progress were the squatters within the settled districts, who had remained quietly in possession without observing the course which events were taking; indeed, they appeared not to have reflected on their danger until threatened with instant and utter annihilation. Many of the class were amongst the first who had arrived with stock, who had settled in close proximity to the coast, and had not been so enterprising as some of their neighbours. Being in comfortable circumstances, they had not desired to change their position, and hoped that they might not be disturbed in their lifetime. They were, however, nearest to the advancing tide of civilisation, and had first to be swept away by it. The proclamation of the 29th March, cancelling the regulations of the 21st August 1841, for settlement within the bounds of location, and in pursuance of her Majesty's order in Council of 9th March 1847, establishing new regulations for occupying lands within the settled districts, fell like a thunderbolt upon the unsuspecting occupiers of squatting runs. By the new system the owners of land in fee were to be permitted to use the vacant Crown lands immediately contiguous to their properties free of charge; but this permission was not supposed to give any other than a right of commonage. Those persons, however, who owned a square mile of purchased land could demand a lease of three adjoining sections of a similar size, at the nominal rent of ten shillings a section; but no smaller quantity was, under any circumstances, to be let; and the land

held under squatting license was to be immediately withdrawn on being either required for sale or applied for under the right of pre-emption.

This may be regarded as the commencement of the great conflict between squatting and civilisation, which has ever since been going forward, and which divided colonial society for years into two contending factions—those who had got a share of the public domain, and those who had not been so fortunate. The Government found it necessary to introduce a change of system, and the squatters within the settled districts being, for the most part, a weak and friendless class, their ruin created no great sensation. The rich and influential squatters in the intermediate and unsettled districts viewed the immolation of their poorer brethren without joining in any effort to avert it, deeming themselves quite secure from molestation. The Government allowed those about to be deprived of their runs a period sufficient to enter into such arrangements for their future support as they could, and most of them were wise enough not to neglect the opportunity. Finding that the new system must ultimately be brought into operation, most of them managed to purchase sections which entitled the holders to large pre-emptive rights. In the course of a few years, when, by the discovery of gold, real property advanced, these purchases placed the whole of these quasi-squatters in a most independent position.

Victoria is blessed with as salubrious and agreeable a climate as any country in the world. There is one material drawback, however, in the north winds which occasionally blow during the summer months, and which are often very oppressive. The thermometer frequently ranges as high as 100°, and, occasionally, 105° in the shade; but those who can seclude themselves within doors, and carefully exclude the warm air, seldom suffer much annoyance from them. But there are sudden changes of temperature which are peculiarly trying to the physical frame. The colony is exposed both to the desiccating winds from the desert and the cold sea-breezes, so that the thermometer sometimes falls twenty-five to thirty degrees within a very short space of time. In the year 1851 the colonists had to contend with a severe season, not dissimilar to the droughts which have been so prevalent in New South Wales. The heat continued until May and June, and no rain fell until about July and August. Food and water became scarce in every district, and the stock perished in great numbers. The swamps and plains were strewed in every quarter with the carcasses of the cattle and sheep which had died, and a general gloom overspread the country districts. The 6th of February has obtained a place in history as Black Thursday. For two months preceding, the country had been under the desiccating winds, which appeared to be highly charged with electricity. The herbage was parched up, and everything that the eye could rest upon was dry, dusty, and disagreeable. The 6th of February dawned much as very hot days generally do: the roseate tints of the horizon were rather brighter and more lurid than usual—the glare over the sky more vividly perceptible. The north wind set strongly in early in the morning, and by eleven o'clock in the forenoon it had increased to almost a hurricane. In the streets of Melbourne the heat was intense, and the atmosphere densely oppressive. Clouds of smoke and

dust hung over the city. The fires which blazed in the surrounding country increased the suffocating sensation generally experienced. It was hardly possible to go abroad; the streets were nearly deserted; and the few persons who were compelled to make the effort to traverse them stalked along with their faces closely enveloped in cloth; no man, however bold, appeared able to face the furiously-suffocating blast, which seemed to wither up their physical energies. By noon the inhabitants generally had shut themselves up in their various dwellings, too happy to have got out of the reach of the overpowering blast. They continued to sit until night listening in terror to the howl of this real sirocco. Had any portion of Melbourne ignited, the whole of the city must have been reduced to ashes, as no effort of the inhabitants could have prevented the conflagration from extending and becoming general. The citizens were providentially preserved from so terrible a disaster. In the country the scene could hardly be portrayed. Early in the morning the wind increased to a hurricane, and bush fires swept across whole districts with the speed of lightning; crossing roads and wide streams; destroying men, women, and children, cattle and sheep, crops, fences, houses, and, in fact, everything that stood in its way. The devouring flames spread everywhere, careering along the dried herbage on the surface, dancing up the large forest trees, and wantoning in the excess of devastation. When the flames first appeared, many brave men attempted to impede their progress, and avert the ruin of their hopes. They endeavoured to meet the devouring element, and beat it back with green boughs. But these attempts were useless; for the fire swept over them with a giant's strength, as if in mockery of such puny efforts, leaving them charred and lifeless lumps on the ground where they had stood. The herds and flocks, the wild beasts and birds of prey, the reptiles, and other animals, endeavoured to flee, but were speedily overtaken, and fell a prey to the crackling and roaring flames. The Black Forest was, on the morning, healthy and verdant (as the leaves of the trees, even in the summer heats, seldom change their dusky green colour); in the evening nothing could be seen for fifteen miles, from Gisborne to Carlsruhe, but charred and blackened trunks. In the majority of cases it was impossible to know how these fires occurred. The whole country, far and wide, was filled with dense clouds of smoke; the thermometer ranged from 118° to 119° in the shade, throughout the day. The settlers generally were not aware of their danger until the furious roar of the bush fires broke upon their ears, when they had to fly, and abandon the whole of their property. Not a few escaped death by taking shelter in creeks and water-holes until the violence of the fire had abated, and the atmosphere had become bearable. Some individuals were eighteen hours in the water, and, in one or two instances, died in consequence of this exposure, notwithstanding the intense heat. There were many persons travelling in the bush who had narrow escapes, as they became suddenly enveloped in the flames, and almost suffocated in the sweltering fumes of the surging blast. Could a more awful situation be pictured? The traveller started on his journey without anticipating danger; the wind from the north gradually rose in violence; the hot, fiery, blazing blast at last appeared charged with an

unusual element; then the smell of smoke was perceived, and, in an incredibly brief space, the whole bush was in one universal conflagration. Amazed and terrified, the solitary bushman found himself face to face with destruction, and that, too, in the most awful form that death could come. Those who were caught in the jaws of this flaming tempest were withered up like a scroll. The only escape was to gallop, if possible, out of the line of the fire, or take shelter in water. Many that day had a hard race for their lives, and the intense heat acted upon their frames so severely that they were parched up to a degree which they had before deemed impossible. The craving for liquid in such circumstances was intense, and the thirst almost intolerable. The wind suddenly changed towards nightfall, and, at ten o'clock, the thermometer had gone as low as 80°. What a scene did the morning of the 7th present! The most fertile districts were utterly wasted; the flocks and herds had, in many cases, been abandoned by their keepers, who fled for their lives; the inhabitants of the country who had escaped were utterly destitute, and the greatest amount of suffering had to be endured by the ruined colonists.

The people made very great exertions to alleviate the sufferings of these unfortunate colonists; a public meeting was held in Melbourne, and attended by all the leading men in the metropolitan district, and a large sum of money subscribed, which, under the direction of a committee, was distributed amongst the unfortunate individuals who had been left in a state of destitution.

The first Legislative Council of Victoria, consisting of ten nominee and twenty elected members, met for business in November 1851. Dr Palmer (afterwards Sir James) was elected Speaker, and Mr Murphy (afterwards Sir Francis) chairman of committees. Sir James Palmer was subsequently president of the Council, and Sir Francis Murphy Speaker of the Assembly, under self-government. The estimates for the year 1852 were based upon the ascertained results of 1850. The total income of that year had been £261,000, to which amount there had been added for 1852 a moderate allowance by way of increase, as sanctioned by the experience of past progress. But when the eventful year 1852 had rolled away, it was found to have yielded, in place of something short of £400,000 as originally looked for, no less than £1,577,000.

Those who are addicted to era-making in history, will readily find three great periods in Australia's progress. The first is the age of convictism, the second that of pastoral pursuits, the third that of the goldfields. The last is undoubtedly the most important, if we are to measure the importance of events to mankind according as they are powerful in agitating society, and bringing together the largest proportions of its masses. And the colony of Victoria had now arrived at its third era.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOLD DISCOVERIES.

THE GOLD DISCOVERY—THE MYSTERIOUS SHEPHERD—PUBLIC MEETING TO PROMOTE GOLD-FINDING—MR WILLIAM CAMPBELL—FIRST PROSPECTING PARTY—FIRST DESPATCH ANNOUNCING DISCOVERY—GOVERNOR'S PROCLAMATION—WONDERFUL "FINDS"—BALLARAT—A DESERTED CITY—A SECOND DESPATCH—FOREST CREEK—GOVERNOR'S PERPLEXITY—NEW ARRIVALS—GOLD MANIA—THE LICENSE FEE—WONDERFUL RESULTS—FIRST GOLD SHIPS—TROUBLES THREATENING—THE GOLDDIGGER'S LIFE—A TANDEM DRIVE FROM MELBOURNE TO BALLARAT.

IN the month of January 1849, a person dressed in the humble garb of a shepherd entered the shop of Mr Brentani, who followed the business of a watchmaker and jeweller, in Collins Street, Melbourne, and offered to sell a piece of quartz, richly interspersed with gold. A great many questions were naturally asked, and, in reply, he described himself as a shepherd on a station in the Pyrenees, in which locality he picked up the gold; he added that he knew where there was plenty more to be procured. Mr Brentani obtained the assistance of two working jewellers, Duchene and Forester, and had a proper assay made. The mass was found to be pure gold, and the shepherd, who gave his name as Chapman, was sent for and fed and clothed by Mr Brentani, who listened in amazement to the description which was given by his lodger of the auriferous regions on the Pyrenees. Excited by dreams of treasure, he planned an expedition that, in company with the lucky shepherd, should proceed to the spot. The party left Melbourne with the utmost secrecy, taking with them a dray which they proposed to fill with gold. Mr Duchene returned to Melbourne some time after; it appeared that his more knowing companions had, according to his statement, given him the slip, not desiring that he should share in their good fortune; but this account did not appear satisfactory to Mrs Brentani, who seemed to have a pretty good guess of the errand her husband had gone out upon, and, in her alarm for his safety, she charged Duchene with having taken away his life; and, to save himself, he made a full disclosure of all the particulars. So far from allaying the terror of Mrs Brentani, these facts only increased it, and Duchene, who was a Frenchman, would, most likely, have been incarcerated upon the charge of murder had not Brentani and the party opportunely returned. The public curiosity was naturally excited by the strange disclosures which had been made, but all inquiries were for a while avoided. The party, however, had picked up two large nuggets weighing upwards of twenty ounces each. But the most extraordinary part of the

affair was, that Chapman had disappeared. How, or under what circumstances, it is impossible to say, as the whole story is involved in mystery. That the gold was found in the place indicated by him appears certain ; and it is to this strange individual, therefore, that we are indebted for it ; but he never again re-appeared on the public stage to satisfy public curiosity, or receive the credit which was his due for the discovery which was to have so much influence on the whole civilised world.

The gold discovery in New South Wales greatly depressed the Victorian colonists, as they feared that the population would be drawn off to the neighbouring colony, and the value of property be thus very much reduced. They therefore resolved upon making an effort to counteract the powerful attraction. Accordingly a public meeting was held on the 9th of June 1851, and it was determined to offer a reward to any person who should disclose to the committee appointed a gold-mine capable of being profitably worked, within two hundred miles of the city of Melbourne. A few days afterwards Mr Henry Frencham, reporter to the *Port Phillip Gazette* ; Mr Walsh, jeweller, of Swanston Street, with one or two other gentlemen, proceeded to the Plenty Ranges, amongst which gold was said to exist, and where, at the time, two hundred persons were scattered about searching for the precious metal. This locality had been selected in consequence of two persons, named Sharp and Armstrong, having (as reported) discovered a small quantity of the precious dust there, about ten years before. They had sent it, when discovered, to Van Diemen's Land, but, receiving no return, had abandoned the pursuit, after enduring the greatest hardships and privations. In the *Port Phillip Gazette* of the 14th June, the editor announced that his reporter, "who had been scouring the Plenty Ranges with the twofold purpose of supplying the public with the latest intelligence, and of enabling them to decide if gold did really exist," had actually come on that which he was in search of. A letter then followed from the gentleman, stating that he had discovered gold on a foundation of sandstone and slate, with perpendicular veins of quartz ; the specimens were subjected to the usual tests, but the results were not so satisfactory as could be desired ; the first gentleman who tested it discovered gold, which he exhibited to the committee ; on the other hand, a portion of the same specimen had been handed to Mr Hood, a practical chemist, who was unable to find any gold in it. The committee therefore declined to pay Mr Frencham the reward, but on proceeding again to the locality he actually discovered gold. By this time other gentlemen had published to the world that they had found auriferous deposits in various localities ; Mr Frencham had, however, the credit of having found out a rich digging ; he named it, because the first diggers were Scotchmen, the "Caledonian."

But there appears no doubt that the next individual, after the mysterious Chapman, who found the auriferous metal was William Campbell, Esq. of Strath Loddon, a member of the first Legislative Council of Victoria. In the month of March he observed minute pieces of gold, in quartz, on the station of Mr Donald Cameron at Clunes, and also near to Burnbank, upon another station. The fact was, however, concealed, from an apprehension that the stations would be ruined

if it should be made public ; but on the 10th of June Mr Campbell communicated the discovery to the public. Messrs Michell, Habberlin, Greening, Haton, Melville, and Furnival, discovered gold on Major Newman's station, Anderson's Creek, on the Yarra, in the month of June. On the 5th of July the fact was made public, and on the 16th they brought a considerable sample of the dust to Melbourne, which they exhibited to the Gold Discovery Committee. A party, consisting of Messrs Edmonds, Kelly, Burns, and Pugh, discovered gold in the quartz reefs of the Pyrenees, near Donald Cameron's station, about the middle of June, and they made public the fact in Geelong on the 5th July. The next in order of time who announced that he had been successful was Dr George H. Bruhn, who found gold near the Jim Crow Ranges ; and on the 30th June he forwarded specimens to the Melbourne committee. The most important discovery was, however, made by Mr Thomas Hiscock on the 8th of August, and made public through the columns of the *Geelong Advertiser*. He came upon a deposit of auriferous soil in a gully near Buninyong. The whole of this district was soon swarming with parties searching for gold ; and, as Ballarat is on the same range, in a short time two parties, almost simultaneously, came on the adjoining range to Golden Point. This rich spot was worked for some time without any very marked success, but a family named Cavenagh, having entered a half-worked claim, and carried it below a layer of blue greasy pipeclay, amidst decayed slate, struck the rich pockets which were almost universally found there. The gold actually discovered, with the exception of Chapman's nugget, was trifling in amount previous to the important facts disclosed by the Messrs Cavenagh, which placed Victoria at once at the very head of the gold-producing countries of the world. Not only Ballarat, but Forest Creek, where inexhaustible mines had almost simultaneously been discovered by some shepherds in the employment of Dr Barker, began to produce many thousands of ounces weekly, and before the close of the year the colony had undergone a complete revolution in all its relations.

On the 25th of August 1851, Lieut.-Governor La Trobe wrote from Melbourne to Earl Grey that large deposits of gold had been found in the colony, thus proving the extension of the New South Wales goldfield throughout the Great Dividing Range, Victoria forming its southern extremity. Three localities were first discovered—Clunes diggings, where gold was found in an alluvium of decomposed quartz rock ; Buninyong and Ballarat, where gold was embedded in compact quartz ; and at Deep Creek, sixteen miles from Melbourne, where the precious metal was found in contact with slate rock.

Governor La Trobe having issued a proclamation, and made arrangements for granting licenses similar to those of New South Wales, the population poured forth from the city and surrounding country to the goldfields, which were speedily found to be productive even beyond those of the adjoining colony. Previous to this discovery, the Melbourne labourers had been emigrating in shoals to the Bathurst diggings. This was soon checked, and not only so, but the tide turned—the Port Phillip emigrants found their way back again, and with them a considerable portion of the population of New South Wales, allured by the

superior richness of the Victoria mines, and the ease with which they were reached, from their vicinity to the city.

In addition to the above localities, gold was found a mile from Geelong—at Mount Disappointment—at the Pyrenees—a copper-mine was found at Deep Creek, whilst exploring for gold—and finally the people of Melbourne began to break up the streets, which were macadamised with quartz pebbles brought from the gold localities. Gold in small quantities was found, so that Melbourne may fairly lay claim to the honour of having had its streets paved with gold. In August, after a reward had been offered for the discovery of gold in the Port Phillip district, the diggings were opened at the Clunes, whence a piece of two pounds of fine grain gold was sold. Afterwards they were successfully opened at Buninyong, a deep gorge formed by the bed of Anderson's Creek, in the heart of Stringy Bark Ranges. The weather was unfavourable, and the first attempt to levy license fees at the Clunes created discontent. A different spirit from that at the Turon was displayed; the people struck their tents and retreated farther into the ranges; this led to the discovery of Ballarat. But the commissioner having acted with great discretion, taken pains to conciliate, and applied his mechanical skill to constructing a better cradle, an improved feeling was created.

In September the returns were better—more nuggets—one man getting eight ounces in a week. Success soon brought two hundred up; and, the weather clearing, gold-gathering became one of the trades of Victoria, and license fees being found a protection, were paid willingly. Diggers combined to preserve order, held meetings, and settled all disputed points. At Clunes the rock was ruined—at Ballarat the soil only was washed. In October the Government escort was established, and large returns were raised daily. By the middle of the month, ten thousand men were at work, with twelve or thirteen hundred cradles at Ballarat. The estimated daily earnings were £10,000, very unequally distributed. In the same month the miners held a public meeting to adopt measures for securing a supply of water during the coming dry season, and a subscription of one shilling a head was commenced for the purpose of damming up the waters of the creek; the commissioner of Crown lands was elected treasurer, and any surplus was to go towards an hospital for the sick diggers.

On the 10th of October (1851) Lieut.-Governor La Trobe again wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "Within the last three weeks the towns of Melbourne and Geelong, and their large suburbs, have been in appearance almost emptied of their male inhabitants; the streets, which for a week or ten days were crowded by drays loading with the outfit for the workings, are now seemingly deserted. Not only have the idlers to be found in every community, and day-labourers in towns and the adjacent country, shopmen, artisans, and mechanics of every description, thrown up their employments, and in most cases leaving their employers and their wives and families to take care of themselves, run off to the workings; but responsible tradesmen, farmers, clerks of every grade, and not a few of the superior classes, have followed; some unable to withstand the mania, and force of the stream, or because they were really disposed to venture time and money on the chance, but others, because they were, as

employers of labour, left in the lurch, and had no other alternative. Cottages are deserted, houses to let, business is at a stand-still, and even schools are closed. In some of the suburbs not a man is left, and the women are known for self-protection to forget neighbours' jars" (his Excellency, we observe, bears indirect testimony to the accorded habits and privileges of the gentler sex), "and to group together to keep house. The ships in the harbour are in a great measure deserted."

Even the rich results of the Ballarat diggings were, however, insignificant compared to those realised in the workings at Forest Creek, in the neighbourhood of Mount Alexander, and within the circuit watered by the upper course of the river Loddon and its tributary streams. The first gold in this quarter was discovered in a seam of compact quartz of about a foot in thickness, lying between the strata of clay-slate and mica-slate. The search for it in this locality originated in the fact of a small piece of gold combined with quartz having been picked up by a shepherd on his folding-ground. The report soon spread, and numbers shortly rushed to the spot. By the 3d of December there were upwards of 12,000 people collected within an area of fifteen square miles around the base of Mount Alexander, many of the former diggers at Ballarat being included amongst the number. Within the lapse of another fortnight they had increased to 20,000, and the aggregate of gold raised within this glittering locality was already beginning to be calculated by hundredweights, and even tons. A large proportion of the miners actually at work were making large profits. A pound-weight of gold a day was accounted a small remuneration for a party of diggers—many secured five or six pounds—while there were instances of as much as fifty pounds' weight being the result of but a few hours' labour. Large quantities were collected without difficulty almost from the very surface, and even where the ore lay below the alluvium, either immediately above or in fissures of the slate rock, the labour of reaching it was found much less than that experienced by the Ballarat workers. All around Mount Alexander, within the creeks belonging to the Loddon valley—right and left, through a region of many miles in continuous extent—the gold was found to exist, and in conditions of unrivalled abundance.

Poor Mr La Trobe! never was governor of a colony in so unfortunate a predicament! In the midst of golden wealth he appeared (like Midas of old) to run some risk of perishing from actual want—political as well as physical. His servants left him, and his officials on all sides deserted him. He doubled their salaries, but to no purpose—to bid against the allurements of the golden harvest was a vain and fruitless attempt. No rate of pay would induce men, under existing circumstances, either to enter or remain in the public service when the whole community had, collectively and individually, made up their mind to try their fortunes in the goldfields, and when "nuggets" of the precious metal were freely passing from hand to hand within the sight of all. Policemen and constables walked off from their duties, and when the perplexed delegate of majesty appealed to the "respectable inhabitants of the city to come forward" at such an unexampled crisis, and assist by their service as special constables

in the preservation of public order, the aforesaid respectabilities of Melbourne metaphorically (and almost literally) told his Excellency that "they wished he might get it." In other words, they declined the honour proposed to be thrust upon them, significantly accompanying the refusal by the recommendation that a sufficiently increased remuneration to meet the exigencies of the case should be offered to those whose services Government was desirous of securing. But what amount of remuneration *could* suffice, when, within a few miles' distance, fortunes were being almost picked up from the surface of the ground, and a chance stroke of the foot against a piece of rock might bring to light a golden "nugget" such as princes might almost have contended for the honour of possessing?

Meanwhile, the throng of gold-seekers was daily increased by arrivals from the neighbouring colonies—Adelaide was almost deserted, the works of Burra-Burra for a time nearly suspended, and Van Diemen's Land daily contributed its hundreds to swell the torrent of immigration into the golden regions of Victoria. Even the workers at the Turon, and other goldfields of the Bathurst district, deserted their diggings for the richer harvests of the precious metal that were to be so abundantly gathered in the sister province. Between the 1st of July 1851 and the 31st December of the same year, there had arrived in the colony of Victoria, by sea alone, no fewer than 10,900 persons—more than seven thousand of the number being immigrants from the neighbouring colonies, chiefly from Van Diemen's Land and South Australia; and between the 1st and 17th of January immediately following, these were increased by further arrivals to the number of 2781, mostly from the same quarters. This was independent of the many thousands who had reached the province overland, from New South Wales and South Australia, and whose exact numbers there were no means of ascertaining.

At one time, it had been determined by the Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria to double the amount of the license fee—an intention which, on the energetic remonstrances of the gold-digging throng, was wisely abandoned. Indeed, the amount realised by the present rate was already on a scale such as might well be supposed to content even the tax-loving ideas of official authority, and to form no inconsiderable addition to the ordinary Crown revenue of the colony. The amount paid for license fees during the last three months of 1851 amounted to £25,480—nearly £18,000 of the amount being contributed by the Mount Alexander diggers alone; and the escort fees paid by individuals for the safe transmission of their gold from the diggings to Melbourne amounted, during the same period, to £3634. Up to the close of February 1852, the total sum paid for license fees had increased to upwards of £62,000. The proceeds of the gold licenses issued during the first quarter of the year amounted to £48,597, and the escort fees to £4489. The sale of Crown lands, within the same period, realised £94,273, being an increase of 9700 per cent. upon the corresponding quarter of 1851.

By November 1851, the goldfields of Victoria had yielded gold to the value of £220,000; the weekly escort brought down from five to six thousand ounces,

of which the Ballarat mines yielded two thousand ounces weekly. The number of persons at the mines was about 15,000—a small number for so large a product. The largeness of the product is not, however, to be wondered at when we take the instances of individual success recorded. Seven men obtained nine pounds of gold in one day; four got four pounds; another party of four, three and three-quarter pounds, etc., every stream turning out a Pactolus. Labour was at a stand-still, shops were being closed, and the towns were deserted by persons of all classes and occupations, for the purpose of joining in the general scramble after gold. Printers absconded from the newspaper-offices, no wages sufficing to tempt their stay, and the papers had to be abandoned, or brought out in a diminished size. Victoria was fast outstripping New South Wales in the value of its gold produce. In the first week of December, twelve thousand ounces came to Sydney, valued at £39,000. In the last week of November, thirteen thousand ounces, value £42,000, were sent to Melbourne and Geelong, and more would have been sent but that means of conveyance were wanting. A separate escort was now put on for Mount Alexander, which was beginning to yield large quantities; the first escort brought down one thousand ounces. The Mount Alexander diggings became so famous and productive, that the Ballarat miners began to leave their locality; not that their own mines were exhausted, but that the other yielded the precious metal more easily, and in greater abundance.

By the 10th of December the yield had become astonishing, considering the small number of hands. The whole dividing range between New South Wales and Victoria, known as the Snowy Mountains, was one vast goldfield. Neither labour nor carts could be readily got for the escort service. The *Melbourne Herald* of the 10th of December stated that a *ton and a half of gold* was waiting in Commissioner Powlett's tent for the escort. At Mount Alexander, a man obtained eighty pounds' weight of gold in a single hour! and on the 20th of December there had been collected, in Victoria alone, *ten tons two hundred-weights eighty-two pounds ten ounces of gold!* The produce of one week was, from Mount Alexander, 23,750 oz., from Ballarat, 2224 oz. only, as the miners were rapidly leaving for Mount Alexander, and from Geelong, 682 oz., making a total for the week's product of 26,656 oz., or 1 ton 221 lbs. 4 oz.

On the 20th of December an official account stated that the aggregate quantity of gold taken out of the soil up till that date was estimated at 243,414 oz., or 10 tons 2 cwt. 82 lbs. 10 oz. This estimate was given when the mines had scarcely been known for more than three months.

In April and May 1852, the arrival of six ships in London, with more than *eight tons* of gold on board them, gave proof decisive to the English people of the value of their new El Dorado in the South.

As might reasonably be supposed, the disorganisation of society was very great. There was no available labour to be had for ordinary work at all. Added to this, the number of reckless spirits who had been drawn together from all parts of Australia was very considerable, and they soon began to show symptoms of resisting the law, which, from the absence of an adequate military force, the authorities had no power of enforcing had it been resisted, whilst the police

force, following the example of those whose lives and property they had been appointed to guard, had gone off bodily to the diggings. Happily the good sense of the majority prevailed, and order was preserved, though not without manifestations of disorder.

A circumstance now occurred in the colony which presents a caricature of our monetary system. One escort took back from Melbourne to Mount Alexander £50,000 in bank-notes, not worth 50,000 farthings intrinsically, for the purchase of that amount of solid gold. Note engravers and printers in the colony were not able to make bank-notes fast enough for the demand, and one bank had actually to borrow notes from a neighbouring colony.

A gold-digger's life at this early period was by no means an easy one, as may be readily believed. It implied a total abnegation of everything in the shape of comfort—a disregard of all the ordinary forms and usages of civilised life—the possession of a constitution which could withstand all vicissitudes of weather, of a temperament which could submit with patience to the alternate torments of heat, insects, dust, rain, cold, and out-door exposure (adopting, like Mr Mark Tapley, the philosophy of being “jolly” under all such untoward circumstances), and of a capacity for the endurance of no small amount of bodily fatigue and muscular exertion. In short, the gold-digger had to be prepared to suffer every conceivable hardship short of actual starvation. “None are fit for the diggings,” wrote a practitioner in the art of gold-finding, “who cannot sleep under a tree in the open air, drink water of all colours, go for a week unwashed and unshaved, and submit to be overrun with vermin.” But there are two sides to every picture, and the above is the darker one. Neither the prospect of hard work, nor of any other evils—moral or physical—deterred men from the pursuit of gold-seeking, while there remained a chance of adding to their store of worldly wealth by means so rapid as those that have been described. Nor—in so far as mere physical labour is concerned—was the work of the gold-digger harder than most other kinds of out-door manual occupation. To the bushman, trained in habits of simplicity and self-denial, and accustomed to the burning heat of an Australian summer sun, it was of trifling consequence. To those who had hitherto known no harder bodily life than that of the counting-house and the office desk, it was doubtless a life of unwonted toil—a much harder kind of work than they had ever tried before, and a much more serious affair than they had perhaps anticipated.

A publication of that period gives a lively sketch of a tandem drive from Melbourne to Ballarat, from which we shall make a few extracts :

“Having cleared the city, we overtook the golden army of bullock-drays moving northward, surrounded by companies of men and lads; occasionally a female is seen. Four bulldogs pull one carriage, a great dog in the shafts of another, and a man pushing behind at a load of near five hundredweight. Presently the splendid panorama opened to view an extensive sweep of plains, encircled by mountain ranges in the remote distance. Far as the eye can reach, the pilgrimage, its line moving along the undulations, now hid, now rising into view—English and Germans, Irish and Scotch, Tasmanians. Sixteen drays at Yuille's

Ford, and nearly two hundred people. It is nearly impassable, from the fresh current of yesterday's rain. But the men, tailing on to the ropes by dozens, pull both the horses and carts through. Some there are pulling, some cooking their mid-day meals, some unloading the drays, some moving off the ground. Over the ford the road is delightful, the scenery charming, the land more broken, and timbered like a park. Ladidak comes in view, a beautiful ravine formed by the convergence of several hills, at the base of which the river so winds that it must be crossed thrice. Where formerly was silence, only broken by the voice of the bell-bird, now bullock-drays, bullocks, and bullock-drivers, are shouting, roaring, and swearing up the hill, or descending splashing through the once clear stream. On, on, until the expanse of Bacchus Marsh opens, until lately a favourite meet of our hounds. A camp of tents has been formed by those who think it discreet to put off the crossing struggle until their beasts have had the benefit of a night's rest; loud is the ringing of bullock-bells; meanwhile an impromptu bridge of a tree has been thrown across the river, and men are crossing and recrossing like a stream of ants. A dray deep in the stream makes a complete capsize before it can be hauled through. Our tandem dog-cart dashes through gallantly; we reach the Pentland Hills, where another encampment has been formed in the long ravine; we trot on slowly, the moon bright, the sky cloudless, a sharp frost nips the uplands, the campers eating, drinking, and smoking; architects, jewellers, chemists, booksellers, tinker, tailor, and sailor, all cold but cheerful. At the next station we halt and enjoy our friend's fire and supper. The next morning broke bright and fresh; the ground was white with frost; at daylight the train of pilgrims were crossing the plain—the Germans with wheelbarrows led the way. At Ballan we find the inn eaten out. A horse passes at speed bearing on his back two horsemen. We meet sulky parties of the unsuccessful returning, and see signs in small excavations of prospecting parties. The forest grows denser; towards evening we reach the hospital roof-tree of Lal Lal, where at daybreak all the laughing jackasses of the country seemed to have established a representative assembly. Ha! ha! ha! Ho! ho! ho! ho! Hu! hu! hu! ring forth in every variety of key innumerable.

“The cavalcade in motion splashes through the broad river, where one driver, in his shirt, without breeches, walks beside and urges on his horses, fearful of his dray sticking on the way. Our next point is Warrenheep, where we refresh with a draught from the delicious mineral spring. Two miles from Warrenheep the hills begin gradually to slope toward Ballarat. The forest trees are loftier and denser, but the surface soil is not so richly grassed. The road emerges on to a rich bottom of considerable extent, and the hill to the left extends upwards in such a gentle slope as to diminish the appearance of its height. Within a mile and a half of Golden Point the tents begin to peer through the trees. The Black Hill rises precipitously on the right from a creek that washes its base, and through its thick forest covering the road is visible down which the carriers are conveying their earth. The bank of the creek is lined with cradles, and the washers are in full operation. Round the base of the mountain, on the farther side, at right angles with this creek, the river Lee flows; and for half-a-mile

along its bank the cradles are at work. We descend, leave the road, cross the bottom, spring over a dam, and are among the workmen. Rock, rock, rock! swish, swash, swish!—such the universal sound. The cradle is placed lengthwise with the water. The ‘cradleman,’ holding the handle with his left hand, with a stick or scraper to break the lumps of earth or stir up the contents, keeps the cradle constantly going. The ‘waterman,’ standing at the head of the cradle with a ladle of any kind, keeps baling water continuously into it. A third man washes carefully into a large tin dish the deposit that has fallen through the sieves of the cradle on to the boards beneath, carries it into the stream, where he stands knee-deep, and, tilting the dish up under the water, and shaking its contents, the precious metal falls to the bottom, while the earth and sand are washed out by the water. After long washing the glittering dust is seen along the bottom edges of the dish. The residuum is carefully washed into a pannikin, dried over the fire, and bottled or packed for exportation. Meanwhile the ‘cradleman’ and ‘waterman’ examine the quartz stones in the upper sieve for quartz gold. Occasionally some are found with pieces of quartz adhering, the rest are thrown aside. The cradle filled, the men are at work again, and the rocking recommences. On the top of the hill the diggers are hard at work; the carriers descend the steep side, dragging a loaded sled filled with the gold-impregnated earth, some with tin vessels on their heads, others with bags on their backs. The earth thrown down, they re-ascend the toilsome way; and this is the process ‘from morn till dewy eve.’

“Returning to the road, the outer encampment this side of Golden Point became visible. A sound is heard like the continuous beat of a thousand muffled drums, or the rushing of a mighty waterfall. As we issue from the trees the cause is beheld. From the margin of the forest a broad swamp spreads, through which the Lee runs. Over against you the broad shoulder of a bold hill is pushed out to meet its attacking waters, and round its base run the swamp waters, uniting with the river. Along this the cradles are ranged for about half-a-mile, on both sides of the creek and down the river, forming the letter T with the ends upturned. They are crowded so closely together as barely to permit being worked, in some places in triple file. At this distance you see some of the excavations, and the carriers swarming up and down hill with all sorts of vessels, from the bag to the wheelbarrow. The enormous ant-hive swarms like a railway cutting, where the crown of a hill is carried down to fill a valley. Higher up the hill’s crest, along its sides, and stretching down to the swamp far away to the right and left, are the tents, thickly clustered and pitched, and, far beyond, the lofty white-barked trees form a background. This is Ballarat!

“Crossing the swamp, we reach the commissioner’s tent, where he is trying a depredator, who, for want of a lock-up, has been tied to a tree all through the hard night’s frost. Troops of horses, drays, carts, and gigs, with their owners, are all around. Squatter, merchant, farmer, shopkeeper, labourer, shepherd, artisan, law, physic, and divinity, all are here. You meet men you have not seen for years, but they recognise you first, for even your most intimate friends are

scarcely to be known in the disguise of costume, beard, and dirt. 'Welcome to Golden Point!' 'Ah, old friend! hardly knew you. How are you getting on?' 'Did nothing for a week; tried six holes and found no gold. My party, disheartened, left me. I formed another party; sank eighteen feet until we came to the quartz, and dug through it, and now I have reached the blue clay. It is a capital hole—come and see it.' Imagine a gigantic honeycomb, in which the cells are eight feet wide and from six to twenty-five feet deep, with the partitions proportionately thin, and to follow a friend to find a hole in the very midst is dangerous work—

'Lightly tread, 'tis hollowed ground.'

"The miners move nimbly about, with barrow, pick, and bag, swarming along the narrow ledges, while below others are picking, shovelling, and heating the stove. 'No danger, sir; our bank is supported by quartz. We've got to the gold at last. Made an ounce yesterday. There was a man killed yesterday three holes off; the bank fell down on him as he was squatting down this way, picking under the bank, and squeezed him together. His mate had his head cut, and was covered up to the throat.' Down the shaky excuse for a ladder, half the way, then a jump, and the bottom of the capital hole is gained. Nearly four feet of red sand formed the upper layer, next a strata of pipeclay, below which lie the quartz boulders; then a formation of quartz pebbles, with sand impregnated with iron; this penetrated, the bluish marl is reached in which the vein of gold is found. Down among the men washing there is nothing to be observed. The work is earnest—no time for talk. The commissioner has a busy time issuing licenses. His tent has the mounted police on one side, and the native police on the other. The blackfellows are busy tailoring; one on the broad of his back, in the sun, with his eyes shut, chanting a monotonous aboriginal ditty. Three men are waiting their turn with the commissioner.

"'I say, Bill, this here's rayther respectable okipashun—that cove with the specs is a first-class swell in Melbourne, and there's a lot in the same party with him. The greatest nobbs are all the same as uz snobs! I saw Mr —— from the Barwon here this morning: he found his shepherd in a hole getting gold, an' no mistake! He comes with his brother to have a turn with the rest; but when he saw him he looked nonplushed, and said to himself, 'Well, I can't go down to this,'—and I believe the fool started back; but come, it's our turn now.'

"The evening shadows fall, the gun from the commissioner's tent is fired—the signal for digging to cease; the fires blaze up, the men gather round them for their evening meal, their smoke floats over the trees as over a city, the sounds of labour are hushed, but are succeeded by loud voices and ringing laughter, mingled with the bells of the browsing oxen, and the dogs baying more loudly as the darkness grows more dark. A party of gamblers are staking each a pinch of gold-dust on the turn of a copper. The native police, lithe and graceful as kangaroo-dogs, are enjoying a round of sham combat; one black-fellow attacks with a frying-pan; the other pretends to shoot him with his knife: a painter might study their attitudes. Hark to the sax-horns from the

Black Hill floating to us across the valley; close at hand the sweet melody of the German hymn in chorus rises; and then down from toward the river comes the roaring chorus of a sailor's song. The space and distance mellow in one harmonious whole all the sounds; and as we retreat they fall upon one wearied with hard labour like the rich hum of an English meadow in harvest-time. A flash! a bang! another! now platoon-firing: become infectious, the sounds of war mingle with and overpower the music. The warm day terminated in a bitter cold night, and a storm of snow and hail ushered in Sunday—for we are 1200 feet above the sea. On the Sabbath digging and washing gold cease; but the axe and the hammer ring continually, and the crash of falling timber booms over the hills. The miners, with what few wives are there, are building huts, mending tents, gathering firewood, and washing out their mud-stained garments. The men soon assume a clean and more civilised costume, form groups, compare notes, make calls. The unsuccessful wander off into remote spots, prospecting. Some start for the post-office. The tide of emigrants flow in, and men who never before dwelt out of reach of an inn and a waiter have to learn now to camp under a tree and cook a chop without a frying-pan."

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

CHINESE INVASION—A STRANGE SOCIETY—TRANSPORTATION QUESTION—SQUATTING QUESTION—CANVASTOWN—CROWN RIGHTS—LEGISLATIVE SQUABBLES—IMMENSE FORTUNES—ANTI-TRANSPORTATION MEETING—THE “NELSON” ROBBERY—DALTON THE BUSHRANGER—ROBBERY OF THE M’IVOR ESCORT—O’CONNOR AND BRADLEY THE BUSHRANGERS—LAND SPECULATION—SQUATTERS IN LUCK—UNSUCCESSFUL GOLD-SEEKERS—DIGGERS AGITATE AGAINST THE LICENSE FEE—FIRST DISTURBANCES—FOREST CREEK DEMONSTRATION—BENDIGO DIGGERS PROTEST—LICENSE FEE REDUCED—CAPTAIN BROWN—GOVERNMENT PROCLAMATION—BAD GOVERNMENT—DIGGERS IN REVOLT—SECOND LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—MR J. L. FOSTER—MR LA TROBE’S DEPARTURE—A SAD ACCIDENT.

AMONGST the motley population attracted to the colony by the gold discovery were the Chinese, who, about two years after Ballarat and the sister goldfields were published to the world, began to arrive by thousands, and swarmed like locusts at the chief mines. They have called up already a social and political problem in Australia. The proportions of the Chinese immigration threatened far to exceed all the usual experiences of international intercourse. Twenty-five thousand Chinamen were now busy amongst the thickest of the colonial population, and they reported that many more were expected to follow them. Victoria had somewhat of the disconcerted feeling that the mother country might experience on learning that a couple of millions or so of the dusky sons of Confucius had determinedly seated themselves among the industrial hives of York and Lancashire. The legislature thereupon passed some stringently restrictive enactments, which had the effect of at least preventing the overwhelming tide that was at first anticipated; and as the public alarm in great measure ceased, the restrictions were partially removed, and eventually entirely done away with. Even Chinamen have discovered that gold-mining has its dark as well as its bright side, and that there are no great profits, and assuredly but few other attractions for them in Victoria.

But there was a visitation of a much more serious character, and from a quarter much nearer home. The convict population of Tasmania flowed across Bass’s Strait as from an open gaol. Many of this class were “free by servitude,” and not much the better for that; others preferred the quicker process of making themselves free, and they succeeded in getting off with the crowd; while a third section consisted of “conditional pardon” men, the condition being that

they had the liberty of the world, provided they did not return to Britain, and the practical result being that they all went straight to Victoria. The Tasmanian Government, hampered by altogether too large a flock of these goats, had gladly helped them off to the rich and diversified pastures of Victoria, with some feeling of assurance that, while they must not think of returning to England, they never would dream of re-appearing in Tasmania.

Meanwhile how fared society in Victoria, and those quiet but prosperous pursuits that had kept their steady course prior to all this uproar of gold-digging? In truth, society fared but indifferently, for discomfort and inconvenience reigned paramount throughout the scene of domestic and trading life. Various kinds of business must for a time be either curtailed or given up, or the colonists must divert their attention entirely to new pursuits. Every necessary of life, from food and clothing to servants and house-room, had gone up to twice and four times, nay, with rents it was even ten times, the old rates; so that the ordinary incomes of previous days were now wholly insufficient. But withal, there was one solid consolation, and it was participated in by so many that it occasioned a general joyousness over the social surface. No one that had a house or a plot of ground but found himself almost at once transferred to a position of independence or wealth. The amount that formerly represented the total value had now become the mere yearly rental, and in many instances of suburban property the value was increased by more than even one hundredfold.

One of the most prominent public questions of the time was that of transportation. The system had now culminated in evils of the most intolerable kind to the colonists, who could not perambulate their goldfields, travel on their highways, or even venture beyond the bounds of their capital, without the constant fear of bushrangers, and of the experience of crimes the most odious and atrocious that human depravity could commit. The colonists were additionally aroused by the aspect of quiet unconcern on the part of the Home Government and public as to any interests but their own in this important question. Australia, these latter said, must now, with her absorbing goldfields, need the labour of the convicts more than ever; but at any rate Britain cannot keep these bad people within her own bosom, and where can they be sent if not to Australia? But the anti-transportation movement had anticipated the gold discovery. An Australian League had been already formed in the previous year. It had emanated from Tasmania, and it embraced in particular that colony, Victoria, and New South Wales. The object of the association was to use every influence and means permissible by the laws for putting an end to the system of sending British criminals to Australia; and large sums of money were subscribed by the various colonists towards carrying out this purpose. In the opinion of the colonists, the gold discoveries had brought a crisis that must at once terminate this protracted question in the colonists' favour; for while, on the one hand, Victoria was overrun by atrocious criminals, the fruit, not of her own society, but of that of the mother country, on the other, that mother country, it was not to be supposed, could ever dream of continuing to hold out golden Australia and its vicinities as places of criminal transportation. The evil to Victoria was of such alarming magni-

tude that it must be checked by no delicate hand. As to further petitions and remonstrances to the Home authorities, there was no longer time for such circuitous procedure. Something, therefore, must be done forthwith in order to arrest further convict influx from Tasmania, and to cut off from the authorities there the mischievous resource of the conditional pardon system. From all these considerations the legislature framed and passed the "Convicts' Prevention Act" of the year 1852, a measure that attracted some attention, both from the liberty it takes with principles of ordinary British law, and from the abnormal incidents of the day to which it owed its existence. This Act ordained, in effect, that no holder of a pardon of any kind, other than a perfectly free pardon, could be admitted to Victoria any more than to England; and also that all persons arriving from Tasmania must prove themselves to be free, otherwise they would be assumed to be convict, and be treated accordingly; that is, they would either be punished on the spot, or returned to the colony whence they came. The penalties for infringement were most severe. The Act, after some sparring between the members and the Crown officers in the legislature (the latter, however, agreeing to all the main provisions), was sanctioned by the governor, Mr La Trobe, whose views and feelings seem to have been quite those of the colonists, and came at once into operation. The subsequent history of this Act exemplifies other cases where the imperial and the colonial mind have not held the same views. The measure was disapproved of at home, on the ground of its interference with the royal prerogative of pardon—in allusion to the summary procedure with the conditional pardons; and it was refused the royal sanction until certain alterations had been effected. The next year the Colonial Government, loyal to imperial wishes, introduced a superseding measure with the objectionable parts left out; but the legislature, not less loyal to the social interests under its care, restored the omissions, and so maintained the Act. The governor, who held rather a difficult position, reserved the royal assent. The colony was not to be defeated. The new law went on for the two years' term provided in such cases, and it has gone on ever since. Indeed, its scope has latterly been extended, so as to exclude all who had been convicts, until an interval of three years after receiving their pardons. South Australia, some years afterwards, adopted this Act, and still later it was enacted at the Cape of Good Hope. The measure, although ostensibly so hostile to Tasmania, was regarded by her people generally as a matter of necessity, and as it served to supply a striking illustration of the evils caused by the convict system, it also served Tasmania, as well as the other colonies, in the general war that was being waged on the question with the Home Government.

The squatting question was another that early broke forth in the Assembly, and with all the more asperity of party feeling from the circumstance that the unequal electoral arrangements, in conjunction with the nominee element in the House, took away all the reasonable political predominance that ought to reside in the main body of the public under representative institutions. A few years later, when the tables were entirely turned in this respect, the squatting interests were far less considerably dealt with, than would have been the case on the

occasion of this earlier opposition. The great point with the non-squatting public was that the colonial lands should be sold in such greatly-increased quantities as might be adequate to the new circumstances, and such as to meet the wants of the arriving multitudes from outside, and of the fortunate miners and traders within. The squatting body were in possession, and although in possession for pastoral purposes only, and in such a slight way as still left the country all but empty and unused, yet some difficulty was experienced in dealing with the squatting privileges, conceded as they were at a time when such emergencies as the present had never been anticipated. Meanwhile, the superfluous funds of the colonists, which might have been largely directed to the purchase of the waste lands, and so might have led to an extensive and permanent settlement of the interior country, were either diverted into a course of riotous speculation over such comparatively small supplies of land as did come into the market; or, as in too many instances, they were squandered in the numerous public-houses. If some of the people were more than usually prudent, they re-emigrated from the unsatisfactory scene to find elsewhere a pleasanter home, or a place where their presence was more valued, and their wants were more attended to. Victoria thus lost many chances which might have given her afterwards a greater social breadth and steadiness.

While the discussion went on in the Council, thousands in suspense waited and hoped. The impouring crowd, unable to find shelter within Melbourne, overflowed into "Canvastown," an impromptu creation outside, where from six to eight thousand persons, the daily balance, as it were, of an incessant ebb and flow, strove to exist amidst vexatious expense and discomfort. Everything they had need of was scarce and dear, but scarcest and dearest were those vegetable products, necessities of the climate, which the virgin soil of the unused and unoccupied waste of the colony around them would have promptly thrown up in response to the slightest efforts. But it was all speculation and not cultivation with the fortunate few who possessed land. The price of a cabbage at last culminated at 2s. 6d. in Canvastown, and 5s. at the goldfields. A bold and decided Government might have secured immortality of fame in such an emergency; and in taking a step of obvious necessity and advantage, might have safely left consequences and common sense to argue at will. A million or two of extra acres promptly sold at this crisis would have had almost incalculable results to the colony; and if the money derived from this land had been held "*pendente lite*" for squatting compensation, or even been thrown into the sea, the loss could have been as nothing compared to the advantage of so wholesale a settlement of the territory. Neither this course, however, nor any other of an adequate character was taken. The squatters would not yield, the popular party in the Assembly were always outvoted, the governor hesitated to act; and so between all three, the colony's opportunities fell to the ground.

A third great question of the time, and one that ramified into several bearings, was the alleged right of the Crown to the gold, and to all its belongings in the way of digging licenses and regulations. In other words, the irresponsible Colonial Government, and not the Colonial Legislature, held an almost unlimited

control over all the civil interests and the daily vocation of one-half of the population. Gold was of old a royal metal, and even upon the sold land it was all claimable by the Crown, much more on the Crown's own unalienated territory. The Government and the nominee part of the legislature generally took this view, while the rest of the House argued for the opposite side on behalf of the colonial public, but less from any difference about fact and old black letter as to "the royal metal," than from general constitutional analogies. Again, when a code of criminal legislation for the goldfields became necessary, and was duly presented for the Assembly's sanction, that body, again seizing upon incidental opportunities, refused to discuss the proposed enactments, unless the civil legislation of the goldfields—the mining licenses, and other regulations, held by the Government to be exclusively their own affairs—were also submitted and approved of. So went the fight. All parties were new at legislation and political warfare, a consideration which perhaps helped the good temper and goodwill that were on the whole conspicuous throughout. Mr La Trobe enhanced this good feeling by agreeing to pay the extra and supplementary amounts out of the Crown's goldfields' revenue. The legislature's appeal on the gold question went to the imperial authorities, and it was backed, or rather preceded, by a like missive from New South Wales. The reply received from Sir John Pakington, who then administered the Colonial Office, was of the most cordial description, and his frank surrender to the legislature of the whole administration and revenues of the goldfields was especially appreciated and welcomed after the incessant preceding warfare.

While the legislature was thus active over an interval comprising the first two years of gold-mining, the colony was assuming an extraordinary aspect, socially and commercially. Immense fortunes were being made all over the visible surface of society. Absentee colonists, who came rushing back from England in anxious response to the earliest news about the effects of the goldfields, expecting to find their properties tenantless and themselves destitute, ascertained on the contrary that they were all of a sudden richer than "all the dreams of avarice" had ever led them to anticipate. Everywhere large sums fell into unwonted hands, and chafed in unaccustomed pockets.

On the 3d of April 1852, a great public meeting was held in the Mechanics' Institute, to protest against the inundation of the Australian colonies with British felony, through the medium of Van Diemen's Land. The resolutions carried emphatically expressed the determination of the colonists to resist, by every means in their power, the importation of British criminals into the colony in any form, or from any quarter.

On the previous day the ship "Nelson" was boarded by a daring gang of robbers, and plundered of gold dust to the value of £24,000. The vessel had just arrived in Hobson's Bay, from Geelong, with the treasure on board, and was lying nearly unprotected, there being only three sailors and three passengers on board. No resistance was attempted; and the boxes with the gold were handed over the side of the ship into the boat, the villains remarking that "it was the best diggings they had met with." The perpetrators of this daring act very

nearly eluded the vigilance of the police ; they had landed the booty on the beach, and a trader in Melbourne went out with money, in his gig, and bought the gold at thirty shillings an ounce, and had it secured early on the morning of the occurrence. He went to Britain soon after this, the prisoners confessing to the attorney who defended them the manner in which they got rid of the spoil ; no criminal prosecution was ever instituted, as the secret was divulged in confidence, on the principle of "telling the lawyer the whole truth, letting him tell the lies afterwards." Four men, named John Jones, James Morgan, James Duncan, and John Roberts, were indicted for the offence, and found guilty, after a lengthened trial. There was reason to believe that one of the convicted persons was not guilty of the crime for which he was sentenced ; there can be no doubt, however, that the other three were really guilty. The person wrongfully convicted very much resembled the guilty party for which he had been mistaken ; and if the two were together, it would be next to impossible to distinguish them. After a full inquiry into the circumstances, the innocent prisoner was released.

The Act to apprehend offenders illegally at large had a most important and beneficial effect. Its provisions applied to escaped convicts, and even to those who had obtained conditional pardons, not available in England ; and numbers of felons found at large were apprehended and punished. Amongst the number was the notorious bushranger, Dalton, who was, fortunately, arrested by the Melbourne detective police in so extraordinary a manner that the facts appear stranger than fiction. Dalton, with his associate, Kelly, had crossed Bass's Straits in an open boat, and succeeded in entering Melbourne unperceived. He went into a restaurant in Bourke Street, at midnight, in company with a boatman, and, in a most unostentatious manner, intimated to the shopman that he intended leaving for England on the following morning, by the "Northumberland," and would be obliged if he would change some Van Diemen's Land bank-notes. The shopman declined, and the two men turned to leave the place, but were accosted by a gentleman present, who said he thought he could accommodate them ; and, taking some notes from his pocket, and looking at them, remarked that he had not enough of money, but he had a friend near who would lend him what he wanted. The men accompanied their new acquaintance, who was Mr Bryce, who had formerly belonged to the police ; he led them up Swanston Street, and right into the station-house, where the boatman disappeared. The other man also showed symptoms of wishing to retreat ; but two smart detectives—Murray and Williams—happening to come up at this critical moment, were informed by Mr Bryce of the suspicions which he entertained, that the fellow had come by the money which he wished to change in a dishonest manner ; there being no specific charge, however, he was just on the eve of being allowed to depart, when Murray recognised in the man before him the description of Dalton, and rushed upon him. Dalton resisted, and strove hard to free his pistols. The whole of the three closed with him and secured him. He swore and stamped in the most frantic manner at having been so easily entrapped ; he regretted that he had not known Murray's intentions a few seconds before, that he might have cleared the station-house—a threat he

would, most probably, have carried into effect, as he had three loaded pistols, ready cocked, about his person. He shot a constable, named Buckmaster, in Van Diemen's Land, in a similar attempt to arrest him, and was reckless of human life. The boatman was, no doubt, his confederate, Andrew Kelly; but he eluded the vigilance of the police. In addition to the *éclat* of this capture, the officers became entitled to £100, which the Governor of Van Diemen's Land had offered for the apprehension of Dalton; he was brought before the police bench of Melbourne, and forwarded to that colony to receive his deserts at the hands of the authorities there.

On the 20th of July of this eventful year (1853) the private escort from the M'Ivor diggings to Melbourne was attacked by a gang, who were planted in an ambuscade near the road, and who shot down the troopers before they were even aware of the danger. Notwithstanding very large rewards offered, both by the Government and the company, the ruffians for a long time eluded the vigilance of the police. They were discovered at length, in consequence of one of the gang having been arrested on board the "Madagascar," in the bay, on the eve of her departure; but, had he gone in her, he would not have escaped the due retribution he merited, as the vessel never reached home, and was supposed to have perished, either in the ice or from fire. The charge against him was of a trivial character; but he turned Queen's evidence in the escort robbery case. He then committed suicide; but his brother, who belonged to the same gang, had also been apprehended, and following his example, divulged the whole particulars of the plot, and upon his evidence, three of the ruffians—George Melville, George Wilson, and William Atkins—were convicted and executed.

Almost about the same period, two felons, named Patrick O'Connor and Henry Bradley, escaped in a whaleboat from Van Diemen's Land, and, crossing Bass's Straits, landed in Western Port. The first act of bushranging these villains perpetrated in Victoria was to walk up to a ploughman of Mr King, near Brighton, and order him to deliver up his team. The poor fellow declined, upon which, without another word, one of them shot him dead on the spot, and they rode off with the horses. They committed many robberies in Victoria, and excited the utmost terror amongst the settlers. They were at last discovered by the police at the farm of a person named Cain, near Kilmore, and a smart skirmish took place between them and three mounted troopers, in which one of the latter was dangerously and mortally wounded. They were overpowered, and brought to Melbourne, where they were tried before Mr Justice Williams, and, of course, convicted, and sentenced to death. They behaved throughout the solemn scene with the utmost levity; Bradley remarked to the judge, at the conclusion of his admonitory remarks, in passing sentence of death: "Thank you, my lord; I'm very glad for your sentence—very glad indeed."

Land had begun to increase considerably in value about the end of 1852; but it advanced at railroad speed, and actually reached fabulous prices in the beginning of 1853. Never before, in the periods of the most feverish speculation, did sections of building land in the neighbourhood of Melbourne bring such enormous sums. Land in parts of the city which could hardly ever become good

business stands, but must always remain mere suburban property, sold at from two to three thousand pounds an acre. It was actually higher than sections in the neighbourhood of the first-class cities of Europe, where every element of stability existed, and all the appliances of civilisation were to be found. Land manias have been always hazardous; they are generally succeeded by a crisis; in this instance the Government was the occasion of the fictitious rise; it positively refused to bring land into the market to meet the great demand consequent upon the influx of people, and the vast accumulation of money. Private owners cut up their land, and sold it to speculators at extravagant profits; it passed from hand to hand at enormous rates; all who heard of the fortunes made rushed to buy it at any price. The Government, then, at the eleventh hour, brought unlimited quantities into the market, and the prices immediately fell. The reaction was severe; and the mercantile community have good cause to recollect the panic of 1854, which utterly ruined many families, and paralysed the commercial interests so severely that they did not rally for several years.

The squatters did not at first feel any of the good effects of the change, for they had very great difficulty in procuring servants, and they were unable to forward the wool, on which they depended, to market. After the first year, however, the demand for meat became so great that cattle and sheep began to advance with astonishing rapidity; and meat that had brought no more than 1½d. now advanced to 7d. and 8d. per lb. The sheep and cattle farmers were inclined, in the first instance, to believe that they would be ruined by the gold; but perhaps no class of the community ultimately reaped so great benefit from that event. Indeed, from 1852 to 1857, stations and stock were the most lucrative investments in the colony. The agriculturists, on the contrary, were far from being equally benefited; the produce of their farms could easily be imported from other countries, and the difficulty of procuring a regular supply of labour compelled the owners of many hundreds of acres to allow them to lie untilled. It is true that, in the first year or two after the discovery of gold, the supply of flour and other articles was far beneath the demand, and such as raised grain made small fortunes; but, for two or three years afterwards, the colony was literally inundated with provisions from every quarter of the globe, and the prices of produce fell to a ruinously low rate: many farmers were unable to live, and were under the necessity of abandoning the land which it had taken them much capital to reclaim. The case was very different with the Australian squatters; the market for fresh meat was secure from foreign competition, and they were thus in a position to exact such rates as they thought fit to impose.

A marked alteration was visible about the end of 1852 in the social organisation of the great mass of the diggers. The colonists had rushed to the goldfields expecting to pick up treasure in masses, and return at once with sufficient fortunes. Many set forth barely supplied with the necessaries of life, intending merely to be out campaigning for a few weeks. They seemed to think that it would be a hard case if the old colonists should not obtain a share of the treasure, and with that view they started. But when it became apparent that digging was a pursuit which would only remunerate those who followed it with steady

energy, they at once abandoned it and returned. The majority of the original colonists had some other mode of living, or were enriched by the rise of property, and therefore independent of so very laborious a pursuit. The goldfields were abandoned to those who had no other occupation, and who followed mining or gold-hunting as a means of earning a livelihood. The diggers formed a society independent of the other classes, and in 1853 they commenced agitating for the repeal of the license fee, and, the Executive declining to accede to their prayer at the time, the foundation of that unfortunate spirit of discontent was laid, the results of which were so much to be deplored in the succeeding year. The system of management adopted by the La Trobe Government was to delegate arbitrary power into the hands of the gold commissioners, who were selected merely because they were *protégés* of the Government, destitute, in the majority of cases, of ability, and, what was worse, ignorant of the country and of the class over whom they were placed. The arbitrary and illegal acts of those petty officials aroused hostile feelings in the breasts of the diggers, who generally were quiet and well-affected to the authorities. It was no uncommon thing for men to be seized upon at the mere direction of some boy-commissioners, and chained to trees during the intense mid-day heats, the offence charged against them being simply that of digging for gold without a license. The respectable men who paid the fee did not desire to see the law, however unconstitutional and arbitrary, evaded; nor did they desire that humanity should be outraged in a British colony, and those personal privileges which are considered sacred throughout the British dominions infringed upon. The Ovens was the scene of the first outbreak, which occurred in January 1853, and an assistant-commissioner, named Myers, was rather roughly handled by the diggers, to whom he had become particularly obnoxious by his general mode of administering the law. A more serious disturbance took place in the month of May, on Forest Creek. So correctly had the police copied the manners of their superiors that the entire corps had, at this period, a most unenviable notoriety. There were many sly-grog tents on the Forest Creek diggings, and the police had a very summary method of dealing with such cases, by attacking and burning the tents, with all that they contained. This was right enough. The only objection that could have been brought against it was, that there was no form of trial deemed necessary. But it was alleged that the police gave the really respectable store-keepers the benefit of their attention, and regarded less the guilty parties who should have been under their surveillance. The case of a trader, named Mahon, was much before the public. The house which he kept for boarders was attacked and demolished, and every kind of insult offered to his family and lodgers. The public, moreover, believed him to be guiltless of the charge alleged against him. The informers were one Mangan and a trooper named Christian, who were considered as little better than perjurers; and, as it was made apparent that any respectable person might be deprived of his liberty and have his property destroyed under the pretext that he sold grog, the public indignation was aroused to such a pitch that the military and police were called out, ready to act. The following notice was posted about Forest Creek:

“MEN OF CASTLEMAINE!

“Meet on the hill behind the Baptist Chapel to discuss relative to the proceedings of the Government on Saturday night. Chair to be taken at four o'clock this day.

“*N.B.*—The sheriff has been invited to attend.

“You are requested to attend the Police Court, on Monday next, at half-past nine o'clock, and watch the proceedings.

“Police *v.* Mahon.

“Police *v.* Adams.”

The magistrates acquitted Mahon, and gave the accusers into custody, to answer the charge of perjury; but no effort was made to re-imburse the injured individual for the heavy losses he had sustained.

The next morning the following was posted about the diggings:

“Down with the trooper Christian, and shoot him.

“Down with oppression and the tyrant Berkeley.

“Diggers, avenge your wrongs and demand your rights, or otherwise you will live and die all slaves.

“Down with the camp; up with Christian. Cry no quarter, and show no mercy.”

The meeting convened in this rude style was numerously attended, and, although the public indignation had partially subsided, the proceedings demonstrated but too clearly that the affections of the people had been alienated from the Government.

About the same time a feeling of indignation, at the general mismanagement of the authorities, exhibited itself on Bendigo, which had a very large population, composed mostly of young and active men. Several public meetings were held, at which sentiments of a revolutionary character were enunciated openly, not only without censure but with strong expressions of approval. In the beginning these proceedings were viewed by the Executive with the most perfect indifference, for it appeared to have been the policy of Mr La Trobe's Government to treat the opinions of the people, up to this time, with supreme contempt. It made no effort either to conciliate the well-disposed portions of the digging population, or to coerce those whose conduct might be deemed dangerous to the peace of society. The great cause of complaint was the license fee of thirty shillings per month, which the majority found to be a most severe tax, and they strongly urged upon his Excellency the futility of any longer expecting them to pay it; but he turned a deaf ear to a deputation which waited upon him to urge the propriety of concession. He could have receded at this point without bringing his administration into contempt, as he might have acted graciously and justly, and reduced the fee, which was unquestionably an unfair tax, pressing most unequally upon an important class on the goldfields. When informed that the diggers would resist, he said, in a vaunting tone, that “if they did, he was determined to do his duty”—that was, to compel them to pay the fee; and in a despatch, which he wrote at the same time to the governor-general at Sydney, he urged, as strongly as possible, the absolute necessity of maintaining the license fee of thirty shillings per month. Had Mr La Trobe been a wise governor he would have granted the petition of the Bendigo diggers; had he been a firm man he would have adhered to his resolution to maintain the license

fee; but the sequel showed that he was neither the one nor the other. When the agitation had increased, and there seemed every prospect of an outbreak, the officer who had boastfully said he would be prepared to do his duty, pusilanimously struck to the revolting diggers, without delivering one blow on behalf of law and order. In a few days after he had made the vainglorious boast, and almost before the ink was dry on the paper on which the despatch to the governor-general had been written, he consented to abolish the tax, and sent a proposal to the Legislative Council to that effect.

A bill was introduced to substitute for the license of thirty shillings a month a fee of forty shillings for the remaining four months of 1853; it almost immediately passed into law. This conciliatory measure appeared to have the desired effect, and the serious disturbances which had been taking place gradually subsided. The last monster meeting on Bendigo occurred on the 30th of August. The diggers had contented themselves with resolving that they would not pay the license fee, and that, if it were demanded of any of their body, the whole would go *en masse* and surrender themselves to the commissioners. A remarkable circumstance took place about the time, which showed that the Bendigo diggers were not disposed to perpetrate any act of violence other than such as was necessary to obtain what they deemed their just rights. One of the most forward in these movements was a gentleman named Captain Brown, and about this time he was charged by a respectable storekeeper on Bendigo with having threatened to burn down his premises because he would not subscribe funds to carry on the agitation. He was committed for trial, and forwarded to the gaol in Melbourne, without any expressions of sympathy from the diggers, who seemed to detest such dastardly conduct, and willingly to abandon their leader to his fate. Any person would naturally suppose that the Government would have been careful not again to tamper with the excitable diggers of Bendigo. The country had been in the greatest danger, but had fortunately escaped; and it would now have been wise to act with more caution in the administration of the public business on the goldfields. At the very moment, however, that order had been re-established, and when the diggers were grateful for the concession which the Government had made, and well disposed to become good and peaceable citizens, the Executive managed again to set the smouldering embers in a blaze. The intention of the Government not to enforce the license fee had been announced to the diggers by the following notification, signed by the chief commissioner of the goldfields:

“GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

“His Excellency the lieutenant-governor has been pleased to notify that it having been decided to propose, without delay, another mode of raising a revenue in lieu of that now derived from the goldfields, this measure will at once be presented to the Legislative Council; *but, in the meantime, no compulsory means shall be adopted for the enforcement of the license for the month of September.*

“Several persons having applied for protection against violence, which has been threatened to them, all orderly persons are assured that ample means are at the disposal of the authorities for that purpose, and that prompt aid may be relied on whenever necessary. (Signed) W. R. WRIGHT.

“COMMISSIONER'S CAMP, SANDHURST.”

But scarcely had the agitation subsided when the following notice, of an exactly contradictory nature, was issued :

“PUBLIC NOTICE.

“COLONIAL SECRETARY’S OFFICE, MELBOURNE, 1st September 1853.

“His Excellency the lieutenant-governor directs it to be notified that the proposed abolition of the license fee to gold-diggers in no way affects the obligation of any one to pay the current license fee until a new Act may be passed by the legislature. In the meantime the law must be observed. His Excellency relies on the good sense and loyalty of the community, and the influence of their example, in supporting order and maintaining the law.

“By his Excellency’s command,

“(Signed) JOHN FOSTER.”

This was at once deemed a revival of the contest, and all classes beheld it with alarm and consternation. The agitation was renewed with greater violence than ever. The bill to alter the gold license had to be hurried through the House, and at once assented to by his Excellency, before the troubled political waters once more subsided. The executive and legislature were severely blamed for making so great a concession to the diggers, particularly when the demand was urged by threats of resistance by physical force.

The conduct of Mr La Trobe cannot be too severely censured, in the first instance ; but, when the crisis had actually arrived, and there appeared no other possible chance of escape, both branches of the Government followed, most probably, the only course that could have saved a considerable amount of life and property from destruction. At this period, notwithstanding the high tone adopted by the governor, the colony was nearly unprotected. Considering the inflammable ingredients of the population, and the manner in which the single men were congregated in gregarious masses, this was a sad oversight. Mr La Trobe despatched expresses to all the neighbouring colonies for troops. The 99th Regiment, stationed in Van Diemen’s Land, was unemployed, and was at once sent off for Victoria ; when it reached the colony there was hardly a soldier in Melbourne. The historian can hardly condemn the diggers for resisting the exorbitant license fee. The men of Bendigo viewed it as an unfair tax upon their labour, imposed by a legislature in which they had no representatives, enforced by ignorant officials, who rudely deprived them of their personal liberty ; and we dare not go so far as to say that they did wrong to resist. Fortunately for the country, the dispute was settled without an appeal to that terrible arbiter, the sword. The people of Bendigo accepted the new measure as an instalment of their rights ; and the reduced fee was not considered too high, and was cheerfully paid ; the Anti-Gold-License Association was dissolved, but a new institution—the Gold-diggers’ Union—was inaugurated in its place, with the avowed object of protecting the social and political rights of the diggers.

The Legislative Council, which had now been increased in accordance with the expansion of the wealth and population of the colony, was opened in its third session by his Excellency. St Patrick’s Hall, where the members assembled, presented a more than usually animated sight upon this occasion. The new

Colonial Secretary, J. F. L. Foster, Esq., made his appearance as the leader of the Government or official division of the House. He was one of the early colonists of Port Phillip, and had been returned as one of the members to represent the colonists in the old New South Wales legislature. He had after this returned to Britain, and, by dint of perseverance and exertion of such interest as he possessed, had succeeded in obtaining the Colonial Secretaryship of Victoria. His Excellency, having congratulated the members of the legislature upon the general prosperity of the colony and the augmentation in their number under the Act passed in the former session, announced the intention of the Imperial Government to grant enlarged constitutional privileges to the Australian colonies; and, on proper safeguards being adopted, to make over to them the power hitherto reserved for fixing a civil list, controlling the Crown revenues, and managing the waste lands of the Crown.

The session extended over seven months, Mr La Trobe still continuing at his post. In his speech at the prorogation of the Council, on the 12th of April, he announced that his successor, Sir Charles Hotham, had been appointed. Mr La Trobe took his departure on the 5th of May, in the "Golden Age." His departure occasioned no regret amongst the colonists. An unfortunate accident occurred at the moment, by the upsetting of a boat, and Mr Samuel Barrow, chief immigration agent, was drowned.

CHAPTER VIII.

SIR CHARLES HOTHAM.

ARRIVAL OF SIR CHARLES HOTHAM—HIS EARLY CAREER—POPULARITY—PROPERTY TAKES ALARM—A DISORGANISED CIVIL SERVICE—BAD GOVERNMENT—A REFORMING GOVERNOR—CONVICTS' PREVENTION ACT—POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS—TRIUMPH OF THE COLONISTS.

THE Home Government had intended to despatch a ship of war with the new governor, but the Russian dispute interfered with this arrangement, and he was under the necessity of taking his passage in the "Queen of the South." This vessel, with Sir Charles and Lady Hotham on board, entered Hobson's Bay on the 21st of June 1854; they were accompanied by Captain Kaye as private secretary. The moment the vessel was signalled, the Mayor of Melbourne proceeded on board and informed his Excellency of the preparations which had been made to receive him. On the following morning Sir Charles and Lady Hotham landed on the Sandridge pier, where they were received by the principal officials and welcomed by the whole of the public bodies of the colony that had turned out for the occasion. The procession extended from Sandridge nearly to Prince's Bridge; the road was lined with spectators, who cheered the newly-arrived governor and his lady most heartily. A triumphal arch had been erected on the bridge, through which the procession passed, and the words, "Victoria welcomes Victoria's choice," were worked in blue letters on a white ground overhead. On reaching the Government offices Sir Charles was officially installed; the proclamation and the letters-patent of her Majesty, signed by the Duke of Newcastle, were read, and his Excellency made the official proclamation of having assumed the government of the colony. On this occasion his Excellency, acting apparently upon the impulse of the moment, addressed a few words to the people, stating "that, in his administration of the government of Victoria, he would look neither to the right hand or to the left." From the Government offices Sir Charles and Lady Hotham proceeded to the new viceregal residence at Toorak, a beautiful villa on the south bank of the Yarra, which had belonged to Mr James Jackson, a deceased merchant, but had been rented by the Executive, and carefully fitted up for his Excellency's reception at a most extravagant cost. On the following day he visited some of the public offices, and finding some of the officials idle about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, he expressed his dissatisfaction. The people began to regard their new governor as a rigid disciplinarian, while the public officials were rather uneasy and discontented.

Sir Charles Hotham, K.C.B., was descended from an ancient English family, many members of which arrived at considerable distinction. He was the son of the Rev. Frederick Hotham, prebendary of Rochester, and late rector of Dennington, Suffolk. He was grandson of the second Lord Hotham, one of the barons of the Court of Exchequer; his mother was Anne Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Thomas Hallett Hodges, Esq., of Hemsted Place, Kent. Sir Charles entered the navy on the 6th of November 1818, and was present in a gallant engagement between the boats of the "Naiad" and a brig-of-war, alongside the walls of the fortress of Bona, in which was a garrison of four hundred soldiers, who kept up a most tremendous fire almost perpendicularly on the deck. In September 1825, he was made lieutenant in the "Revenge" seventy-six, flag-ship of Sir Harry Burrard Neale, of the Mediterranean station. He was next appointed, 15th May 1826, to the "Medina," twenty guns, Captains Timothy Curtis and W. B. Greene; and on the 8th December 1827, he was appointed first lieutenant of the "Terror" and "Meteor" bombs, Captains David Hope and William Fletcher. He distinguished himself on the occasion of the wreck of the "Terror," and in consequence he was promoted to the rank of commander on the 13th August 1828. After an interval on half-pay he was appointed to the "Cordelia," ten guns, and returned to the Mediterranean: he came home on the 2d October 1833, having been raised to the rank of post-captain, in compliment to the memory of his uncle, Vice-Admiral Hon. Sir Henry Hotham, K.C.B. He was appointed to the "Gorgon" steam sloop, stationed on the coast of South America, on the 25th November 1842. In November 1845, in conjunction with several British ships, and a small French force, under Captain Tréhouart, Captain Hotham ascended the Parana, and, on the 20th, engaged with four heavy batteries belonging to General Rosas, at Punta Obligado, which he succeeded in demolishing; he also destroyed a schooner of war and twenty-four vessels chained across the river. He landed towards the close of the action with 180 seamen and 150 marines, and attacked and defeated the forces of General Rosas, which were said to have amounted to nearly three thousand men. In acknowledgment of the zeal and ability of Captain Hotham, he was, in March 1846, nominated a K.C.B. Mackinnon, in his work, "Steam Warfare in the Parana," published in 1848, says, in reference to the brilliant affair on the Parana: "The great secret of the success which crowned almost every effort, with one miserable exception, was due, firstly, to the excellent arrangements which, by the powers of steam, were so perfectly and expeditiously carried out; and secondly, to the admirable nature of the ordnance and the skilful application of its various branches. Where the leader is of great ability, and possesses the confidence of those under his command, coupled with such *materiel* and *personnel* as Sir Charles Hotham had under his control, it is not surprising that everything succeeded admirably." Sir William Gore Ousley, at the period her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the States of La Plata, in his account of the action, says: "It was not believed that any serious objection would be made to the advance of the blockading flotilla. However, when the fire had been opened by the Buenos Ayreans at Obligado, it became, of course, necessary to return it, and the result was the general engagement that ensued.

When it is recollected that the scale on which the defences had been prepared was quite unexpected, and that the Buenos Ayrean force employed was much greater than was anticipated (amounting to about four thousand men), while the nature of the other obstacles to be encountered was previously unknown, it will be evident that the skill and experience of the able officer who commanded the squadron were put to a severe test, and that it required his well-concerted arrangements in the plans of attack, and the gallantry displayed in carrying them into effect, to obtain the successful result that added to the high professional reputation of Sir Charles Hotham, already too well known to require any tribute here." Sir Charles was afterwards, in 1845-46, sent, in conjunction with Baron Defandis, on a mission to Paraguay, and the manner in which he discharged that important trust recommended him to her Majesty's Government. In April 1852, he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, and directed by the Earl of Malmesbury, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to proceed, in company with M. L. De St George, on a joint special mission to Brazil and the republics of the river Plata, for the purpose of promoting peace between them, and, more especially, for the opening up of the trade and navigation of the noble arteries of that river. He succeeded in negotiating the treaty, and the ability and perseverance he displayed on this occasion induced her Majesty to appoint him to the governorship of Victoria. Sir Charles Hotham married, 10th of December 1853, Hon. Jane Sarah Hood, daughter of Lord Bridport, and relict of Hugh Holbech, Esq., of Farnborough, Warwick.

The new ruler of Victoria was welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm by all classes. His arrival amongst them marked, as they hoped, a new and brighter era in the history of the colony. Mr La Trobe had belonged to the "olden times," and had never occupied the position, nor acquired that weight, in the eyes of the people which the representative of the Crown ought to possess. He had risen from a humble position, and had merely by accident been placed in the important position which he occupied. Sir Charles Hotham had distinguished himself, and was connected with the best families in the parent state; he was thus enabled to commence his career under very favourable circumstances, and the good feeling towards him was unbounded, and was exhibited by every class of the people. He visited the diggings and the more important townships throughout the colony, and everywhere his progress partook of the character of an ovation. The old and respectable colonists were under the impression that Sir Charles Hotham was an experienced and cautious man, who would exhibit profound sagacity in administering the business of the colony. They were much surprised when he commenced his career in Victoria by a public profession of the most ultra-democratical principles; indeed, so extravagant were his declarations of the sovereignty of the people and other radical doctrines, that the ultra-liberal press could scarcely keep pace with him. They generally professed to be gratified; yet, they were rather at a loss to fathom the aim and object of these popular expositions. It perhaps scarcely agreed with their ideas that the head of the Government should go beyond them in the profession of principles of extreme liberalism. The diggers and people received those words with the

utmost avidity. The new governor was set down as a heaven-born ruler, sent to do them justice and redress their grievances, of which they had not a few pressing heavily enough upon them. The men of more matured experience, wiser than either the people or their ruler, looked on with considerable alarm. They admitted that Sir Charles was honest and well-intentioned, but they were surprised at his want of prudence. He certainly lost his prestige with the intelligent people as his real character began to exhibit itself. A governor who had acquired considerable experience in ruling colonies, where his advisers were responsible to the popular representatives, would have had a task of no ordinary difficulty to encounter on assuming the reins of power at this time; and it is not to be wondered at that Governor Hotham, who was utterly inexperienced in conducting such an administration, should have failed. His want of experience might have been supplied by his Executive Council, but they were not his cordial supporters, and rendered him but little assistance. He found the whole of the affairs of the Government in a state of the most fearful disorder. He endeavoured to introduce some necessary reforms, and the officials were all afraid of his stumbling upon abuses which might get them into trouble. In this juncture he had visited the country districts, where he most unfortunately replied to the popular sympathy, which was so generally expressed, by warm and generous responses, not anticipating that they would be reported and read in their literal sense. At a public dinner, held on the 16th of August 1854, at Geelong, his Excellency, in the course of a speech, said: "The people of this colony have adopted one of the most liberal constitutions, compatible with monarchy, that the people could have; it is a constitution of your own choosing, formed by your own representatives, lauded by the press, and admired by many enlightened statesmen. When you adopted that constitution you adopted with it the principle from which it springs, that all power proceeds from the people. It is on that principle that I intend to conduct my administration. In the present day a Government cannot be conducted with satisfaction to the people without the fullest and freest communication with the people." The governor could scarcely have anticipated that the advanced intelligence and the owners of property would take alarm at such expressions. Such, however, was the fact; for Sir Charles was not in the same position as when sent on diplomatic missions to foreign states, where what he said was deemed mere compliments; all his words were now deeply weighed and regarded by the colonists as an enunciation of his intended policy.

The Government departments were at this period in a state of bewildering disorganisation. We do not mean to insinuate that the high Government officials had actually pocketed any of the public money, but they had been guilty of conduct which an officer like Sir Charles Hotham, who had said he would regard no man in his administration of public affairs, would have visited with the severest censure. The noble revenues of the colony had been squandered under the imprest system, no proper accounts had been kept of the manner in which they had been swallowed up. Enormous amounts had thus disappeared; in one department—that of the Civil Commissariat—a sum amounting to several

hundred thousand pounds was unaccounted for. The consequence of all this extravagance and irregularity was that the governor, on his first look into the state of the treasury, found a deficiency in the revenue amounting to more than a million sterling. The utmost dissatisfaction existed with Mr Foster and the other members of the Executive Council. They had abused the patronage of the Government; they had multiplied public offices and filled them with incompetent men. It was openly asserted that the officers of the Government jobbed in land, merchandise, and public-houses; that the fountain of justice was impure; that collusive contracts were common. A deputation had waited on Mr Foster, when administering the government, to remonstrate with him for the non-expenditure of £80,000, voted for the wharves of Melbourne; in accordance with this vote, a Government officer had bought £100,000 worth of timber, and the Government had no money to lay out on wharves. The deputation suggested that the error might be at least partially remedied, and the timber resold; this was not, however, in accordance with the red-tape notions of the acting-governor, and the result was, that the wharves continued some time longer a disgrace to the city, and the timber lay rotting on the ground until it should be required. In several of the departments there was downright dishonesty, and in all of them there was the utmost inefficiency. Such was the legacy Mr La Trobe left Victoria. Those in office at this period were his friends and supporters, with the exception, perhaps, of Mr Secretary Foster, who probably obtained his office by personal solicitation. Sir Charles Hotham set to work like a man who feared neither risk nor toil; he discovered that he had been called to a sphere where much difficulty and trouble was inevitable if he did his duty, and we firmly believe that he resolved upon doing what was right, both to the people of the colony and to his sovereign, and that he attempted to reform existing abuses, regardless of his ease and comfort.

At this time a despatch arrived from the Colonial Office disallowing the Convicts' Prevention Act, and ordering the release of the criminals imprisoned under it. This despatch roused the spirit of the people to the very highest point. There were but few colonists who understood this subject but would have spent the last drop of blood in their veins rather than admit the right of the British Crown to let their felons loose amongst the virtuous free population, which was already cursed by too many of the refuse of society from the adjoining penal settlements. The comparatively small community of 1849 had solemnly declared that they would resist the landing of convicts even by an appeal to arms; and now that the population was quadrupled, and the people felt their strength, it was not very likely they would allow the sanctity of their family hearths to be violated. The almost simultaneous expiration of the Convicts' Prevention Act by the effluxion of time with the arrival of this ukase from the colonial minister excited the public mind. The crisis had come, and no compromise could be allowed; indeed, if so odious an exercise of the prerogative had been insisted upon, and the doors of the gaols had been opened for those confined under the Convicts' Prevention Act, Victoria would have resisted, and the connection between the colony and Britain would perhaps have been severed. A great

public meeting was held in front of the Court House, at which resolutions were carried strongly condemning the measure, and protesting in the most solemn manner against it. The meeting adopted a petition to the legislature, praying, "That, in order to the protection of the colonists from further inundation with foreign crime, and in vindication of their own right of freedom of legislation, their honourable House would re-enact the Convicts' Prevention Act, with such additional clauses as would prevent the introduction to Victoria of the convicted criminals of other countries or colonies under any pretext whatsoever." The popular indignation was increased by the great favour shown to Sir William Denison, the adviser of this unconstitutional effort to set the felons of the mother country loose upon Victoria, through the convenient convict colony of Van Diemen's Land; he had been raised to the rank of Governor-General of New South Wales, although notoriously unpopular in all the Australian colonies, having almost excited the free people in Van Diemen's Land to revolt. The resolute language held at the public meeting in Melbourne was re-echoed at another meeting held in Geelong; the people even pledged themselves, at the latter, to "go the length of extreme means in order to avert the threatened plague." The legislature of Victoria scarcely kept pace with public expectation, for the Convicts' Prevention Act had expired in the month of October, and a measure of a more lenient character, introduced by the Attorney-General, had been referred to a select committee, which did not report upon it until the beginning of November. The committee then simply stated that there were so great difficulties in carrying out the Government measure, and which was entitled "A Bill to Prevent the Influx of Unreformed Criminals," that it could not be adopted. The great demonstration of the 23d of October, and the unanimously expressed resolve of the people to resist at all hazards—to throw the consideration of all that was usually held sacred aside—the honour of the Crown—the respect for the Government—the desire for ease and social tranquillity—the aversion to violent measures—and, in short, to sacrifice all other considerations, that they might maintain their character as a free people, so that the stigma might never be cast upon their offspring that their fathers had suffered such an outrage without displaying the indomitable spirit of the race from which they were descended, encouraged the Legislative Council to adopt decisive measures. The petition from the colonists was presented to the Legislative Council on the 24th October, and on the 3d November Mr Nicholson obtained leave to bring in a bill to prevent the influx of criminals. This measure was even more stringent in its provisions than the Act of the former year, and it included the class of persons objected to arriving from Britain, as well as from the neighbouring colonies. This important enactment, which may be deemed the fixed and inexorable resolve of the people of Victoria on the question at issue, passed into law on the 16th November, and the Government, wisely perceiving the unalterable determination of the colonists, did not attempt to interfere with the course of legislation on this subject.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BALLARAT REBELLION.

THE BALLARAT RIOTS—THEIR CAUSES AND ORIGIN—BENTLEY THE PUBLICAN—A FATAL ENCOUNTER—PUBLIC INDIGNATION—A POPULAR VERDICT—POPULAR FURY—ATTACK ON BENTLEY'S HOTEL—DEPUTATION TO THE GOVERNOR—ASSAULT ON THE MILITARY—GREAT MEETING OF BALLARAT DIGGERS—THE CAMP BARRICADED—BURNING THE LICENSES—SYMPTOMS OF REBELLION—THE EUREKA STOCKADE—ATTACK OF THE MILITARY—THE FIGHT—KILLED AND WOUNDED—PETER LALOR—GENERAL VERN—INSURGENTS AT CRESWICK—THE GOVERNOR CONCILIATORY—PUBLIC MEETING—OPEN-AIR MEETING—SIR ROBERT NICKLE'S PRUDENCE—MR FOSTER RESIGNS—A COMMISSION APPOINTED—TRIAL OF THE RIOTERS—ACQUIT-TALS—POPULAR REJOICING—BAD GOVERNMENT.

TOWARDS the end of 1854 matters began to look threatening at the Ballarat diggings. The insolence and tyranny of the camp officials exasperated the miners greatly. If these men had been discreet, the arbitrary and irresponsible character of the functions they exercised would not have been paraded with so much ostentation. Unfortunately, they were blind to the public feeling, and too confident in their own omnipotence. They proceeded unchecked. The diggers were degraded in their own estimation at the tyranny exercised upon them by the camp officials and the police. The authorities were surrounded by materials of the most inflammable character, which a solitary spark might at any moment light into a general conflagration. But they were blind to the real state of affairs. Ballarat was at this period crowded with diggers, and the authorities were even more than ordinarily unpopular there. The first outburst of popular indignation occurred in consequence of the exposure of one of those cases of undue partiality in which the Government officials occasionally indulged. A man named Bentley, who, so far as the public were aware, had up to this period maintained a fair character, had opened an hotel on the Ballarat diggings, and it was rumoured that one of the magistrates had an interest either in the house or the business. Two men knocked, late in the evening, at this establishment, and solicited the proprietor to supply them with drink. This he refused to do, the door having been closed for the night. The men became excited, and opened a volley of abuse against the landlord and his wife. Bentley sallied forth, in company with his assistants, to bestow a severe chastisement upon the two noisy diggers. A scuffle ensued, in the course of which a blow levelled with a spade, or some other deadly weapon, at one of them named Scobie, proved fatal. The

unfortunate man was found lying on the ground in front of Bentley's hotel early on the following morning, and public opinion compelled the officials at the camp to investigate the circumstances. Bentley was apprehended and brought before the police magistrate, but, much to the astonishment of every person in the court, he was discharged. The case being clear as day, the report which had been current, of this official being a partner in the hotel, was generally believed. It is next to impossible to state if any connection in the business of the hotel did exist between the landlord and the police magistrate. That this was the case was openly stated, both before and after the unfortunate occurrences we are describing, and the Government did not call their officer at the trials which afterwards took place to contradict such statements on oath. Either the Executive was culpably negligent of public opinion, or the charge could not be denied. It is not very surprising that the digging population were exasperated at the result, and, on the 20th November, a meeting of diggers was held upon the spot where the tragic event had taken place. Crowds attended this demonstration, and several energetic speeches were made, and a petition was read and adopted. It was a most unfortunate circumstance that the meeting was held in the immediate vicinity of Bentley's house. The large concourse of persons became excited as the speakers pointed out that on the very spot where they stood, the blood of one of their "mates" had been shed, and that the fountains of justice were tainted, while there was none to avenge the poor solitary gold-digger. The cry then arose, "Secure Bentley, and deliver him over again to justice!" His house was instantly surrounded, but Bentley, who had been warned of the storm, mounted on a fleet horse and escaped from the rear. Had he not got off, his life might have been in danger, from the increasing fury of the excited people. The house was burned to the ground before the multitude could be dispersed. For this outrage three men, Fletcher, M'Intyre, and Weatherly, were apprehended, and tried at the Supreme Court in Melbourne, before Mr Justice Barry. A verdict of guilty was most reluctantly brought in by the jury against Fletcher and Weatherly, but with a strong recommendation to mercy. The jury added the following rider to the verdict: "The jury feel that they would never have had their painful duty to perform if those entrusted with the government of Ballarat had done their duty properly." This was received by the people, in an unusually full court, with long and vociferous cheering. So general was this excitement that the officials of the court, with every exertion, could not for some minutes enforce silence.

Bentley had again been taken into custody, to protect him from the popular fury; perhaps it would be more correct to say that he had sought refuge in the Government camp. Having been brought to trial, he was found guilty of manslaughter by a jury of his countrymen. This fact demonstrates that the diggers had room for complaint. The two trials were held in Melbourne, where the people at this time were by no means inclined to sympathise with the diggers. Indeed, it can hardly be doubted that, had the magistrates of Ballarat been true to their public trust, and discharged their duty fearlessly and honourably, no riot would have occurred at Bentley's hotel, and the general outbreak which followed

would, probably, never have occurred. The Executive Government had been vainly admonished of the elements of danger which existed on the diggings. It had been told that the people detested the officials, whose mal-administration was notorious. To prostitute power to wealth, to pervert justice from motives of interest, are crimes against society, and well calculated to arouse the indignation of British subjects, however placed; indeed, all true lovers of liberty must sympathise with the just resentment of the Ballarat diggers.

The attack upon Bentley's hotel was only the muttering of the gale; it was but the prelude to the fearful drama that was to be enacted. Irritated by the tyrannical conduct of the officials, who would not take warning, the whole of the diggers were inclined to resist. They had sufficient power to have successfully opposed any force which could be brought against them, and there is no doubt the Government was in considerable peril. The strong sentiment of loyalty, the overbearing conduct of the popular leaders, coupled with the decision of the military in the first instance, and the mild character of Sir Robert Nickle, the commanding officer, who afterwards used every exertion to tranquilise the excited diggers, prevented a general outbreak on all the goldfields, and, it may be, the complete subversion of the Queen's power in Victoria, if not throughout the Australasian colonies. A deputation waited upon his Excellency to "demand" the release of the men who had been imprisoned for the burning of Bentley's hotel. It was composed of Messrs Humffray, Black, and Kennedy—all representatives of the diggers. His Excellency objected to the word "demand." He said, being the "representative of her Majesty," he could not allow the use of the term. The deputation were strictly prohibited from using any other; and, therefore, of course, no official reply was given. The members were, however, informed that a proper memorial on behalf of the prisoners would receive every consideration. They were, therefore, under the necessity of resting contented with this answer. At the conclusion of the interview, Kennedy entreated his Excellency to allow the men to return with them, in order to prevent a riot; but he was informed that the course suggested would be destructive of the authority of the Government; and that it would be impossible to set aside the most important principle in the British constitution—the verdict of a jury. In order to be prepared for any disturbance, the Executive began to concentrate all the forces, both military and police, at its disposal upon Ballarat. Sir Charles Hotham was too old a campaigner not to be uneasy at the aspect of affairs, and was anxious to stem the insurrectionary movement, and restore the fallen influence of the Government. He knew that the vehement burst of passion would most probably be succeeded by the languor of depression, and that it ought to be met with spirit and decision. The ill-feeling of the people was too apparent from the various collisions which occurred between them and the several detachments of the troops in passing along the diggings thoroughfares to their quarters in the camp. On the 29th November a party of soldiers belonging to the 40th, who were marching along the Geelong road to Ballarat, were assaulted by the people. They turned and charged their assailants, but soon, however, got the worst of the fray, and had

to seek shelter in the camp. The very day this occurred witnessed a very similar scene near the Eureka. Another detachment of military was there attacked, and several of the men severely injured. On the 30th of November a great meeting took place on Ballarat. It was attended by crowds of armed diggers. Resolutions were passed denouncing the license fee, and declaring that the people would pay so obnoxious a tax no longer, but take immediate steps to abolish it by burning all their licenses; and that they would forthwith adjust any disputes about their claims by arbitrators, to be mutually chosen; that a Reform League be established, and that all members of it should be protected. The meeting strongly protested against the bodies of armed men marching about the diggings, and firing upon the people under any circumstances, without the previous reading of the Riot Act; and declared, if such an unconstitutional practice were continued, the League now formed would not be responsible for the consequences. The Government officials, so far from being intimidated by this meeting, had detachments marching about the diggings at the time, and several skirmishes occurred; the camp was barricaded and guarded by breast-works of sand-bags, and the whole military and police were kept under arms; the roads were covered with bodies of military and police hastening to strengthen the position of the Government at the camp of Ballarat. The diggers must indeed have anticipated, after throwing down the gauntlet and burning their licenses, that the Executive would adopt coercive measures. Sir Charles Hotham considered that it was his duty to quell the insurrection, in order to prevent those whom he regarded as a set of incendiaries from setting the colony in a conflagration. When violent counsels guided the movements of the disaffected diggers a number of the more moderate left them, and the legitimate objects of the agitation appeared to have been completely lost sight of. Nothing short of a total overthrow of the existing Government was, after this, aimed at. The Australian flag, of blue, with a white cross, was hoisted; a provisional government was formed and supplies levied in its name. An express arrived at Melbourne on the 4th announcing that a party of diggers were on the road to the metropolis, in order to get up an agitation on their own behalf. The Government issued circulars to the largest employers of labour, and, having communicated this startling information, requested them to communicate with their workmen in order to discover how far they sympathised with the diggers, and to ascertain, if possible, what concessions it was deemed advisable for the Government to make. On the same day a proclamation appeared, declaring the whole district around Ballarat under martial law. That day, also, the intelligence of the engagement between the military and the diggers arrived, and all classes were alike overpowered with sorrow that the line of demarcation between constitutional agitation and illegal resistance by physical force had been passed. But while most people condemned the leaders in this movement for precipitating a crisis, they were very averse to the complete overthrow of their party, and to witness the sad spectacle of a military despotism crushing their fellow-colonists. A strong reactionary movement in favour of a compromise between the Government and the insurgents set in; and it was this sympathy on their behalf, which the

Executive was at a loss to understand, that prevented the authorities from treating them with the greatest severity after they had managed to suppress the revolt.

On the night of the 1st December lights were observed in the tents of the diggers; and signals were repeatedly exchanged, and shots fired at the sentries, who were driven in. The officer in command found a large number of insurgents organising, drilling, and equipping themselves. The spies had seen their leaders telling them off in companies, and heard one of the commanders say to the people that those who had no other arms should get an iron spike placed on a pole, as "that would find the tyrants' hearts." The officer in charge issued a public notice that no light would be allowed after eight o'clock; that no discharge of fire-arms would be tolerated upon any pretence; and that persons disobeying these orders would be fired at. On the same day Mr Commissioner Amos arrived at the camp at Ballarat, with information that the diggers were occupying an entrenched camp at the Eureka, in considerable force, with the avowed intention of intercepting the troops under the major-general, then hourly expected to arrive from Melbourne. During the whole of that day the insurgents had possession of the diggings, and were busy levying contributions on all classes, giving the orders of their "minister of war" in payment. The officer in command prudently refrained from molesting any of their detached parties. He was unable to attack the insurgents during the day, as he could not leave a force behind to protect the camp, and resolved upon a night surprise. Circumstances favoured this bold attempt. The insurgents had not contemplated any active measures on the side of the authorities until the main body of troops and the commanding officer had arrived. It was Sunday morning, and a very great portion of them were away, and those who remained had dined late, and some, no doubt, had drunk deep. They were surprised by the commander of the Queen's troops, Captain Thomas, who resolved to seize the opportunity of delivering an effective blow against them. The insurgents were posted in a very advantageous position, in a fortified camp, or rather stockade, at the Eureka. It rested on a gentle eminence, and was of considerable strength. The leaders were, however, not very deeply skilled in military engineering, for it was much too large, and was not protected by proper bastions or outworks to aid the defenders in a general assault. Under all disadvantages, the diggers would have repulsed the military had the attack not been made at a time when it was totally unexpected, and when the great body were absent. The officer upon whom the responsibility of this enterprise rested was Captain Thomas, and he planned and carried out the whole affair with ability and vigour. He was assisted by Captain Pasley, R.E., who advanced with the skirmishers and directed the assault. The military had Mr Commissioner Amos to act as their guide; being well acquainted with the locality, he led the troops to the exact spot where the operations were to commence. The force under Captain Thomas reached the ground just as the morning began to dawn. There were present thirty men of her Majesty's force, under Lieutenants Hall and Gardyne; seventy mounted police, under Sub-Inspectors Furnell, Langley, Chomley, and Lieutenant Cossack; sixty-five men

of the 12th Regiment, under Captain Quando and Lieutenant Paul; eighty-seven men of the 40th Regiment, under Captain Wise and Lieutenants Bowder and Richards; twenty-four foot police, under Sub-Inspector Carter; making a total of 100 mounted and 176 foot.

When the body arrived at about three hundred yards from the entrenchments, the detachments of the 12th and 40th Regiments extended in skirmishing order; the mounted force moved to the left of the position and threatened the flank and rear of the insurgents. The main body now advanced boldly to the attack. We have no means of ascertaining the exact number of men in the stockade, but they could not have outnumbered the Queen's force. They stood to their arms manfully as soon as the alarm was sounded, and when the military were at a distance of 150 yards they poured in a tolerably effective fire upon them. The commanding officer now directed the order to fire to be sounded, and throwing in a steady fire on the camp in front, the military advanced in unbroken order, undaunted by the continuous discharge with which the insurgents received them. As the troops were likely to be severely handled, the reserves and foot police were now brought up for the struggle; a sharp fight was kept up for some time, but, in consequence of the ammunition becoming scarce amongst the insurgents, their fire slackened, and in a few minutes the military carried the entrenchment at the point of the bayonet. The engagement lasted about twenty-five minutes; the rebel leaders fought well, Mr Peter Lalor having been wounded in the breach, and left for dead in the stockade, and several others cut down at their posts. The loss to the Queen's force was considerable, including Captain Wise, who, in leading his men to the attack, was severely wounded, and died in a few days afterwards; Lieutenant Paul was also severely wounded. The loss amongst the insurgents was variously estimated, but there could not have been fewer than thirty killed on the spot, and a great many wounded. There were 125 prisoners taken in the stockade. The commander-in-chief of the "forces of the Republic of Victoria," as they were styled, named Vern, a Hanoverian by birth, escaped, and a reward of £500 was offered for his apprehension. Mr Lalor, the other leader, who fell within the stockade, lost his right arm in the engagement. On the Tuesday the troops under the command of the major-general arrived on Ballarat; and they were not there a minute too soon, for a large body of insurgents were in arms at Creswick. There can be no doubt, however, that the victory at the Eureka had very much raised the spirits of those who supported the Government, and in a corresponding degree dispirited all connected with the insurgents; and the officer in command unquestionably deserved credit. He exercised a wise discretion in attacking them, instead of waiting until they became the aggressors. Indeed, most of the colonists who were unfavourable to the authorities and their system of administering the law on the diggings, were compelled to condemn this open attempt to overthrow the Government. The Legislative Council, then in session, presented an address of sympathy to his Excellency, which was of the following tenor: that, having been placed in a painfully embarrassing position since his arrival in the colony, he was entitled to the sympathy and support of the legislature. Sir Charles Hotham was very

far from inexperienced in affairs of State importance. He was particularly happy in his reply. The firm resolve to suppress the incipient revolution was softened by the readiness with which he offered to redress those grievances which the diggers had complained of. He said it would be his constant endeavour to conduct the government with the utmost possible temper; he said the time for military rule had passed; but when there was an outbreak, and that caused by foreigners—men who had not been suffered to remain in their own country in consequence of the violence of their character—then Englishmen must sink all minor differences, and unite to support the authorities. The Government, however, fared rather differently when a direct appeal was made to the people. A public meeting had been called by requisition, to consider the best means for protecting the city during the crisis at the diggings. The principal agitators in this matter seemed to be the members of the legislature, who took a large share in the proceedings of this public meeting. The resolutions proposed were received with such ill-concealed dissatisfaction, that, after the mayor had declared two of them to be carried, the opponents of the Government interfered, and such confusion prevailed that the gentleman who presided vacated the chair, which was occupied by Dr Embling, and a series of resolutions diametrically opposed to the proceedings of the Executive, and demanding an immediate settlement of the differences between the Government and the diggers, were carried with the utmost enthusiasm. Mr Frencham, who has been already alluded to as one of the discoverers of gold in Victoria, spoke on behalf of the diggers, and told the people they “must go forth with their brother diggers to conquer or die.” The Government demonstration having terminated in so very unsatisfactory a manner, another meeting was convened on the following day “for the assertion of order and the protection of constitutional liberty.” It took place on a large open space of ground near St Paul’s Church, at the corner of Flinders’ Lane. From four thousand to seven thousand people were present, the chair being filled by Henry Langlands, Esq., one of the largest employers of labour in Melbourne. The speakers were Messrs Blair, Owens, Fawkner, Fulton, Frencham, Grant, Cathie, and Embling. The resolutions condemned the whole policy of the Government, and declared that, while disapproving of the physical resistance offered by the diggers, the meeting could not, without betraying the interests of liberty, lend its aid to the Executive until the coercive measures they were attempting to introduce should be abandoned. The result of this meeting had very considerable weight with the Executive, and the same afternoon a *Government Gazette* extraordinary appeared, in which was a proclamation revoking martial law on Ballarat.

The repulse at the stockade did not depress the diggers, and a body of about one thousand armed men was, at this time, collected together on the Creswick road. It was very fortunate that Sir Robert Nickle, who had now assumed the command, was an old and experienced officer. He immediately restrained the violence of the police and military, and held several parleys with the disaffected diggers, in which he strongly urged them to return to their duty. This exhibition of good feeling, in conjunction with the resignation of the chief-secretary, Mr

Foster, and the appointment of a commission, calmed the excitement. The magistrates were very lenient with the prisoners by order of the Executive, and only convicted in very glaring cases, and expressing no ill-feeling towards those who were in custody of the police. Meetings were held in Geelong, Bendigo, and other places, and resolutions strongly condemning the policy of the Government towards the diggers were carried. A meeting was also held on Ballarat, and resolutions were passed, praying the military officials to enforce the martial law with as much forbearance and humanity as the circumstances of the case would admit of. Mr Humffray, who was the bearer of the resolutions, was arrested upon presenting himself at the camp, but liberated after it had been discovered that he was a moral and not a physical force opponent of their measures.

On the 8th of December Mr Foster officially announced that he had resigned the office of Colonial Secretary, and declared that the charge made against him, of abusing the patronage of the Government, was quite unfounded. That day a proclamation appeared nominating William Clarke Haines (the new Colonial Secretary), William Westgarth, John Pascoe Fawkner, John O'Shanassy, William Henry Wright, and James Ford Strachan, Esqs., to be commissioners for inquiring into the state of the goldfields and the grounds of the complaints, with a view to ascertain how far they were well-founded; and to devise and carry out a system which, making due provision for an adequate revenue, with the least possible expenditure of public funds, should afford every facility for the development of the mineral wealth of the colony, and prove the least harassing and vexatious to the miners; and to inquire into the manner in which the law had been administered in order to ascertain if unnecessary harshness or undue partiality had been shown; and, further, to inquire into all complaints relating either to the privileges or pecuniary interests of the mining population.

The commissioners reached Ballarat on the 17th December, and proceeded to collect evidence upon the multifarious subjects with which they had to deal. The terrible concomitants connected with the insurrection were now apparently concluded; it was not the commission, nor the legislature, that the colony was, however, indebted to at the time for exemption from the horrors of revolution, so much as the respectable mercantile and middle classes.

When Sir Charles Hotham engaged in the affair at Ballarat he could not foresee the consequences of it, because he misunderstood the temper of the people of the colony. Perhaps it was fortunate for his Government that the insurgents were not more moderate in their views and more considerate in their measures. He had been led to believe that the spirit raised by the arbitrary conduct of his officials on the diggings reached no farther than the tents of Ballarat and Bendigo. Those with whom he came into contact had studiously impressed upon his mind that no sympathy existed in the two principal cities with the agitation; but he was grievously disappointed. Instead of a cordial and pleasing harmony of opinion, favourable to the Government, there was a jarring dissonance; instead of pleasure at the discomfiture of the diggers, a melancholy regret and a general fear for the ultimate result pervaded all classes, except, perhaps, the adherents of the Executive Council. The reins of govern-

ment, which had been loose, were now in danger of being tightened, and clear-minded men feared that the bubble of revolutionary government would do injury. If it succeeded, anarchy must ensue; if it failed, then a horrible despotism would be inevitable, and, under martial law, free men would be kept down by a relentless soldiery. The legislature was, at this time, slavishly attached to the chariot-wheels of the Government; it was the mercantile, agricultural, and working classes that saw the crisis in its proper light, and would not be misled by either Government or legislature. There was only one way of settling the affair—by a reconciliation. Well was it for the diggers and the colony that the people of Melbourne and Geelong made common cause with them, while disapproving of the false step they had been induced to take.

Sir Charles Hotham having mixed but little with general society, and finding the Legislative Council submissive, formed too low an estimate of the character, attainments, and respectability of those who formed the community. His position prevented him from appreciating the feelings of the great body of the colonists; for, notwithstanding his popular professions, he was distant in his manners, and inaccessible to the public.

If anything had been wanting to convince the Government of the real state of public feeling, the result of the State trials must have sufficed for the purpose. The law officers indicted those who were taken prisoners in the stockade, and against whom they possessed sufficient evidence to ensure convictions for high treason. The jury were citizens of Melbourne and small farmers in the adjoining country, and had no particular sympathy with the diggers. So thoroughly were they convinced of the misgovernment and misconduct which had been apparent in the management of the goldfields, that, notwithstanding very great exertions made by the Crown lawyers, the prisoners were found not guilty. So excited were the spectators, who thronged the Court, that cheers rang through the building when the verdict was returned in the case of a poor negro who was the first of those who were brought to trial, and these shouts were taken up outside and re-echoed with great earnestness. The officers of the Court attempted to suppress these demonstrations, and two unfortunate fellows were seized and punished by the Chief-Justice with seven days' imprisonment for so flagrant a contempt of Court, his honour remarking that the demonstration was an insult to the jury, because, if it was a conscientious verdict, they had done no more than their duty, and if it were not so, no popular applause would recompense them.

Responsible government commenced in reality with the resignation of Mr Foster. The political influence of the people was brought directly to bear on that minister, and he had to bow to this omnipotent power and retire from office. The great demonstrations in Melbourne, Geelong, and elsewhere, had opened the eyes of the governor to the widespread disaffection which everywhere prevailed.

CHAPTER X.

MISGOVERNMENT.

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE—THE GOVERNOR WAVERING—A NEW CHIEF-SECRETARY—REFORMS PROMISED—VOTE OF CENSURE—DEATH OF GENERAL NICKLE—THE GOVERNOR UNPOPULAR—THE SECRET COMMISSION—BUNGLING FINANCE—NEW CONSTITUTION PROCLAIMED—THE OLD MINISTRY AND THE NEW—PENSIONS—THE BALLOT—DEATH OF SIR CHARLES HOTHAM—HIS CHARACTER.

SIR Charles Hotham sent down a message to the Legislative Council, recommending that a sum equivalent to two years' salary be placed on the estimates to compensate Mr Foster for the loss of his office. The members had no documents before them to guide their judgment, and declined to entertain the request. His Excellency was now experiencing some of the consequences of his own impolitic conduct. He had commenced by enunciating liberal opinions; he had ended by carrying out some very arbitrary measures, and giving the imperial authorities some unwise and illiberal advice. The crisis was not brought about solely by the indignation of the betrayed diggers; it had its source as well from the general dissatisfaction at the incompetency and faithlessness of the public officials. On the diggings this was most fatally exhibited, and nothing less than a total disorganisation of society was threatened. The distemper which had been lurking and latent in the social system now became malignant. Sir Charles had excited the hopes of the digging population by his expressions of liberalism, and had afterwards handed them over to the tender mercies of a despotic police. In any crisis such as this the property and intelligence of the colony should rally round the Executive authority; but the conservative element at this time, however indisposed to countenance rebellion, was bewildered at the unintelligible policy of a governor who talked of liberty and exercised tyrannical power. The more experienced began to doubt his judgment and aptitude for administering the government; and, totally unacquainted with the difficulties which he had then to contend with, held aloof. He required advice, for he had no cordial sympathy or assistance from his constitutional advisers, and he had too little knowledge of the state of affairs to govern without such aid. His Excellency, however, displayed considerable discrimination in selecting a successor to Mr Foster. Mr Haines had been returned by the popular voice to the Legislative Council, and was an Englishman and a member of the Church of England, and, therefore, likely to be acceptable to a large portion of the community. Mr Haines may be regarded as a minister called to power by the favour of the governor and

the good opinion of the people. The events which had passed had taught Sir Charles Hotham a useful lesson ; and, from this time to his death, he evinced a greater desire to govern the colony in a constitutional manner ; and the consequence was that it continued prosperous and tranquil. Sir Charles Hotham had learned from practical experience—what he might have learned equally well from history, if he had bestowed any share of attention on that most useful study—that to administer the government of any country in accordance with the interests and wishes of the community, is comparatively easy and simple ; but no authority can long exist without the confidence of the people.

On the 13th December 1854, the new secretary was introduced to the Legislative Council by the Attorney-General and the collector of customs ; in his first address he said that the Government contemplated great changes in the administration of the goldfields, by conceding a proper representation in the legislature, and introducing amongst the people institutions for local self-government. Like the people of Canada the colonists on the Victorian goldfields only obtained justice after attempting to levy war on her Majesty, and set her authority at defiance. But the diggers, in this case, were saved from severe coercion by the sympathy of the people, who thereby convinced the Executive of the erroneous system upon which the government had been carried out. The true method of tranquillising the diggers was at last adopted, by granting them political privileges co-equal with the other classes of the community. The insurrection on Ballarat had a beneficial effect upon the colony ; it promoted social and political progress, and helped materially to place the relations of the Government and the people upon a proper and defined basis. The two bills for carrying into effect these necessary and conciliatory measures passed the Legislative Council in May. The Council Increase Bill gave Sandhurst, Castlemaine, and Ballarat two, and the Avoca and Ovens one representative, being eight members, which gave his Excellency the privilege of nominating four. The Goldfields Law Amendment Act provided for the issue of a miner's right, which should give the holder power to work upon the Crown lands for one year. A local court was also called into existence, before which the miners were enabled to bring their differences for adjustment. The miners could sit as members of the local courts, and vote at their election. The Government was empowered to issue leases for auriferous land, subject to certain conditions to be framed by local boards. These important measures for extending the franchise to the diggers, and introducing self-government amongst them, had the desired effect. Tranquillity has ever since reigned over the gold-digging regions.

The close of the session was marked by a partial vote of censure upon the Government. Mr Strachan moved, "That this House deems it inexpedient and impolitic in the Government introducing any new mode of taxation during the present session." A long debate occurred on the question, and it was only affirmed by a majority of one. In closing the session Sir Charles Hotham spoke very briefly, and merely alluded to the ordinary topics ; in reference to the vote we have just noticed he said, "I am compelled to stop such of the public works as are not under contract, and to make further reductions in those establish-

ments which the Council have resolved to be necessary for the performance of the public service."

The colonists were deeply grieved at the death of Major-General Sir Robert Nickle, on the 29th May 1855. This distinguished officer had entered the army in 1798, and served throughout the Peninsular War, with great distinction. He had afterwards been in the States of America and Canada, and in the East and West Indies, and was at this time Commander-in-Chief in the Australian Colonies. He acquired some share of popularity in Victoria, from the great temper and forbearance he had exhibited towards the digging population after the insurrection at Ballarat.

Sir Charles Hotham had become so unpopular that it was seriously in contemplation to forward a requisition to the governor-general, in Sydney, to come and investigate the position of the Government of Victoria. The movement was not untimely acted on; but it occasioned some sensation.

Sir Charles Hotham, who appeared to have deemed commissions the only method of attaining correct information on questions of public interest, appointed a committee of three to inquire into the financial condition of the colony. The instructions of his Excellency referred to the large sums under the head of imprests remaining unbalanced, the necessity of a searching inquiry into the finances of the colony, and also for devising a financial scheme suitable for the future. The gentlemen who formed this "secret commission" were the auditor-general, William Hamilton Hart, and David Charters MacArthur, Esqs., and they reported on the 11th September 1854. The committee exposed some of the frightful effects of the imprest system; by returns they furnished it appeared that, on the 28th August, the sum of £1,682,328 had been imprested, and no adjustment of it effected; and, deducting £372,089, the accounts not due, there was the balance of £1,310,238 unaccounted for; of this balance accounts for £8093 had been received and passed for warrant; accounts for £157,835 were in course of examination; accounts for £182,599 had been received in the Audit Office; accounts for £677,964 had been received, but the authority for the expenditure was insufficient, leaving the sum of £283,745 wholly unaccounted for. Of the large sum of £1,310,238, which remains unadjusted, the Civil Commissariat, Police, and Public Works Departments represent £883,250. The committee recommended that the imprest system should be abolished, and accounts discharged after final audit only at the Treasury.

The new constitutions, as framed by the legislatures of the different colonies, were brought before Parliament by Lord John Russell, and passed with scarcely any remark. Mr Lowe opposed the nominated Upper House for New South Wales, but his opposition was ineffectual. When we reflect that all the other colonies in the southern hemisphere, as well as the Cape, selected elective Upper Chambers, and that the Imperial Parliament passed a measure enabling Canada to alter the constitution of its Upper House from nomination by the Crown to popular election, we cannot but agree with the views of Mr Lowe, and regret that his suggestion was not adopted. The New Constitution Act for Victoria was received by the "Shalimar," which anchored in Hobson's Bay on

the 16th October 1855. It was officially proclaimed on the 23d of November, and the day was kept as a public holiday, and the anniversary is still observed.

A wide difference of opinion existed as to the exact period when the various heads of departments should cease to be responsible to the Crown and become responsible to the popular legislature. The officials felt themselves in a difficult position in framing the estimates; the doubtful point was this: should they regard the estimates as framed by his Excellency, and the ministry as being responsible to him for the manner in which they carried them out, as had hitherto been the case, or should they look upon the estimates of revenue and expenditure as their own, and introduce them in the approved budget fashion? The Colonial Secretary asked the governor in what position, as to responsibility, he considered the officials to stand; and, after the subject had been duly considered, the high officials received a circular releasing them from office on "political grounds." Mr Haines, the ex-chief secretary, was then sent for in the most approved form, and, having been requested by his Excellency to form a ministry, immediately appeared with the members of the Executive who had just resigned. The Council and the people concurred in thinking the members of the ministry were actuated by a desire to secure their pensions. Under the 50th clause of the New Constitution Act, persons released from office on political grounds are entitled to pensions, but this clause, however, is qualified by the next clause, which provides that pensions shall be granted subject to the regulations in force in Britain, which shut out all who may not have been two years in office. The new ministers only escaped a severe vote of censure for thus prematurely assuming "responsibility" by one vote. They had, moreover, anything but an agreeable task before them, with the great bulk of the popular members decidedly hostile to their policy, and the governor inclined to exact compliances hardly in accordance with their vaunted responsibility.

The question of vote by ballot was introduced into the legislature by Mr Nicholson on the 18th December 1855. The motion which he submitted was to the effect "that, in the opinion of the House, any new electoral Act should provide for electors recording their votes by secret ballot." This resolution was not only opposed by the newly-appointed responsible Government, who, contrary to Mr Nicholson's express desire, made it a ministerial question, but by several members who were opposed to the ministry. It was, notwithstanding, affirmed by thirty-three votes to twenty-five, and the cabinet had, of course, no alternative but to resign. They had made an error in consequence of their having over-rated the influence of those popular members who were antagonistic to the measure. The advocates of the ballot had not anticipated this, and were scarcely prepared for assuming the responsibility of forming an administration. Sir Charles Hotham adopted the constitutional course of sending for Mr Nicholson, who, rather unwillingly, accepted the task of forming a ministry.

During the pending negotiations between Mr Nicholson and the other supporters of the ballot in the House, Sir Charles Hotham's death occurred; and Major-General Macarthur, the officer who assumed the administration of the government, in accordance with the letters-patent appointing the former to be

governor-in-chief of the colony, recalled Mr Haines and the other members of his ministry to power.

The death of the governor was quite unexpected. On the morning of the 22d December 1855, he was seized with diarrhoea ; the colonial surgeon, Dr M'Crae, was in attendance, and the complaint yielded to medical treatment. His Excellency was very anxious about public affairs at this time, as Mr Nicholson was attempting to form a ministry, and on the message from that gentleman having been delivered to him, announcing that he had abandoned the attempt, a material change for the worse was observed to take place. His Excellency gradually became weaker until the 30th day of December (Sunday), when he was attacked by a shock of epilepsy, which was succeeded by other fits at intervals of about half an hour. About eleven o'clock on the forenoon of the last day of 1855, he became comatose, and expired at a quarter to one o'clock on that day.

His Excellency's demise was sudden ; indeed, the people had not heard of illness before his death was announced. Mental anxiety and disappointment accelerated his death. He was a high-spirited officer, who had been accustomed to success, and who, had he been sent to the Crimea, as had been intended, would, most probably, have nobly distinguished himself ; but who, unfortunately, misunderstood his position as Governor of Victoria. He desired to follow the example of Lord Metcalf, but he had neither his long experience nor his great abilities ; like him, he treated his ministers with spirit, and determined to stand out for prerogative, but he had not his steady temper and unflinching self-reliance. His manner also was, unfortunately, stiff, formal, and distant with such public men as came into contact with him ; unlike Lord Metcalf, who was gifted with so sweet a temper that he was beloved by his greatest political opponents. As he had neither sufficient experience nor ability to govern the colony, and would not submit to the misgovernment which he found in operation, so he wasted his health and spirits in vain attempts to grapple with what was beyond his reach ; yet, had he lived to see constitutional government fairly introduced, and been practically convinced of the worthlessness of some of his opinions, he would have made a very good governor. No one can deny to him the credit of having been thoroughly honest, and anxious to discharge all his duties with activity and zeal. There was no intentional error which could be laid to his charge. He went down to the grave with his fame unsullied ; the mistake was clearly to be laid at the door of the imperial authorities, who sent a first-rate naval officer, not to Sebastopol, where he was required, but to Victoria, where he was not wanted, and where a thoroughly-trained and experienced statesman was really urgently needed to bring into operation responsible government, and to nip incipient rebellion in the bud. The Legislative Council voted £1500 towards defraying the expense of his burial and erecting a monument to his memory. The funeral was attended by all the officials and public bodies belonging to the colony who were able to attend ; indeed, nothing was wanting on the part of the colonists in performing the last sad rites to their deceased governor, who was regarded by not a few as a martyr in the cause of the colony. A fine monument, with an inscription, in the Melbourne cemetery, hands down his name to future generations.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ERA.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM STARTED—CHANGES IN THE GOVERNORSHIP AND ADMINISTRATION—CHURCH AND STATE—THE LAND LAWS—THE COMMERCIAL TARIFF—PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY—FUTURE PROSPECTS.

MAJOR-GENERAL MACARTHUR, the commander of the forces, held the post of interim governor for a period of exactly twelve months. He discharged its duties with great credit to himself, and much advantage to the colony, during what was, in many respects, a troubled and critical time. The new system of representative institutions was then put upon its trial; and a pretty rough trial it proved to be. First came an agitation in favour of having the popular prerogative so extended as to oust altogether the influence of the Crown and of the Home Government. Within a month of Sir Charles Hotham's death an immense meeting was held to petition that the choice of his successor should be entrusted to the colony itself. Over three thousand persons assembled in Astley's Amphitheatre at Melbourne to consider this proposal. The recognised leaders of the Liberal party held aloof from the gathering, at which two amendments were proposed, both directed—the one in very strong language, the other in much milder terms—to a repudiation of the scheme as being unwise and impracticable; but the original motion was carried. Of course nothing came of it. Yet the excitement it caused was very considerable; and save for the calm, firm, and sensible behaviour of the governor, things might have become serious.

Soon after, there came a general-election. As being the first under the new constitution this was necessarily a matter of much importance. Each of the six provinces had to return five members to the Upper House, and ten to the Lower. For a while the business was gone about in a very apathetic manner; but ere all was done an extraordinary degree of keenness was evinced, and great expense was incurred. It was said that some of the defeated candidates for Melbourne spent £4000 or £5000 each in the contest. On all hands there was discontent with the high property qualification imposed on candidates, with the restrictions placed on the exercise of the franchise, and with the length of time for which the Assembly was elected. A Reform Bill of some sort was, indeed, an imperative demand. Two other questions also came to the front—the abolition of "State Aid to Religion," and the granting of "Compensation to Squatters." A large number of Liberal politicians were in favour of letting these remain open questions; but others, more ardent, insisted that they should be voted upon. The result scarcely justified their earnestness. The Lower House which



SOUTH AUSTRALIA,

English - Nautical Miles 69 = 1 degree
Barometer - Heights in English Feet Submarine Telegraph Lines show S. T. or S. T. Tel.

was elected—consisting of four native Australians, twenty-seven Englishmen, sixteen Irishmen, and a dozen Scots—was divided upon the religious question, with thirty-three for State aid, twenty-two against it, and four doubtful. Mr David Moore, one of the “native-born,” headed the Melbourne poll, while the Irish leader, Mr O’Shanassy, was last on the list. Mr Gavan Duffy, who had been rather more than six months a resident, had also a place upon it, although some feeling had been roused against him by a refusal to coalesce with Mr John P. Faulkner, the practical founder of the colony.

The new Parliament was opened on the 25th of November. The governor addressed the members in a statesman-like speech, pointing out that the working of the new constitution would require to be watched with an incessant vigilance; but recommending that though many changes might be desired, it would be well to await the teachings of experience in regard to all save those the propriety and necessity of which were very evident. At the same time, he submitted, on the part of the ministry, a long list of measures for which approval was to be asked. They comprised the introduction of the competitive system into the public service; the promotion of public works, especially in the formation of roads, railways, and telegraphs; an entire change in the laws as to the sale of fermented liquors and distillation, the prohibition of which last, he said, had been productive of much public immorality; a bill to further public education; a bill to admit all religious bodies, whose tenets were not subversive of morality and good government, to a share in the grant for maintaining religious ordinances; and a bill to regulate the sale and occupation of Crown lands, proceeding upon the principles of keeping up the sale by auction at a stated price, of so revising the plan of gold licenses as to save the interests of the freeholder, and of granting an interest to occupiers, not freeholders, subject to an acreable rent to be periodically determined by an independent tribunal. The ministry which started with this extensive and ambitious programme very soon came to grief over its last item; but before then the new governor, Sir Henry Barkly, had arrived.

Sir Henry was the son of a Ross-shire gentleman who had become an eminent West India merchant. He was born in London in 1815; and on leaving school, entered his father’s counting-house. He soon displayed much business ability; and in 1845, the year before the corn laws were repealed, he entered Parliament as the member for Leominster, and a “firm supporter of Sir Robert Peel’s commercial policy.” In 1849 the Whigs sent him out as Governor of Guiana, where he had estates. So successful was his administration, that he was speedily transferred to Jamaica. From thence he was now shifted to Victoria—the rising importance of which was more evident to Sir William Molesworth, then the Colonial Secretary, than to most contemporary statesmen. He arrived on the 23d of December, was installed on the 26th, and held his first levée on New Year’s Day—the attendance being very large, and his reception exceedingly cordial. He created a very favourable impression; and his popularity remained unabated during the half-dozen years of his governorship. Perhaps an unhappy event which took place a few months after his arrival did something to fix it. His wife was even a greater favourite than

himself. She was very fond of driving a pony phaeton, and often went out unattended. One day she was thus proceeding up the slope of the Princes Bridge as a St Kilda omnibus was coming in the other direction. The harness of the omnibus team was rotten ; some part of it snapped ; the horses broke away ; and the big lumbering vehicle came swinging down upon her. She had drawn as close as she could to her own side of the road, but was struck, overturned, and taken up fainting. In a few days after she was prematurely delivered of a son. In another few days her corpse and that of her child were laid in a grave of her own selection. The driver of the omnibus was arrested ; but she would not hear of any one appearing against him, insisting that it was a pure accident. So the man was discharged ; the affair was hushed up ; and at her own request, made in order to preserve the secrecy that had been maintained, she was buried quietly at an early hour in the morning. The thing, however, could not be hid ; and as the facts oozed out, admiration for the nobility of the woman and sympathy with the sorrow of her husband had full sway.

This great blow struck Sir Henry when engaged with the entanglements of a ministerial crisis. His first ministry, it has been stated, was defeated over its Land Bill. The defeat took place upon an amendment moved by Mr O'Shanassy, who was in due course "sent for," and who formed a ministry comprising Chapman, Foster, Duffy, and others, which did not last two months. It was defeated upon a motion of "no confidence," which was carried by thirty-four to nineteen. Mr Haines again became Chief Secretary, with a slight change of coadjutors. Since then, up till 1878, there have been eighteen successive ministries and eight Parliaments. The longest lived was the first M'Culloch administration, which lasted for five years.

Shortly after the installation of that ministry, Sir H. Barkly was shifted to the Mauritius. He was succeeded by Sir Charles Darling, a man of much experience, whose reign, however, was rendered unfortunately remarkable by a contest between the two Houses of the legislature, which was waged for a long while with great obstinacy. The conduct of Sir Charles in relation to it was visited with the disapproval of the Home Government, who condemned him for having acted unconstitutionally, and ordered his recall in April 1866. The difficulty arose in this manner. The Upper House vetoed a tariff bill which was sent up to them. It came back "tacked" on to the Appropriation Bill. This was enough to ensure its renewed rejection, in accordance with the rule which Sir Erskine May in his book upon parliamentary practice says has long been followed by the British House of Lords. The Appropriation Bill being rejected, there was no money to pay any one. In these circumstances the governor hit upon what was deemed a very ingenious expedient. An Act was fished up which authorised him to pay any sum for the public service which the Supreme Court might decree to be owing. So Sir Charles confessed at once the adverse judgments given against him in great numbers, borrowed the money, and then paid it back, vastly to the delight of the Assembly. Thus the struggle ended for a while in the triumph of the Council. After his recall, however, they were fain to dissever the two bills. Sir

Charles died very soon after coming home. He had been singularly unfortunate. The Assembly had voted him a handsome sum as compensation for his loss of office. Demur was raised to his acceptance of it, and after a good deal of negotiation he had agreed to its surrender, provided he was again placed upon the Colonial Office list. It is to the credit of the colony that his widow was not allowed to suffer on this account. Her pension was paid from its funds.

Pending the arrival of Sir John Henry Thomas Manners Sutton, afterwards Viscount Canterbury, the duties of governor were discharged for three months by General Carey. The new governor had entered public life at an early age, had served as Under-Secretary for Home Affairs in Sir Robert Peel's administration, 1841-46, and had subsequently acted as Governor of New Brunswick and of Trinidad. A man of mild and equable temper, though of great firmness, his reign was peaceable and prosperous. He was succeeded in 1873 by Sir George Ferguson Bowen, the son of a North of Ireland clergyman. In his early days Sir George was president of the University of Corfu. He afterwards became secretary to the Government of the Ionian Islands, where he married a princess of Greek birth, and was then in 1859 made Governor of Queensland, whence, in 1868, he was transferred to New Zealand. He spent the year 1875 at home, on leave of absence, during which time his deputy was Sir W. F. Stawell. He came back to encounter soon afterwards a very formidable difficulty, such as threatened for a time to surpass that which arose under Sir Charles Darling. The Legislative Assembly had resolved upon paying its members. They included in the estimates of the year a vote for a sum large enough to meet the expenditure upon the scale it was proposed to apply. At the same time, in order to legalise the provision, they passed a separate measure enacting that it was expedient to take such a step. The Council, aware of what had been done otherwise, refused even to consider the proposal, insisting that they ought to have been consulted beforehand, and that it was insulting to present to them for sanction a measure of such importance with all the arrangements for carrying it out cut and dry. So sharp was the contention between the two that very serious consequences ensued, and the most alarming fears were entertained. There was again, as in Sir Charles Darling's time, no money to pay anybody. Sir George Bowen, however, did not act as Sir Charles acted. Convinced that ministers were sustained by the opinion of the people, he refused to dissolve Parliament, put himself into the hands of the cabinet, and did whatever they bade him—after having ascertained from his law officers that it was legal. Things went so far that county-court judges, police magistrates, coroners, and other public officials were publicly announced for dismissal. Returning sanity, however, prevented the explosion this would have caused. The cooler heads upon both sides became desirous of an amicable arrangement. The Hon. Caleb Jenner, a member of the Council, with Messrs Lyell and Munro from opposite benches in the Assembly, devised a method of extrication. The principle of it was that the payment of members should be continued throughout the existing Parliament, but that neither House should seem to yield to the other. To manage this it was agreed that the ministry should introduce to the Lower House a new

Appropriation Bill, divested of the clauses to which objection had been taken, and that thereupon the Upper House, without waiting for the amended bill being sent on, should, as if spontaneously, consider the Separate Payment of Members Bill. This programme was faithfully and happily carried out; and so ended a crisis in which at one time it appeared more than probable that the constitution would be broken down, and the colony be thrown into anarchy. It did not end, however, without a good deal of bitter controversy and recrimination. The Council, in an address to the governor, animadverted very strongly upon his conduct, drawing from him a pungent reply. The Assembly, in a like address, highly lauded what he had done, and got from him a cordially sympathetic response. The Home Government joined with the popular body, for one of the first acts of Sir Michael Hicks Beach on assuming the seals of the Colonial Office early in 1878, was to express his thorough approbation of Sir George Bowen's action and attitude all through this trying time.

During this period various important changes were made, alike as regards the constitution of the colonial legislature, the qualifications of those who might sit in it, and the qualifications of those in whom were vested the right of election. All the changes, made under the pressure of divers influences, at divers times, and in very divers manners, have been steadily directed towards two objects—the widening of the representative basis, and the reduction of the property qualification which confers a right to vote. The Act of 1876 (40 Vict., No. 458), read along with the primary Acts, and those which have followed as amendments, puts the matter in this position. The number of members in the Upper House, or Legislative Council, remains as at first—viz., thirty—five from each of the Central, North-West, North-East, South-East, and West Provinces. But the qualification of a member was reduced in 1869 to this level, that he should be thirty years of age, a natural born subject, and the possessor of freehold property valued at £2500, or £250 annual value, without charge or encumbrance—judges, clergymen, and criminals being excluded. The qualification of an elector now is, that he be of age, a natural born subject or naturalised, and the possessor of property rated at £50 a year—an exception being made, as regards this last, in respect of all graduates of a British University, matriculated students of Melbourne, members of the learned professions, and military or naval officers. The number of members in the Assembly has been repeatedly increased—notably in 1857 and 1876. The Act of 1876 raised them to eighty-six, the electoral districts being fifty-five—five of which are represented by three members, twenty-one by two, and twenty-nine by one each. For membership the sole qualifications now are these—full age, being a natural born subject, or an alien legally naturalised for five years, who has lived in Victoria for two. As regards the electors, universal manhood suffrage is now the rule.

The activities of the colonial legislature since its formation have clustered mainly around three principal questions—the public payment of religious teachers, the disposal of public lands, and the regulation of a commercial tariff. Upon each of them very important decisions have been arrived at, and a strong attitude has been assumed.

It was provided by the Constitution Act, that, for the advancement of the Christian religion in Victoria, £50,000 should be set apart each year from the general revenue, to provide buildings for public worship, and the maintenance of the clergy who served in them—the sum being distributed among all denominations, according to their numerical strength at the preceding census. The arrangement was challenged in the first meeting of the Assembly, and led to a great deal of cross voting. Year by year it occasioned a large amount of controversy, till at length a bill for its repeal was carried (Act 34 Vict., No. 391), which was reserved for the royal assent on the 15th July 1870, and was assented to 16th January 1871—the repeal to take effect from and after the 31st December 1875. From the beginning of 1876, therefore, no State money has been given for the support of religion.

The land laws have undergone many alterations. At first all land was offered for sale at a minimum price of 12s. per acre. In 1840 this was altered to a minimum of 20s. Large blocks called “special surveys,” and one block of a square mile in extent upon each squatting run, were, however, under orders in Council, exempted from auction, and were permitted to be bought at £1 per acre. In 1860 it was made permissible for any intending investor to select what suited him from the surveyed lands at the uniform price of 20s., with the option of paying for the whole, or only for one-half—the half unpaid being rented at 1s. an acre, with the right to acquire full possession at any time, upon paying full price. No conditions whatever were imposed as to residence, or improvement, or cultivation. The only stipulation was that where two or more persons sought the same block, it should be put up to auction among them, other holders being excluded. In 1862 it was enacted that the plan of a limited auction should be discarded—the ballot being adopted as the method for determining who should get the preference; that the unpaid half of the purchase-money should be forthcoming at the rate of 2s. 6d. a year, thus spreading the full payment over eight years; that no more than 640 acres could be selected by any person in one year; and that the whole block should be fenced, a habitable homestead be built, and one acre out of every ten selected be cultivated. Three years later it was provided that agricultural land might be leased for a payment of 2s. an acre during three years, if the lessee engaged to make improvements upon it within two years, such as would represent a value of 20s. per acre; that, at the expiry of the three years, he might, if he lived upon the land, buy his holding at £1 an acre; and that, if he did not choose to buy, he might require his leasehold to be offered for sale at that price—the value of his improvements forming a reserved charge against the purchaser. In the beginning of 1870 a new law came into operation. Under it no more than 320 acres can be selected by one person. He may hold it under lease for three years on the same conditions as those prescribed by the statute of 1865; but when the three years have expired he may either buy the holding at the rate of 14s. an acre, or may enter into a renewed lease for seven years at the old rent, upon the expiry of which term it becomes his own possession. Crown lands unappropriated remain saleable at the upset price of £1 per acre, at the discretion of the governor, the whole amount to be sold in any year not to exceed 200,000 acres.

It would be impossible to describe with anything like equal minuteness the many changes that have been made in the rates of customs—duty leviable upon various imports. It must suffice to say that the question of how far it is legitimate or expedient to foster, or try to foster, the development of native manufactures and commerce by shutting out competitive products, or making it difficult for them to get in, has been tested with singular intelligence, under new conditions, with the result of modifying in many minds the degree of faith to be placed in abstract theories, and developing very discrepant opinions among practical persons. Nevertheless, under every variety of administration, the colony has been largely prosperous. Its population has grown immensely. At the census of 1836 the entire inhabitants numbered 224. In 1841 they were 20,416; ten years later, 97,489; ten years after that, 541,800; in another decade, 752,445; while for 1876, the Government statist, Mr Hayter, estimated them at 840,300. The land in cultivation was in 1836, 50 acres; in 1841 it had grown to 4881; in 1851 to 57,542; in 1861 to 439,895; in 1871 to 937,220; while in 1876 it was computed to be not less than 1,230,000. Everything else is on a corresponding scale—including even the amount of public debt. It began in 1855 at the modest sum of something less than half a million; in 1861 it had mounted to £6,345,060; in 1871 it stood at £11,994,800; and in 1876 it was reckoned at close upon £14,000,000. Throughout the colony the railways (with the exception of two or three short lines connecting Melbourne with its suburbs) are the property of the Government. For the most part they are single lines. The average cost of construction has been a little over £16,000 per mile. They have all a gauge of five feet three inches. This is common throughout Australia, except in the case of New South Wales. Upon the whole, both the laying out and the working of the system have given much satisfaction. In 1856, almost simultaneously with the arrival of Sir Henry Barkly, a system of inter-colonial mail service was established, by which powerful and well-ordered steamers were run from Melbourne to all the principal ports of the other colonies. From time to time the swiftness and convenience of communication with the mother country have been much increased. During 1876 the average time of transit for letters passing from London to Melbourne, *via* Brindisi, was forty-four days, sixteen hours, and thirty-six minutes; from Melbourne to London, close on forty-six days. The service between Great Britain and Point de Galle (Ceylon) has hitherto been at the cost and under the control of the Imperial Government—the Victorian Government undertaking the further carriage upon terms arranged with the various colonies. There is likewise communication *via* San Francisco and California, though this is specially for the advantage of New South Wales and New Zealand; as also by Singapore, though it is specially available for Queensland.

The religious and educational progress of the colony has kept even pace with its advance in material prosperity. The measure by which the clergy were dis-endowed has not affected the multiplication of places for worship and of persons to serve them. In 1851 there were 39 churches or chapels of all sorts; in 1861 they had grown to 989; in 1871 to 1586; and in 1876 to 2602. The progress in regard

to education has been even more remarkable. Up till 1862 two systems of education, the denominational and the national (as they were called), were supported by the State. In September of that year they were blended into one under the Common Schools Act (25 Vict., No. 149). That Act was repealed in 1872 (36 Vict., No. 477). It came into force at the opening of 1873. By it a Minister of Public Instruction was appointed, with a suitable staff. It was provided also that education should be compulsory—every child between six and fifteen years of age being required to attend school for at least sixty days in each half year; that it should be free—so far as regards reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, drill, and (where practicable) gymnastics, with the addition of sewing and needlework for girls; and that it should be secular—no State teacher being allowed to impart direct religious instruction in any State school building. In 1873 the number of schools was 1078; in four years they had increased by 500. During the same period the number of pupils on the rolls had risen from 207,826 to 231,560, while the average attendance had grown from 98,746 in the first year to 106,758 in the last. While common education was thus provided for, the interests of the higher learning were not neglected. In 1853 the Melbourne University was founded, and was endowed by the Government to the extent of £9000 a year. In 1859 royal letters-patent were issued, directing that graduates of the University should be entitled to equal rank, precedence, and consideration with those of persons holding from any other recognised University equal academic distinction. The favour was warranted, not only by the growing affluence of students, but by the high standing of the professors and the rigid character of the examinations.

Victoria has been the most prosperous, as it remains the most populous and progressive, of all the Australian colonies. Such a spectacle as it has presented was never previously set before the eyes of man. Within the first half-century of its existence it spread over a larger space than any other colony, acquired a more numerous population, and developed in a richer profusion, with a more settled character, all the elements of civilisation. Except in a few sad incidents connected with the early mining history, it presents the example of a young community, which has rapidly grown to manhood, having reaped all the benefits that can accrue from an advanced organisation with the smallest possible admixture of its evils. The convict invasion, and the gold-hunting fever, which troubled its early years, were really evanescent ills. The vigour of the community caused political and municipal arrangements rapidly to overtake all the necessities of the people, both for repression and for progress. Cities with all their complex interests and needs are usually the growth of time. Ordinarily it is only in the course of ages that the nucleus of a settlement grows into anything like metropolitan importance; but here we have Melbourne, Geelong, Ballarat, Sandhurst—all of them the creation of a few marvellous years; and Melbourne, in respect of the variety of its amenities and its material conveniences, will challenge comparison with almost any city in either the Old World or the New.

BOOK VIII.

HISTORY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

CHAPTER I.

A COLONY FOUNDED.

STURT IN THE SOUTH—PROJECTED SETTLEMENT—FATHERS AND FOUNDERS—FIRST COMMISSIONERS—GOVERNOR HINDMARSH—GOVERNOR GAWLER—RAPID PROGRESS—A REACTION—SPECULATION MANIA—STRANGE STATE OF SOCIETY—EYRE'S FIRST EXPEDITION—GENTLEMEN OVERLANDERS—A COLONY OF SPECULATORS—DISHONoured BILLS—THE BUBBLE BURSTS—A TERRIBLE CRISIS—GOVERNOR GREY—A SINKING COLONY.

WHEN Captain Sturt discovered and explored the Murray River in 1830, and traced its course down to its embouchure into Lake Alexandrina, he was of opinion that to the westward of that river, towards Gulf St Vincent, a rich and fertile land existed, and that probably the lake disembogued into the gulf. His men at the time had suffered so much from fatigue and privation, that it would have endangered the safety of the party if he had attempted to prosecute his researches further than ascertaining generally the extent of the lake. On his return to Sydney, however, he represented the matter so strongly to Governor Darling, that he sent instructions to Captain Barker, commandant at King George's Sound—who was under orders for New South Wales—to land at Cape Jervis, and explore the eastern shore of the gulf, and ascertain the outlet of the lake. Unfortunately, that gallant officer, just as he had completed his task, was inhumanly murdered by the aborigines at Encounter Bay, while in the performance of a perilous portion of his duty. Mr John Kent, of the Commissariat Department, who accompanied Captain Barker during the expedition, has recorded the particulars of this first exploration of the Adelaide country. The party, consisting of seven persons, landed on the eastern shore of the gulf, and proceeded inland in a north-easterly direction, ascending a range of mountains, of which Mount Lofty formed the highest peak; from whence they could overlook the gulf to the westward as far as Yorke Peninsula. To the northward this range trended in an unbroken line, which settled the point that

the lake had not an outlet in that direction: they descended accordingly, and traversed the country through some fertile valleys and rich lands on Sturt's Creek, until they reached Encounter Bay, where the lake disembogued itself into the sea through an insignificant channel between hummocks of sand. Here Captain Barker gallantly stripped and swam across the channel, with a compass to ascertain its position. Mr Kent, in his MS. narrative, describes the circumstance in these words: "Curiosity prompted me to time his crossing. The current was running out strong; but he accomplished the feat at 9.58 A.M., in three minutes. On arriving at the opposite shore, he ascended the sandhill, gazed around for a few moments, and disappeared." He was never seen afterwards. It was, however, subsequently ascertained that three aborigines had speared him, as he rushed into the water to escape from them: his body was carried away by the tide. Mr Kent, on his arrival in Sydney, gave a favourable report to Captain Sturt of the country explored, coinciding with that gentleman's own impressions. This partial exploration was described by Captain Sturt in his account of his discovery of the Murray River, in which he pointed this out as a desirable locality for the establishment of a new colony. Here accordingly the Colonisation Commissioners of South Australia fixed the site of the future province.

South Australia is neither the oldest nor the youngest of the Australian sisterhood of colonies. It was founded in the year 1836, and several of the first colonists still remain to see the results of their early labours. As originally settled, the colony contained 383,328 square miles, or 245,329,920 acres; but since then it has received two large accessions of territory—the first, a strip of land lying between its western boundary and the eastern boundary of Western Australia; and the second, a large tract of country stretching northwards from the 26th parallel of south latitude to the Indian Ocean, and from the 129th to the 138th degrees of east longitude. The first addition was known as "No Man's Land," and the second is now known as the "Northern Territory." The colony may be regarded as comprising three divisions—South Australia proper, Central Australia, and the Northern Territory—and it stretches across the whole continent from the Southern Ocean to the Indian Ocean—the total area comprising 914,730 square miles, or 585,427,200 acres.

The settlement of South Australia as a separate and distinct colony originated with a few gentlemen in London. Negotiations were opened with the Imperial Government in 1831 with a view to obtaining a charter giving certain concessions to the projectors. Possibly from the affair not being in proper hands in the first instance, the negotiations came to nought. They were resumed in 1834, when a meeting was held in Exeter Hall for discussing the principles on which the new colony was to be established. Mr Edward Gibbon Wakefield, an advanced political economist for those days, had thought out a system of colonisation, which he maintained was the only true system possessing the elements of stability and success. His system was based on two principles: in all cases to sell the land for a fair and reasonable value, and to devote the proceeds to the introduction of labour from the mother country. He maintained that the worst thing that

could happen to a new country was to give the land away in large blocks ; and he found a striking illustration of this in the history of Western Australia. Grants of land of 20,000 or 50,000 acres had been made to favoured individuals, but they had turned out to be utterly worthless. The "fathers and founders" of the colony of South Australia resolved to start it on the principles laid down by Mr Wakefield, and Colonel Torrens in his speech at the Exeter Hall meeting entered into an elaborate exposition and defence of the Wakefield system.

This association, which contemplated fame and patronage rather than profit, included George Grote, the eminent historian of Greece ; William Hutt, afterwards Governor of Western Australia ; Henry Bulwer, afterwards an ambassador and K.C.B. ; Colonel Torrens ; H. G. Ward, afterwards Governor of the Ionian Islands and K.C.B. ; J. A. Roebuck ; Sir William Molesworth ; Benjamin Hawes, afterwards Colonial Under-Secretary ; and Edward Strutt, afterwards chief commissioner of railways.

While approving of the plan of colonisation suggested as regarded the disposal of land, Mr Secretary Stanley insisted that the government of the colony should be left in the hands of the Crown until such time as it was able to govern itself. After receiving this communication, the South Australian Association decided to continue their operations for the purpose of forming a Crown colony, provided that, by Act of Parliament, provision were made for the permanent establishment of the mode of disposing of waste land, and of the purchase-money of such land, devised by Mr Gibbon Wakefield. Before the negotiation concluded Mr Stanley resigned. Mr Spring Rice became Secretary for the Colonies. Under his administration an Act was passed, in the session of 1834, substantially embodying the terms agreed upon with Mr Stanley, by which the present province of South Australia was established, the minimum price of land fixed at 12s. an acre, and the business of colonisation was placed in the hands of a body of commissioners. Lord Aberdeen having become Secretary for the Colonies, eight commissioners were selected from the members of the South Australian Association, and gazetted May 1835, Colonel Torrens being appointed chairman, because, as he stated in his letter of application, he had "more knowledge of the object and principles of the proposed colony than any of the other gentlemen willing to act."

The Act was favourable to the family emigration system—a clause expressly providing that "no person having a husband or wife, or a child or children, shall, by means of the emigration fund, obtain a passage to the colony, unless the husband or wife, or the child or children of such poor person shall be conveyed thither." The commissioners were empowered to borrow £250,000 for defraying the cost of introducing emigrants and founding the colony.

The first commissioners appointed were : Colonel Torrens (chairman), George Fife Angas, Edward Barnard, William Hutt, J. G. Shaw Lefevre, W. A. Mackinnon, Samuel Mills, Jacob Montefiore, George Palmer, George Barnes, and Rowland Hill. The latter gentleman (afterwards Sir Rowland Hill, originator of the penny postal reform) subsequently became secretary to the commissioners. Of the foundation principles on which South Australia was established we may here mention these three : That it was never to be a charge

on the mother country ; that there was to be no State Church recognised ; and that the transported prisoners from Great Britain were never to be admitted to her shores. These three principles have been fully carried out. The colony has been no expense to Great Britain ; there is no State Church ; and convicts, except those convicted in the colony, are unknown.

The first commissioners found considerable difficulty in starting their scheme, and at one time there was a danger of the thing falling through and becoming a grand failure. To prevent this, Mr George Fife Angas, one of the commissioners, was largely instrumental in starting the South Australian Company, for the purchase of land and the settlement of a population on the land. Mr Angas was one of the best and most useful colonists the province has ever had. He devoted time and labour to the colony when it needed the best assistance of its best friends. More than this, he risked to a large extent his considerable private means to give the province a start on a safe footing.

The commissioners first offered the post of governor to the distinguished General Charles James Napier ; but on being refused a small body of troops as police, and power to draw on the British Government for money in case of need, he declined the dangerous honour, observing, with wise prescience, " While sufficient security exists for the supply of labour in the colony, and even *forces* that supply, there does not appear to be any security that the supply of capital will be sufficient to employ that labour." Thus South Australia lost an active governor, and India obtained a great general.

The first governor of South Australia was Captain (afterwards Sir John) Hindmarsh, who received his appointment early in 1836. Mr James Hurtle Fisher (afterwards Sir James) was appointed resident commissioner for the sale of Crown lands, and Colonel Light was appointed surveyor-general. Colonel Light arrived at Kangaroo Island in August of that year, and on 28th December 1836, Governor Hindmarsh and his party landed at Holdfast Bay from the " Buffalo," and under a venerable gum-tree, a short distance from the shore, the members of the Council and other officers were collected, and the orders in Council creating South Australia a British colony, and the commission of Governor Hindmarsh, were read. This is the colony's commemoration day ; and on the 28th of December every year very large crowds of persons from various parts of the colony assemble at Glenelg—a marine township which has sprung up in Holdfast Bay—to celebrate the foundation of the colony.

With difficulty the new governor found his way to the intended site of the proposed city of Adelaide. The distance from the intended port being seven miles, he was at once impressed with the error of the commissioners' agents in fixing upon such an ineligible spot for a seaport town—a fault common, however, to new settlements in these distant colonies. His arguments upon this and other points with the local officers of the company led to an unseemly discussion ; so that after two years' administration of affairs he was recalled, and left the colony in 1838.

Meanwhile the emigrants, consisting mostly of " surveyors, architects, engineers, clerks, teachers, lawyers, and clergymen," with traders and adventurers of every

description, were landed in thousands upon the mangrove swamps around the anchorage of the future Port Adelaide. Then commenced a system of land-jobbing which can only find a parallel amongst the gambling transactions during great railway mania in England. The land-orders issued by the commissioners were negotiated like railway-scrip; town allotments which were originally set up to auction at £2, 10s. per acre, soon reached the apparent value of £2000 and £3000; while country sections, obtained at the upset price of £1 per acre, realised as much as £100 per acre. Those who had secured special surveys of 16,000 acres upon payment of £4200 for that number of acres selected from the whole, sold allotments in imaginary townships at enormous prices. To this land mania were added building speculations on an equally extravagant scale; and the wages of ordinary labourers increased to 15s. and £1 per day. These facts, set forth in the most attractive light, were extensively circulated throughout England and Scotland, till the emigration fever rose to a pitch hitherto unprecedented.

Governor Hindmarsh attempted to change the site of Adelaide. Differences of a serious character arose between him and the resident commissioner: the colony became divided into two parties, one of which supported the governor and the other the resident commissioner. Both parties were greatly to blame. Lord Glenelg settled the question by acceding to the request of the commissioners and recalling Captain Hindmarsh. In the sequel the site of the capital to which Captain Hindmarsh had objected was retained, and almost all the officials, from whom he had experienced most vexatious opposition, were dismissed by his successor.

To replace Captain Hindmarsh the commissioners recommended and secured the appointment of Lieut.-Colonel George Gawler. At the same time Colonel Gawler was appointed resident commissioner—*vice* Mr Fisher, dismissed—and thus united in his own person all the administrative powers of the colony. He arrived in South Australia on the 13th of October 1838, and was recalled in May 1841. Under his administration the colony attained the highest state of external prosperity; the population quadrupled, the port was filled with ships bringing imports and emigrants; public buildings, shops, mansions, and paved roads were constructed on land which four years previously had been desert; wharves and warehouses on a swampy creek, which was converted into a convenient port; ornamental gardens were laid out, farms were cultivated, live stock was imported by thousands, the interior explored, and the whole colony rendered more familiarly and favourably known to the intellectual portion of the British community than any other colony; and under Colonel Gawler the land sales ceased, capital and labour emigrated, insolvency was universal, and the colony, loaded with public and private debt, collapsed more rapidly than it had risen.

The apparent success of the land and building speculations deceived the new governor into a prodigality of expenditure during his administration, for which he has been unjustly condemned. It was, in fact, not more than equivalent to the apparent revenue of the country, but was found, however, at the close of three years, to exceed that income by £400,000. Like the majority of the

colonists, he imagined that all this interchange of *paper gave value to the land*; and as there was plenty of it belonging to the commissioners, there was little fear of the territorial revenue decreasing. As to ordinary revenue, there was an increasing amount from the customs alone, which promised to meet all demands in time. But in 1839 the reaction took place, followed by a universal bankruptcy amongst the landholders, and the ruin of most of the small moneyed settlers. As the colony was established at its commencement upon an insecure foundation, it was no wonder that the inexperienced settlers, induced to build up the superstructure, should have failed in the attempt; for they were mostly townspeople, who knew little or nothing about growing sufficient food for themselves. Hence their means were all expended on purchases from the neighbouring colonies. After three years' occupation of the country—while they had been buying and selling land by the thousand acres, and building towns and villages throughout the country—there were not 1800 acres of land under cultivation; and that mainly consisted of vegetable and flower gardens, in the vicinity of their mushroom city.

Colonel Gawler seems to have been an amiable, enthusiastic, simple-minded man, ambitious of becoming the founder of a great, civilised, self-supporting community. But his ideas of the real state of things in the new settlement were utterly at fault. He found the treasury empty—the accounts in confusion. Twelve thousand pounds, being two thousand pounds more than the whole amount authorised to be drawn for in England in the year, had been drawn in the first six months; a large expense was required for the support of emigrants sick of fever and dysentery; provisions, wages, and house rent were enormously high; custom-houses, police stations, a gaol, and offices for transaction of public business were urgently required; a police establishment, at colonial wages, in the absence of a military force, was indispensable; the commissioners in their calculations had omitted to provide for a postmaster, a sheriff, or a gaoler—for letters, debtors, or criminals; the surveys were seriously in arrear; the head of the staff and all his attendants had resigned; the late resident commissioner and accountant-general, the colonial treasurer, and several other officers were found insubordinate, irregular in their accounts, and grossly inefficient; it was necessary to supersede two of them peremptorily—almost immediately; all officials were dissatisfied with low salaries in the face of the high prices of provisions, house rent, etc.; Governor Gawler himself, with Mrs Gawler, his children, private secretary, and servants, was compelled to occupy a small hut, and expend £1800 a year whilst receiving a salary of £800. With this imperfect machinery, and an empty treasury, a population of some four or five thousand souls, partly encamped on the site of the city of Adelaide, and partly dispersed in pastoral pursuits over a tract of country one hundred miles long by forty miles broad, instead of being, according to the theories of the commissioners, concentrated on ten square miles, engaged in reproducing English agriculture, had to be governed, customs dues and debts had to be levied, criminals imprisoned, and aborigines repressed.

He proceeded to supersede the incompetent officials, to bring all the Government business into a regular form, to press on the surveys, and to make proper

arrangements for the reception of the emigrants into barracks, and the numerous sick of ship-fever and dysentery into an hospital. In order to obtain a revenue from customs dues, to keep down illicit distillation, and protect the public from criminals, it was necessary, as Colonel Napier had foreseen, to raise a police. As labourers were worth from 10s. to 15s. a day, and indifferent horses cost £50 each, this was an expensive affair; but, by giving a tasteful uniform, and making the appointment rather honourable, he succeeded in obtaining a highly respectable body of men at 5s. a day.

The port on Colonel Gawler's arrival was a narrow swamp, through which, for seven miles, emigrants dragged their luggage and merchandise. Under his arrangements a road was constructed, and wharves and warehouses erected. He built a government house of no extravagant pretensions, but which, nevertheless, cost, from the price of labour and materials, £20,000; and he also built custom-houses, police stations, and other public buildings, which were indispensable for transacting public business. He expended a large sum in protecting and endeavouring to civilise the aborigines. He contributed to two expeditions which were unsuccessfully made by Mr Eyre in search of tracts of fertile country. To every charitable claim his purse was open; while his hospitalities were on a liberal scale. The result of his measures was to give an extraordinary impetus to the apparent prosperity of the colony. The brilliant reports of public and private buildings in progress, building land sold at £500 and even £1000 an acre, of balls, *fêtes*, picnics, horticultural shows, dexterously reproduced in England, tempted men of fortune to emigrate, capitalists to invest, and merchants and manufacturers to forward goods of all kinds on credit. Port Adelaide was crowded with shipping, which discharged living and dead cargoes, and departed in ballast. When 14,000 colonists had arrived, in the fourth year after the foundation, scarcely a vestige of an export had been produced. The land sales and the custom-house receipts rose to enormous amounts.

Among the successful there were scarcely any of the head-working, white-handed class, but a number of hard-working, frugal men, who, landing without a penny, accumulated enough by labour to purchase a good eighty-acre section, and there, by growing vegetables and wheat, rearing pigs and poultry, with the help of their wives and families, thrived steadily, and made money, in spite of the system which was intended to retain them for an indefinite time as labourers at some three shillings a day. These people often derived considerable advantage from sections of land adjoining their own being the property of absentees. On these sections they were able to pasture their live stock without expense. Where labourers could not afford to buy a whole section, they clubbed together and divided one; for free men will have land wherever agriculture is the only manufacture, and no protective laws can prevent them. It was these cottier farmers and a few sheep squatters who saved the colony from being totally abandoned when the inevitable crisis came.

A lady, who landed at Port Adelaide a few months after the governor, in a MS. letter describes the then "dreary appearance of the shores; the anchoring of the ship in a narrow creek, where, as far as the eye could reach, a mangrove swamp

extended; disembarking from a small boat into the arms of long shoremen upon a damp mudbank, under a persecuting assault of mosquitoes." On this mudbank lay heaps of goods of all descriptions, half covered with sand and saturated with salt water, broken chests of tea and barrels of flour, cases of hardware, furniture of all kinds, pianos and empty plate chests, ploughs and thrashing machines. A little farther, at the commencement of the "muddy track which led to Adelaide, bullock-drays stood ready to hire for conveying our baggage. The lowest charge for a load was £10. All along the side of the track were strewn baggage and broken conveyances, abandoned in despair by their owners. We stopped at a small public-house to get a little refreshment. For a cup of tea, with brown sugar, bread, and oily butter full of insects, we paid 4s. 6d. each. The butter seemed spread with a thumb. Our troubles partly vanished when we reached the beautiful site of Adelaide, where it almost seemed as if a large party of ladies and gentlemen playing at gipsying had encamped. This was the third removal of some who had pitched tents on Kangaroo Island, then built huts in Holdfast Bay, and finally took up their abode in the city of Adelaide. Several times, before the small, bright green, highly-ornamented, wooden summer-house which had been engaged for us, our carriage had like to have been upset over stumps and logs. Every one we met seemed in the highest spirits; and it was more like a walk in Kensington Gardens than in a colony scarcely two years old." This bit of contemporary description affords a key to much that is singular and contradictory in the early accounts of the foundation of South Australia.

Governor Gawler held a little court, which was graced by the magnificent uniforms of the officers of the volunteer corps—a corps which consisted of some two dozen officers, from a cornet to a brigade-major, and four or five privates. There were courtiers, too, and ladies in plumes and great airs; there were fashionables, and exclusives held to be the *crème de la crème*; there was an aristocracy composed of the principal officials; there were balls given, to be invited to which great manoeuvres were practised. It was a life like that of one of the little watering-places of Germany, with more heartiness, in consequence of the constant arrival of friends and victims from England. The town lots of Adelaide formed the great *rouge-et-noir* table. The climate rendered out-of-door life delightful, the imaginary streets swarmed with well-dressed crowds; so much really good society, so many fashionable men, had never before been found in a colony; every one fancied himself the hero of a great enterprise, and enjoyed all the pleasures of gambling, while dreaming that he was helping to found an empire. In the morning the men dashed about on horses, in dog-carts, barouches, and four-in-hands, which cost fabulous sums, in search of eligible sections and sites for villages. In the evenings grand dinners were given in tents and huts, where champagne, hock, burgundy, and every luxury that could be preserved in a tin case abounded; fashionable dance music and the songs of Rossini and Donizetti resounded from the cottages of the "great world;" and at cock-crow beaux in beards and white waistcoats, "half savage, half soft," might be met picking their way, in the thinnest, shiniest boots, through the dust or mud of a projected crescent or arcade. There was scandal written and

spoken; political intrigue; a court party and an opposition, with each a newspaper; and everybody flattered everybody else that building, dining, dancing, drinking, writing, and speechifying, "was doing the heroic work of colonisation." Young men of spirit were not satisfied to retire into the bush and look after a flock of silly sheep while it was possible to buy a section of land at £1 an acre, give it a fine name as a village site, sell the same thing at £10 an acre, for a bill the bank would discount, and live in style at the Southern Cross Hotel; for when a man had made such a speculation he could not, and did not, do less than invite a party of new-made friends to celebrate his good fortune by a dinner, a ball, or a picnic, with a few cases of champagne imported by the merchant on credit.

At this period a romantic air was infused into the simplest transactions. For instance, in the old colony exploring expeditions had been undertaken either by a Government surveyor, who marched out from some remote station without any special demonstration, or by a squatter who, with a friend or two, a stockman, and perhaps a couple of black boys, all on horseback, set out as quickly as possible to find new pastures for his stock. In South Australia they managed things very differently. Mr V. Eyre having undertaken to explore the interior of the province, on the day appointed for his setting out a grand entertainment was given, over which the governor presided. At the close of an affecting speech, a band of young ladies clothed in white garments marched up the room, and presented, amid the cheers of the men and the sobs of the women, a banner which they worked, to be planted on the limits of his proposed discovery. Mr Eyre's journey, and a second expedition, proved the hopeless barrenness of a great part of the province. He afterwards became lieutenant-governor of the settlement of Nelson, in New Zealand. It is rather curious that two gallant but unsuccessful exploring expeditions, that of Mr Eyre and that of Lieutenant (now Sir George) Grey, should have led to the appointment of two governors.

During the administration of Colonel Gawler important assistance was afforded to the colonists by the arrival of the overlanders, who, led by love of adventure and hope of gain, found their way from the bush of New South Wales and Port Phillip, across inhospitable deserts, over precipitous hills, through dense forests, rivers, and swamps, and, in spite of tribes of fiercely hostile savages, brought flocks of sheep and "mobs" of cattle and horses to the South Australians, at a time when butchers' meat was rising to famine price, when a good pair of bullocks could earn £60 a week in working from the port to the city, and horses which had arrived from Van Diemen's Land, after a long voyage of alternate calms and adverse winds, mere skeletons covered with sores, were sold as a favour at £100 each.

The overlanders saved the colony from total abandonment during the first crash of insolvency. The strength of Australia is in her pastures: sheep to the Australian, before the discovery of copper and gold, were what the pine-tree was to the Highland laird, who on his death-bed said to his son, "Jock, be aye putting in a tree: it will be growing while ye are sleeping." The overlanders who brought these invaluable animals were many of them men of education: the

enormous profits reaped by the first parties, in spite of the loss of both men and beasts by drought and skirmishes with the blacks, made the overland route a favourite adventure with the young bushmen. They brought with them, as well as live stock, "old hands," who taught the Cockneys how to fell a tree and make a fence, and sometimes gave the Gawler police a good deal of trouble. The gentlemen overlanders affected a banditti style of hair and costume. They rode blood or half-bred Arab horses, wore broad-brimmed sombreros trimmed with fur and eagle plumes, scarlet flannel shirts, broad belts filled with pistols, knives, and tomahawks, tremendous beards, and moustachios. They generally encamped and let their stock refresh about one hundred miles from Adelaide, and then rode on to strike a bargain with their anxious customers. Before the journey became a matter of course, the arrival of a band of these brown, bearded, banditti-looking gentlemen created quite a sensation—something like the arrival of a party of successful buccaneers in a quiet seaport, with a cargo to sell, in old Dampier's time. In a few days the stock was sold; the overland garments were exchanged for the most picturesque and fashionable costume which the best Hindley Street tailor "from Bond Street" could supply; and then, with hair combed, brushed, oiled, and gracefully arranged after Raphael or Vandyke, the overlander proceeded to spend freely the money he had so hardly gained, and, as one of the lions of the place, to cast into the shade the pert, smooth, political economists and model colonists fresh from the Adelphi. New arrivals from England, fortunate enough to be admitted to the delightful evening parties given by a lady of the "highest ton," the leader of the Adelaidean fashion, were astonished when, to fill up basso in an Italian piece, she called on a huge man with brown hands, brown face, and a flowing beard, magnificently attired, in whom they recognised the individual they had met the day before in a torn flannel jersey, with a short black pipe in his mouth. The overlanders included every rank, from the emancipist to the first-class Oxford man. By the end of 1840 they had introduced nearly 50,000 sheep into the colony, and taught the wiser colonists the necessity of looking to pastoral pursuits for the safe investment of capital.

The trade of turning wild land worth a few shillings an acre into building sections, to be sold at from four or five pounds to one thousand pounds an acre, by the simple expedient of a few pegs and a coloured plan, was too good to be monopolised by South Australia. The Government and private speculators followed the ingenious example in New South Wales and Port Phillip; while in England a dozen schemes were started, under the patronage of names as respectable as those who patronised the South American mines of 1824, and the railway delusion of 1845, for colonising New Zealand, the Chatham Islands, New Caledonia, the Falkland Islands, and other countries having the inestimable advantage of being very distant and almost unknown; all to be divided into "town, suburban, and country lots," to be sold in England at a "sufficient price."

The competition of these new bubbles, home and colonial, diverted the attention of intending colonists from South Australia, where the high price of town lots left but small margin for profits or premiums. Besides, in those epochs of speculative frenzy which periodically recur in England and Scotland.

unknown schemes have a certain advantage. About the end of the second year of Colonel Gawler's administration, the resources of South Australia as an investment for capital were partly known, while, as nothing was known about the resources of New Zealand, not even whether there was any available land there at all, it became an excellent and fashionable subject for speculation.

Colonel Gawler piteously complained in some of his despatches of the misrepresentations of rival colonists, and of parties who, after a very partial inspection of the port and coast, had departed, exclaiming, "All is barren!" But the fact was that the capitalists who had landed found no advantageous opening for the investment of capital; town lots had been driven up to an enormous premium; the cultivation of land did not pay, and has never paid the employer of labour on a large scale in any new country. Wool-growing and other pastoral pursuits were more profitable in Port Phillip and the new districts of New South Wales; besides, under the forcing system, enough land, supposing it all fertile, had been sold to support a population of 200,000. The population of the colony was 15,000, of which 8000 were settled in Adelaide, gambling with each other. As for the labourers, they were partly employed in waiting and working for the white-handed emigrants who had come out under Mr Wakefield's advice, "to labour with their heads, not with their hands," and who therefore required more work done for them than old-fashioned colonists, who were not ashamed to mend their own tools or carry their own packages, and partly in executing works for the Government and for the South Australian Company. A considerable number were in the hospital, and others were working at such sham labour tests as drawing fallen timber from the park, to be used for fuel in the Government offices.

It had been found impracticable then, as in all subsequent attempts, to carry out the scheme of obtaining recruits for free passages "exclusively of young married couples not exceeding twenty-four years of age." The labouring classes have their feelings and affections as keenly in regard to family ties as their superiors in fortune and education; they are not to be draughted out like sheep and cattle; and the parties charged with supplying the quota of labourers required for the ships, so recklessly despatched to South Australia, completed the number by a percentage, who from age, feebleness, or unfitness for colonial labour, became almost immediately chargeable on the Government. All who were shipped, if able to work, claimed under their shipping order a minimum of 5s. a day. When more houses had been built than could be let—when the capital, of which a large portion was exported for the importation of labour which it was impossible to employ profitably, began to grow scarce—the price of land orders fell, and the rate of wages. Then the frugal labourers began to retire from service, to settle down on purchased sections, and combine to purchase and divide sections of eighty acres, to the extreme disgust of the theorists. In England the large drafts of the governor, in conjunction with the falling off of land sales, had driven the commissioners to endeavour without success to negotiate the remainder of the loan authorised by their two Acts of Parliament, and then to apply for assistance to the Treasury, which was in the first instance

granted to a limited extent. In the colony Colonel Gawler was travelling on a declivity, and could not arrest his course. When he found the commissioners could no longer meet his bills he drew upon the Treasury for the expenses of government. The first bills were met ; but eventually a series of drafts, to the amount of £69,000, were dishonoured.

The commissioners, who had been perfectly content with Colonel Gawler, as long as the public continued to purchase land, fell upon him like a herd upon a stricken deer, repudiated acts to which they had given tacit approval, and tried to throw the failure due to their improvident conduct on "the governor's extravagance." He was recalled abruptly, and left to hear of the dishonour of his bills by a circuitous private source. The commissioners themselves were soon after ignominiously dismissed. When the news of the dishonour of the governor's bills reached the colony the bubble burst ; land became immediately unsaleable ; an insolvency all but universal followed, from which the banks, from early private intelligence, were able to protect themselves. The chief sufferers were English merchants, shippers, and manufacturers. The colonial speculators had long been trading on fictitious capital. A certain number of colonists of fortune were reduced to absolute beggary. A rapid re-emigration of capital and labour took place. Many labourers were thrown on the Government for support. The price of food, rent, and wages fell rapidly. Adelaide became almost a deserted village. The only persons busy were officials whom the commissioners had forgotten to appoint, viz., the sheriff and his officers, engaged in pursuing beggared debtors, and the judge of the Insolvent Court, by whom they were rapidly whitewashed.

Colonel Gawler retired, after having sacrificed a considerable private fortune to his faith in an impracticable system. But his hospitality, his charity, his truthfulness, his genuine kindness of heart, rendered him respected and beloved in South Australia. He was succeeded by Captain Grey, who, happening to be in London at the time Colonel Gawler was recalled, and able to afford the Colonial Office some information about the colony, received and accepted the ungrateful office of governor. He had been exploring in Western Australia. On the 10th of May 1841, he walked into Government House at Adelaide, and handed to Colonel Gawler his own commission as governor in succession to him.

When Colonel Gawler retired, land became unsaleable, emigrants ceased to arrive, and of those who were in the colony a large percentage re-emigrated to colonies where there were more cattle and fewer town lots. The population of Adelaide diminished in twelve months to the extent of four thousand souls. The price of everything fell 50 per cent. ; whole streets of Messrs Gouger's and Stephens's cottages stood empty ; the South Australian merchants who had paid their English creditors in the Insolvent Court, ceased to be trusted with speculative shipments ; the police horses were turned to graze upon the beautiful gardens constructed by Colonel Gawler on the banks of the Torrens ; Government House, late the scene of vice-royal entertainments, was closed ; the little world of Adelaide recovered its senses and lost some of its conceit ; and the

sober and industrious were able to survey and take stock of the true position of the colony.

The raw materials of colonisation had been provided, a road had been constructed from the port, others towards the interior had been marked out and made practicable. Land suitable for cultivation had been discovered, surveyed, and handed over to land purchasers, who had now no temptation to stay in town, if they meant to remain in the colony; labourers were willing to take reasonable wages, or ready to set to work for themselves with hearty goodwill; and, what was most satisfactory of all, live stock by importation, by overland, and by natural increase, afforded an ample supply of meat at reasonable prices, with a certain and increasing quantity of wool and tallow for exportation. Impoverished gentry were now happy to fall back, from imported fresh salmon, or ducks and green peas in tin cases, at 50 per cent. above the Piccadilly tariff, upon native poultry, at almost nominal prices. During the land mania geese imported from Van Diemen's Land sold at 12s. 6d. each, fowls 5s. a head, and everything else in proportion. In 1842 country people used to drive a cart filled with live poultry, fowls, ducks, geese, turkeys, in fair condition, covered over with a sheet, and sell the whole lot at from 14s. to 16s. Under the bountiful genial climate of South Australia actual want was unknown, and industry produced immediate results.

Governor Grey's task was easy. The famine or speculative prices of labour and provisions had fallen to reasonable rates, the emigration of paupers had ceased, and with the immigration the cost of maintaining the infirm, the sick, and the lazy. The unhired were set to work at such bare wages as induced them to seek private employers as soon as possible; the surveys were carried on steadily without pressure, and without exorbitant expenses for stores and hire of drays; and the police expenses were partly superseded by the arrival of a company of soldiers granted to Governor Grey, although refused to Sir Charles Napier. With these reductions of expenditure, and power to draw upon the Home Government for a limited sum, Governor Grey was still unable, in homely phrase, to make both ends meet; but the colony survived and vegetated in a sort of obscurity, which contrasted painfully with the brilliancy of its early, brief, blooming, hot-house career.

In the meantime the model colonists were not idle in England. On the 7th July 1840, the colonisation commissioners for South Australia brought under the notice of the Colonial Secretary (Lord J. Russell) the embarrassed state of the finances of the colony; and in August they reported that the revenue of the colony did not much exceed £20,000 per annum, and the current expenditure had risen to £140,000. Under these circumstances the Secretary of State, by letter dated 5th November 1840, undertook to guarantee a loan of £120,000 to be raised by the commissioners; but negotiations to raise this loan failed.

Two Acts brought in and carried by Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, in the session of 1842, embodied the recommendations of the committee, and arranged for the future government of South Australia. By one a minimum price of £1 an acre, with sale by auction, except in the case of special surveys

of 20,000 acres, was imposed on all the Australian colonies, including Van Diemen's Land. It is this Act against which the colonists, who were never consulted, have not ceased to protest. By the other Act South Australia was transferred from the management of commissioners to the Colonial Office, and its debts were arranged in the following manner: The whole debt amounted to £405,433; of this, £155,000, which had been granted by Parliament in 1841 for passing exigencies, were made a free gift; £45,936, of which £17,646 had been incurred by Governor Grey in maintaining unemployed emigrants, was to be paid by the Treasury; and the remainder was converted into debentures, partly guaranteed by the Government and partly charged on the colonial revenues. Renewed sales of land, after the discovery of copper mines, paid off the greater part of these debts, with interest, between 1845 and 1849, with the exception of the £155,000. On the passing of this Act South Australia sank into obscurity, and, in spite of the vigorous efforts of the South Australian Company, which found itself in possession of large tracts of land that could neither be sold nor let to rent-paying tenants, ceased to attract the attention of emigrants. Great bankers and capitalists who had been induced to purchase lots of land wrote them out in their books at value *nil*. So late as 1850 there were parties in the city of London who had forgotten that they held some thousand acres in South Australia until reminded by an application to purchase from returned colonists. In very rare cases has the investment in rural land at £1 an acre turned out profitable.

Dover, the quietest and least enterprising of English towns, contributed by public subscription in 1837-38 one emigrant to South Australia. The fortunate man no sooner arrived, with nothing to lose, than, carried away by enthusiasm and the persuasions of the Colonial Secretary, Gouger, he became the purchaser of a thousand acres of land, and boldly drew upon two of the gentlemen who had charitably sent him out, advising them of the favour he had done them, and promising to remit in due course the title-deeds. The good Doverians, on the arrival of the tremendous bill, held a consultation, learned the total ruin that would fall on the drawer if it were returned protested, wishing, too, not to have the one Dover emigrant disgraced, and perhaps a little dazzled by the brilliant reports of fortunes daily realised in Australian land, made up a subscription of £100 apiece, met the bill, in due course received the grant, and from that time forward never heard a word of the emigrant or the land.

CHAPTER II.

THE MINING ERA.

RESULTS OF SPECULATION—DISCOVERY OF LEAD—DISCOVERY OF KAPUNDA MINE—
THE BURRA BURRA MINES—NOBS AND SNOBS—VAST MINERAL TREASURES—THE
COLONY SAVED—THE WALLAROO MINES—EXTENSIVE MINERAL DISTRICT—GOLD
DISCOVERY—MINERAL RESOURCES.

IN 1843 the result of the false system on which the colony was founded began to disappear. The ruined capitalists were forgotten, so, too, were the debts due to the Home Government and home creditors. Those who had been able to weather the storm of insolvency and keep a few sheep had retired towards the interior. There dispersed they were able to live cheaply, to carry on their business with little hired labour, and to look forward with confidence to annual income from the clip of wool, and annual increase of wealth by the natural increase of their flocks. Thus in 1843 South Australia, formed with so much preparation, the subject of so much printing, colonised by a superior class, forced forward by an enormous expenditure of public and private capital, instead of presenting a picture of a contented population, divided into capitalists and labourers engaged in scientific agriculture, owed all its exports to dispersion after the manner of neighbouring colonies, whose "barbarous manners" had been so much contemned, and presented a picture of cottier farmers, vegetating in obscurity, content to live with few comforts, without rent or taxes. Some squatted on land the property of absentees, many more as tenants not paying any rent, whom the landlords were glad to retain in order to keep their land in condition. The tenants of the South Australian Company were in this state. Looking back at the condition of South Australia after it had ceased to attract the importation of capital, there can be no doubt that if it had been as far from the old ports of the colonies as Swan River, and out of reach of the expeditions of overlanders, it would have sunk even to a lower ebb than Western Australia. When land jobbing had been exhausted, and all the schemes hatched in England for employing capital had been tried and found wanting, an accident revealed to the colonists the existence of a treasure which even the sanguine and poetical promoters of the colony had never suspected or suggested. They had placed coals, marble, slate, and precious stones among the probable exports; but copper and lead had not entered into their calculations.

In 1841 a little lead ore was discovered and sent to England. In 1843

Mr Dutton, the brother of a gentleman of some means, but who had himself been compelled by the general depression to accept the situation of sheep overseer, accidentally discovered, and, in partnership with Captain Bagot, became the purchaser of the eighty-acre section, which included the Kapunda copper-mine. Other mines were subsequently discovered; but the great event, the turning-point of the fortunes of South Australia, was the discovery of the Burra Burra Mine.

The discovery of the Kapunda set all the colony hunting for mineral outcrops; the residue of the land-jobbers took up the geologist's hammer; but by a singular fortune, the investigations of Mr Mengs, a practised geologist, were fruitless, while a mine of wealth was turned up by the wheel of a bullock-dray. In 1845 the existence of a remarkable and promising outcrop on the Burra hills became well known in the colony: rumours on the subject had been afloat in 1840. In order to secure the whole district without the unlimited competition, application was made to the governor for a special survey of 20,000 acres. At the same time a party of speculators arrived from Sydney, intent on securing the great prize if possible. The survey was ordered; a day and hour was fixed for the payment of the £20,000; the governor decided not to accept bills of the local bank, or anything but cash. Cash in 1845 was a very scarce commodity in Adelaide, although corn was plentiful, and pride as rampant, and with as little reason, as in any decayed watering-place in England. The retailers, and all not within a certain indescribable line, were dubbed the "snobs;" the officials and self-elected aristocracy the "nobs."

To raise the £20,000, a union between the nobs and snobs became indispensable; but even that was not enough, for there was scarcely so much gold in the possession of all the colonists, and the Sydney speculators were waiting ready to bear off the prize. On the last day for payment a hunt for gold was commenced by half-a-dozen men of good credit. Cash-boxes in hand, they traversed the streets and suburbs of Adelaide, offering with ample security a handsome premium for sovereigns. On that day many secret hoards were dug out; husbands learned that prudent wives had unknown stores, and old women were even tempted to draw their £1 and £2 from the recesses of old stockings. Almost at the last minute the money was collected, counted, and paid, and the richest copper-mine in the world rewarded the long suffering of the South Australians, and awakened all their old gambling spirit. The purchase effected, the class spirit which forms so absurd an element in the English character, broke out, and a division of the 20,000 acres was decided on. The toss-up of a coin gave the "snobs" the first choice; they took 10,000 acres, to which they gave a native name, the Burra Burra. The "nobs" named their 10,000 acres the Princess Royal. The outcroppings on the hills of the Princess Royal were magnificent; nevertheless in 1850 their £50 scrip was not saleable at £12. The history of this mine is the history of the commercial progress of South Australia.

Copper ore became to South Australia what wool had been to the neighbouring colony of Victoria, the main, if not the only, source of its prosperity and rapid development of wealth. Up to 1845, when its mineral treasures were for

the first time, and by mere accident, discovered, the colony was in a languishing state, and had altogether failed in fulfilling the expectations of those under whose auspices it had been originally founded. It was deeply in debt—the revenue yearly becoming less, while the expenditure had for some time gone on annually increasing—the majority of the early colonists were ruined, or their capital sunk in a manner which then appeared hopeless of return, and the entire settlement seemed on the verge of bankruptcy and ruin. But the copper ore turned the scale; the hopes of the colonists were revived, the attention of speculators in the mother country became aroused, mining companies were formed, fresh capital and labour speedily flowed in to recruit the apparently exhausted resources of the province, and since that period the progress of South Australia has been equally rapid as that of the most flourishing of her sister colonies.

The vast mineral deposits, existing over thousands of square miles of country, have, for the past thirty years, contributed very largely to the national wealth. At times the mineral products of the colony have been the highest in point of value of any of our staples; but they have for some years past taken the third place—wheat now ranking first, and wool second. In 1843 the Kapunda Mine was discovered on Captain Bagot's sheep run, fifty miles from Adelaide. In January 1844, about ten tons of rich copper ore were sent down from the mine, and caused considerable excitement. In 1848 the first steam-engine commenced to pump the water from the mine, the depth of which had at that time reached nearly twenty fathoms. Subsequently the workings have been carried down to nearly four times that depth. In December 1849, the smelting of the ores was commenced, and they were reduced to regulus, thus effecting a great saving in cartage and freight. More recently the production of fine copper, in place of regulus, was for many years successfully carried on. The quantity of ore raised since the opening of the mine until it was made over to an English company, averaged two thousand tons a year, giving an average produce of about 19 per cent. of fine copper. The Kapunda Mine was the means of the establishment of one of the principal provincial towns in the colony, and which formed the nucleus of a large and thriving population.

The Burra Mine was discovered about two years after the Kapunda, and at double the distance from Adelaide—one hundred miles north of the city. In the year 1845, one hundred miles north was considered rather a formidable journey, but the astounding reports of the wonderful richness of the new mine, induced many persons of all classes to undertake the trip, in spite of the hardships and privations to be experienced. The special survey of 20,000 acres requisite to secure this valuable property according to the land regulations of the period, was taken up on 16th August 1845, and six weeks after the first shot was fired, blasting a large mass of rich ore, with which several bullock-drays were loaded and despatched to Port Adelaide. For many years the carriage of stores, machinery, etc., to the mine, and of ore to the port, was done entirely by bullock-drays, and the traffic on the Burra road was something enormous. When it is remembered that the journey under most favourable circumstances would occupy

a bullock team from eight to ten days, and more frequently longer, and that there was a constant stream of about eight hundred teams on the road, some idea may be formed of the traffic. When we add to this the facts that each team consisted of eight bullocks, and that for the first six years of the mine's existence nearly 80,000 tons of ore, or 13,000 tons a year, were sent to the port and shipped to England, the magnitude of the interest becomes apparent. An immense deposit of exceedingly rich ore—red oxide, malachite, and blue and green carbonates of copper—was found on the surface, and at first the removal of it was more like quarrying than mining. Some thousands of tons were taken away before any very great depth was sunk in the shafts. Subsequently shafts and drives were sunk and extended, until in the aggregate the galleries measured some *miles* in length. But the sinking was not carried down to a greater depth than seventy-five fathoms. For several years upwards of a thousand persons were employed on the mine, and some five or six townships sprung up in the neighbourhood, containing a considerable number of inhabitants besides the miners and their families. The Burra is now connected with Adelaide by railway.

The total quantity of ore raised from the Burra Mine during the twenty-one years from its commencement was 215,132 tons, giving an average produce of 22 per cent. of fine copper, worth over £4,000,000. The total amount expended by the company was £1,982,005, of which no less than £1,568,859 represent wages. The gross profits amounted to £882,436, of which £776,160 were paid to the shareholders in fifty-five dividends, or £315 on each share of £5. In years gone by many thousands of pounds' worth of ore in fine particles was lost by being washed away in the creek, for want of means to save it. More recently thousands of tons of this waste material have been recovered and passed through jiggers and other machines for saving the ore.

The Burra Mine, for many years, was one of the richest in the world, and its discovery saved the colony from impending ruin after the terrible crisis of 1842. For sixteen years the Burra Mine was without a rival, as to the vast extent and richness of its deposits of ore. But in 1860 the discovery of the Wallaroo, and shortly after of the Moonta Mines, on Yorke Peninsula, bid fair to disprove the often-repeated saying that "there was only one Burra in the colony." Although the Wallaroo Mines promised to turn out well, it was many months before the proprietors felt sure that their enterprise would not prove a losing one. A very large amount of capital was expended by the wealthy firm of Elder & Co. and Mr W. W. Hughes, until the mine account stood with above £80,000 on the debit side. A few months after this, however, their pluck and perseverance were rewarded by rich discoveries of ore, which ensured profitable results from the large outlay incurred. The development of the mine now proceeded so rapidly as to induce the proprietors to erect smelting works at Wallaroo Bay, about five miles from the mine, for the reduction of the ore. Since 1862 the progress of the Wallaroo Mines has been very encouraging and satisfactory. The lodes in some parts of the mine are extraordinarily large and productive, measuring from ten to thirty feet in width of nearly solid ore, worth about 12

per cent. of fine copper, and producing as much as sixty tons of ore to the fathom. The general run of the lodes, however, is from five to ten feet in thickness. In connection with the Wallaroo Mines, extensive smelting works were erected at Wallaroo Bay, and are probably the largest and most complete in the southern hemisphere. The same proprietary have another smelting establishment at the Hunter River, in New South Wales. By this arrangement the vessels which bring coal from New South Wales to Wallaroo, take back copper ore to the Hunter River smelting works, so that a saving of freight is effected. During the fifteen years since the opening of the Wallaroo Mines, the total quantity of ore raised has been 290,669 tons of 21 cwt., but the average of the first five years was under 8000 tons, while the average of the five years ending 1874 was over 26,000 tons. The total quantity of copper made at these smelting works was 58,777 tons up to 1874. This includes a portion of the produce of the Wallaroo Mines, and of 197,394 tons purchased from the Moonta and other mines.

The country in the neighbourhood of the Wallaroo Mines being evidently metalliferous, numerous other claims were taken up in the vicinity, and a great deal of work was done with the view of finding payable copper-mines. In some instances good lodes were struck, and worked for a few years with fair results; but of all that were opened only three, besides the original Wallaroo Mine, are now being worked with anything like payable returns. These are the Devon Consols, the Kurilla, and a more recently discovered mine, the Dooroo. This last is the property of Mr W. W. Hughes, and is yielding large quantities of payable ore.

About a year after the discovery of the Wallaroo Mines, a still more valuable find was made eleven miles to the south-west, and two from the sea-coast. A quantity of small stones of green carbonate of copper being found on the surface of the ground, some pits were sunk, and a fine lode of ore was cut at a small depth. This was the commencement of the now world-renowned Moonta Mines. Several eighty-acre sections were secured by the Messrs Elder & Co. and Mr Hughes, and subsequently the Moonta Mining Company was formed. The 1600 acres of mineral land now held by the company is the richest mineral property in the colony, and not far from being the richest in the world. Since the first discovery several very rich and productive lodes have been cut, the most recent being a splendid course of fine yellow ore, four feet in width, at the depth of a hundred fathoms. During the first twenty months after the opening of the Moonta Mine 8000 tons of ore, averaging nearly 25 per cent. of fine copper, were raised, and dividends amounting to £64,000 were paid from the proceeds. During this early period of the mine's existence—in September 1862—a large quantity of ore being required for shipment at Port Wallaroo, eleven miles from Moonta, 1700 tons were delivered in nine days by means of bullock-drays. On another occasion, since the construction of the railway between Moonta and Wallaroo, forty tons of malleable or native copper were sent away in one train of ore trucks by rail.

There are several mines in the neighbourhood of the Moonta, which have for

some years been worked with more or less success. The Yelta is the oldest of these, and it has turned out a considerable quantity of ore.

In two or three localities, near the river Murray, copper has been found and mines opened. At Callington, near the Bremer, and about thirty-six miles from Adelaide in the direction of the Murray, a copper-mine has been worked for many years with a moderate degree of success. There are also several other mines in the neighbourhood which have turned out a considerable quantity of copper. A few miles from this there is a remarkable mine, the Wheal Ellen, about three miles from the town of Strathalbyn. It was originally worked for silver-lead, and some fine lodes of galena were opened. About 2000 tons were raised, yielding a good percentage (about 70 per cent. of lead), and 90,000 ounces of silver, besides a proportion of gold, varying from one to two ounces to each ton of pig lead. A large quantity of auriferous gossan is found in this mine, and the assay of samples sent to England gave at the rate of from four to six ounces of gold to the ton. In another silver-lead mine near Normanville, on the south-west coast, gold at the rate of two ounces to the ton was obtained from the lead. At the depth of thirty fathoms, in the Wheal Ellen, a fine lode of red oxide of copper was discovered, and in this part of the mine the lead seemed likely to give place to the copper.

The most extensive mineral district in the colony is that lying to the north, north-east, and east of Port Augusta. It has, for convenience of description, been divided into four large districts, the central comprising the following mines: The Blinman, Sliding Rock, Mount Rose, Warrioota, Vocovocana, Mallee Hutt, Mount Emily, etc. The Mount Plantagenet district, comprising the Mount Craig, Kanyaka, Willow Creek, Prince Alfred, Matawarangala, and other mines. The western, comprising the Beltana, Lake Torrens, Mount Deception, Wirtaweena, Mount Lyndhurst, etc. And the northern, including the Yudanamutana, the Daly, and Stanley mines, etc., etc. That portion of the country is for the most part ill adapted to agricultural purposes, on account of the dryness of the climate, the nature of the soil, and the distance from a market. It is, however, good pastoral country, and abounds in vast mineral wealth. Enormous lodes of the richest iron ore may be seen rising high above the surface of the ground. Huge lodes of copper are traceable for miles through the country, and in some places the green ore may be seen for a considerable distance, though generally speaking the nature of the ore is only discovered on a closer examination. In certain parts the copper ore lies scattered in quantities over the ground, like broken road metal. Occasionally a huge "boil" of rich ore is found on some elevated part of the lode, as at the Yudanamutana and the Nuccaleena mines, from the latter of which 600 tons were quarried from near the surface. Ores of 60 and 70 per cent. are frequently found cropping out above ground, consisting of red oxides and rich grey and other ores. Sometimes green and blue carbonates, green muriates, and malachites are met with. A common form of copper ore in the north is a brown liver-coloured ore, largely mixed with iron, but containing from 30 to 40 per cent. of fine copper. Crystallised red oxide and ruby copper, also malleable or virgin copper, are frequently found.

The extent and richness of the mineral deposits in the north are almost incredible to those who have not seen them; but hitherto the high cost of cartage and labour has operated very much against their development. It may be stated that mineral deposits of greater or less richness are very widely diffused throughout the colony. These deposits have been traced over an area of country extending 600 miles from south to north, and 250 miles from east to west. The mineral that has been most largely and profitably worked is copper; and during three years, ending December 31st, 1862, when a mining mania was at its height, no less than 1576 mineral sections of eighty acres each had been taken up. The deposits of iron are also of wonderful richness and enormous extent, but, owing to the absence of coal, and the high price of labour, they have been but little worked. Native iron has been found so pure that it has, without any preparation, been welded on to a piece of manufactured iron, and stood well. An attempt was made to undertake the smelting of iron in the southern part of the colony, where certain facilities, as fuel, lime, etc., existed in close proximity to exceedingly rich ore. As far as concerned the production of first-class pig iron, and its subsequent manufacture into wrought iron and steel, the attempt was highly successful, but owing to two or three hitches at starting, the shareholders in the company which had been formed lost heart, and the project was for a time abandoned.

Lead ore also abounds and contains a portion of silver, in many cases as high as fifty and even sixty ounces to the ton of galena. For many years, lead mines were worked, but they were not considered sufficiently remunerative to warrant the continuance of operations. If, however, at some future time, circumstances should enable the ore to be raised, or the metal extracted at less cost than at present, there is abundance of galena to be found in South Australia. Silver ore yielding as high as 30 per cent. of silver has been found, and some rich ore is known to exist on private property, but the largest attempt to work a silver mine proved a failure.

Besides the metals already mentioned, many others have been met with. Tin has only been found in small quantities. Manganese exists in certain localities, associated with a small percentage of cobalt; and a very large deposit of manganese of 80 per cent., showing cobalt, is reported in the north. Plumbago is found in the Port Lincoln district and elsewhere, and zinc occurs with copper and other ores. Bismuth is found in various parts of the colony, some hundreds of miles distant from each other—on the western side of Spencer's Gulf, above Franklin Harbour; in the Stanley Mine, 230 miles north of Port Augusta; and near Balhannah, sixteen miles to the south-east of Adelaide. The Balhannah Mine contains an exceedingly rich deposit of bismuth, and in other respects claims to be one of the most remarkable mines in the world. Copper was first found in considerable quantities, associated with bismuth, and about £25,000 worth was raised. Then gold made its appearance, and after the bismuth was smelted, it was found to contain on an average about five ounces of gold to the hundredweight of metal. Some of the specimens from this mine are exceedingly curious and beautiful—

showing copper, native bismuth, and gold in the same stones. Cobalt in small quantities, and antimony and plumbago, also exist in the ore from this mine.

Although South Australia was the first of the Australasian colonies in which gold was discovered, gold-mining has hitherto made but little progress. Gold was found in the hills, about twelve miles from Adelaide, about the year 1844, but at the time the finder was not aware of the nature and importance of his discovery. About the year 1852-53, alluvial diggings were discovered in the hills, near Echunga, about twenty miles south-east of Adelaide. The goldfield did not prove very rich, nor of any great extent, but a few hundreds of diggers did tolerably well by steady work, and some small fortunes were realised by the more successful. For many years a number of plodding people made a fair living at these diggings, and in the aggregate a considerable amount of gold—about £600,000—was obtained. Precious stones have been found on the Echunga diggings. Some years later another goldfield was discovered a few miles farther south, at Jupiter Creek, where a good deal of gold was obtained, including a few respectable nuggets, the largest weighing twelve ounces. Farther away still, in a south-easterly direction, gold has been found at the Meadows, but the wet nature of the ground proved a great hindrance to working. More recently another patch of auriferous country was opened and successfully worked, about three miles north-west of the old Echunga diggings, about a mile from the village of Hahndorf, and within the same distance of the Onkaparinga River, which has been proved auriferous in many parts of its course. Some very good finds were made, and one or two promising reefs opened. About 1869 a goldfield was discovered in the Barossa Ranges, ten miles east of Gawler. For three or four years it was worked with a fair amount of success, and proved in places to be rich in the precious metal. The prospecting which was carried on in the neighbourhood resulted in the discovery of a payable quartz-reef, where the Lady Alice Gold Mine has been successfully worked. A singular feature in this mine is, that a rich lode of copper ore was cut within a hundred feet from the surface, and the gold is frequently seen sticking in the copper. It was thought that the copper would “kill the gold,” but both metals appear to have improved as a greater depth has been reached.

Another locality where a very rich deposit of gold was found is near Mount Pleasant, and thirty-one miles east from Adelaide. A few inches below the surface at “Scott’s Gold Mine” the soil was rich in the precious metal, and many loose stones of quartz were turned up containing lumps of gold. One stone, about half the size of a man’s head, contained thirty ounces of gold! Upwards of £2000 worth was obtained in a short time, after which a company was formed with the view of carrying on more extensive operations, and searching for the reef supposed to exist on the land. The company purchased the lease of the section for twenty-one years, and expended some £3000 without obtaining any great return, the gold produced only amounting to £510 in value. Recently, however, a promising-looking quartz leader has been followed down to a depth of eighty feet, where it has run into a good solid reef three feet thick.

From the wonderful richness of the stuff found on the surface, and the nature of the strata below, it is the opinion of experienced persons that a very payable reef should be found here. Other similar deposits of gold were discovered in the same neighbourhood, and within a mile of Scott's.

The best-looking and richest gold-reef yet found in the colony is at Waukaringa, two hundred miles north of Adelaide. It is well defined, and, geologically speaking, in excellent gold country, and extends for many miles nearly east and west. Sufficient work has been done to prove the reef to be gold-bearing—at least at intervals—for a length of seven miles, and forty miles to the eastward in the same line of country gold has been found in the reef. Three good mines have been opened, and the value of the reef proved in them for above a mile in length. There are several other localities in various parts of the colony where very promising discoveries of gold have been made, but where the amount of work done has been insufficient to fairly test the value of the deposits. The belief, however, is gradually gaining ground, that the precious metal is far more extensively diffused throughout South Australia than has hitherto been thought to be the case.

Diamonds and other precious stones have been found in the neighbourhood of the Echunga goldfields, and a number and variety of gems in different parts of the colony. One of the Echunga diamonds is unique as a specimen of perfect crystallisation. Forty-eight facets may be distinctly counted by the aid of a magnifying glass, and are as regular as though they had been cut by a lapidary. This diamond weighs one and a half carats, and is of fine brilliancy. Other stones and gems which have been found in the colony may be enumerated as follows: Amethyst, agate, beryl (both precious and common), bloodstone, cornelian, cairngorm, calcedony, emerald, garnet, lapis lazuli, onyx, opal (both precious and common), spinel ruby and sapphire, sardonyx, and topaz. Of the last named some fine yellow specimens have been obtained, equal to the Brazilian, and many colourless stones; but these are generally inferior in point of hardness. The Anglican Bishop of Adelaide, some time since, had a pastoral staff presented to him set with a number of native gems, including most of those named above.

In the south-east, near the Coorong, there is a remarkable substance found on the surface; it occurs in tough thin cakes, and from its resemblance to indiarubber it has been called mineral caoutchouc. These cakes vary in thickness from that of a sheet of coarse brown paper to an inch. Many tons of it lie scattered over a considerable area of ground. A quantity of the substance was collected and brought to Adelaide, where a brilliant illuminating kerosine oil was obtained from it by distillation. This oil was found to be superior to the best American, in at least one very important quality, that of being non-explosive, and not becoming inflammable under a temperature of 150° Fahrenheit, whereas the American oil ignites at 108°. The soil in the neighbourhood where it is found appears to be impregnated with inflammable oil, which can be extracted by means of distillation.

The following brief summary of mineral exports at different periods will help to show the progress made in this respect :

In 1845, the first year when copper was exported from the					
Kapunda and Burra Mines, the value was stated at					£19,020
In 1846 the export of minerals amounted to,	143,231
In 1856	"	"	.	.	408,012
In 1866	"	"	.	.	824,501
In 1874	"	"	.	.	700,323

It should, however, be explained that the greater value of the mineral exports in 1866 arose from the higher price of copper in that year, and not from the greater quantity produced : in fact the quantity was much less in 1866 than in 1874. In the former year the exports amounted to 6463 tons 12 cwt. of copper, and 16,824 tons of ore, while in 1874 they were 6629 tons 7 cwt. of copper, and 22,854 tons of copper ore. In 1864 the value of the lead exported was £13,318, and in 1866, £11,318, since which time it has almost ceased.

CHAPTER III.

A PROGRESSIVE COLONY.

GOVERNOR GREY'S ADMINISTRATION — GOVERNOR ROBE — GOVERNOR YOUNG — A
REVERSE—GOVERNOR MACDONNELL—GOVERNOR DALY—GOVERNOR FERGUSON.

GOVERNOR GREY during his administration displayed great firmness, prudence, and decision. He commenced a policy of retrenchment, cutting down the wages of those employed by the Government to the lowest point. The effect of this action was that working-men, who had been hanging about the city, went into the country, and thus the land was brought into cultivation. One important improvement in the Government was made during this time: the commissioners were dispensed with, and the Home Government undertook the direct management of the colony. A new direction was given to the industry of the colonists; and when they became convinced that their success lay in subduing the earth, in cultivating the soil, and in pastoral pursuits, a new impulse was given to their energies. The necessaries of life became cheap; and although money was not over-plentiful, beef, mutton, and flour were cheap, and there was neither want nor complaining amongst the people. Governor Grey's administration will always be remembered with satisfaction and gratitude. He first inspired the people with a feeling of self-reliance, and taught them to live within their means.

He was succeeded by Colonel Robe, a man very different from Captain Grey. Governor Robe was a respectable, honourable, upright English Tory. All his prepossessions and traditions were on the side of authority, which his military training had deepened and intensified. He looked with something like contempt, which he took no pains to disguise, at the liberal tendencies of the handful of people he had been sent to govern in the Queen's name. He tried to govern by a small clique of men who had but little sympathy with the bulk of the colonists. The poor governor lived in hot water during the whole of his administration. The colonists refused to be treated as children; and, as he did not respect their rights, they paid no attention to his feelings. He was very weary of his office before he was relieved by the Home Government.

He was succeeded by Sir Henry Young, who was a different stamp of man altogether from his predecessor. He entered very heartily into all those schemes which were likely to assist in the government and development of the colony. One of the most important events that took place in Governor Young's time was the opening of the river Murray for navigation. Up to Sir Henry Young's time it had not been turned to any useful account. With properly-constructed

steamboats, the river can be navigated for something like two thousand miles ; but unfortunately the outlet to the Southern Ocean is dangerous, and often impracticable. Besides assisting to open up the river, Sir Henry set his mind on establishing a great port near to its mouth. A large sum of money was uselessly wasted on this fruitless attempt ; and the few stones which now lie at what was ambitiously called Port Elliot will remain a lasting monument to Governor Young's unwise zeal.

The gold discovery, which was the precursor of unexampled prosperity to New South Wales and Victoria, proved deeply injurious to South Australia. The very fact of her population having become more a mining than an agricultural or a pastoral people militated against her. In twelve months after the discovery of gold in the Bathurst Mountains, out of a population of 70,000, 12,000 adults and 4000 children, almost entirely of the male sex, left that colony. The city of Adelaide was left nearly destitute of able-bodied men, the mines were deserted, the stations abandoned, and almost every industrial occupation was at a standstill ; while the Government of the colony was for a time paralysed. It was but for a time ; for the Legislative Council and the governor, Sir H. E. F. Young, passed an Act making ingots of gold, stamped by authority, a legal tender throughout the colony. This, added to the successful attempt of Mr Tolmer in forming a practicable route from Adelaide to Mount Alexander, brought a large portion of the gold from the colony of Victoria, and some from New South Wales, into the coffers of the South Australian merchants and the Treasury. Those also who had left their families behind—which four-fifths had done—sent their earnings by this overland escort.

Sir Henry Young was succeeded by Sir Richard Graves Macdonnell, a man of very considerable ability and great energy of character. More than any governor who had preceded him he came into close contact with the colonists as a whole. He had a pleasant manner, considerable tact, and warm sympathy with all the interests of the colony, public and private. He was exceedingly popular during the whole of his administration, and he left the colony amidst the regrets of those who knew him. During his government, constitutional government was established, with two branches of legislature, both elective. During his administration the colony made rapid strides of progress. The full energies of the people were brought out, and wisely directed towards objects of public usefulness. The railway system was greatly extended, the electric telegraph was established, and exploration was pushed forward to a remarkable degree. New and valuable copper-mines were discovered on Yorke Peninsula, which now support a population of some 20,000 persons, and farming operations were largely extended.

In March 1862, Sir Richard was succeeded by Sir Dominic Daly, a man of great official experience, an excellent administrator, and a very popular governor. He was a Roman Catholic ; he kept his religious views to himself, and never obtruded them into the region of politics. He was accessible to all classes of the community, and identified himself with everything likely to promote the welfare of the colonists. He died in the colony, and was deeply mourned by all classes,

whose loving esteem he had won by his urbanity and quiet English hospitality. During his administration the colony was visited by the Duke of Edinburgh, who, it is well known, formed a high opinion of the cheery and kind-hearted old gentleman.

During the interregnum between Sir Dominic's death and the arrival of his successor, the Right Honourable Sir James Fergusson, Bart., the government was administered by Lieut.-Colonel Hamley, who was the senior officer in command of her Majesty's forces in the colony at the time of Governor Daly's death. Sir James was appointed by the Government, in whose ranks he had held office as Under-Secretary for India and the Home Department. For several years he represented Ayrshire in the House of Commons. Sir James was free and open-handed in his expenditure, and very liberal in all his personal dealings with the colony. He was a man of very considerable ability, a clear thinker, and an effective speaker. Though, perhaps, his higher qualities were not recognised as they ought to have been, he was regarded as an intelligent and a high-minded gentleman, who maintained the dignity of his responsible position and creditably represented her Majesty by the liberal administration. The establishment of telegraphic communication between Australia and Europe was carried out during his Excellency's term of office : his efforts to aid in the accomplishment of this great work were fully recognised ; and shortly after its completion he was promoted, by Mr Gladstone, to the governorship of New Zealand. Sir James suffered, while in Adelaide, a serious family affliction in the death of his wife, Lady Edith Ramsay, daughter of the late Marquis Dalhousie.

In the interval between the departure of Sir James and the arrival of his successor, the administration of affairs was in the hands of the Chief-Justice, Sir R. D. Hanson, whose long residence in the colony and thorough acquaintance with its public affairs and history eminently qualified him for the position he temporarily occupied. Mr G. M. Stephen and the Honourable B. T. Finnis each discharged the duty of acting-governor, at different times, under circumstances similar to those under which Sir R. D. Hanson acted.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NORTHERN TERRITORY.

POSITION OF NORTHERN TERRITORY—A NEW SETTLEMENT—MR FINNISS GOVERNMENT RESIDENT—MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND QUARRELS—A DECIDED FAILURE—A FORLORN HOPE—MR FINNISS RECALLED—MR MANTON APPOINTED—WASTED YEARS—THE OVERLAND TELEGRAPH—CAPABILITIES OF NORTHERN TERRITORY—A SHIPWRECK—SOIL, CLIMATE, AND NATURAL PRODUCTS.

THE Northern Territory, or Alexandra Land, comprises the immense tract of country which was made over to South Australia as one of the results of the explorations of Mr J. Macdouall Stuart. It contains an area of 531,402 square miles, or 340,097,280 acres. It is bounded on the north by the Indian Ocean; on the south by the 26th parallel of south latitude; on the east by the 138th meridian of east longitude; and on the west by the 129th meridian of east longitude.

When Stuart returned from his last journey across the continent, after having successfully shown the practicability of the overland route, the Government entered into negotiations with the Imperial Government for the cession of the newly-discovered territory to South Australia. Whether it was wise for the colony, having ample territory already and possessing but a limited population, to undertake the responsibility of settling a new and immense district, may admit of grave doubt. The matter, however, was taken up with considerable enthusiasm at the time. It was resolved to survey and offer for sale a considerable quantity of land on the north-western portion of the continent. The land sales took place in Adelaide, in March 1864, before the surveys had commenced. The land was divided into country sections and town blocks—the proprietor of a section being entitled to a town block. The land was sold in order that the funds might be devoted to the cost of surveying and settling the country in the first instance. A considerable number of sections were purchased by English speculators, who risked their money on the chance of its becoming a profitable investment in the future. Priority in choice of selections amongst the purchasers was to be determined by lot; and the Government entered into an arrangement with the selectors to have the land surveyed and ready for selection within five years of the time of the sale. The land was readily taken up, and preparations were immediately made for despatching a party to North Australia to carry on the work of survey, and to protect life and property there.

The most important question the Government had to determine was the

choice of a Government resident, who should be at the head of the party, and under whom the surveys were to be carried out, and by whom the first little community of settlers were to be governed. The gentleman selected for this responsible position, Lieut.-Colonel Boyle Travers Finniss, was believed to possess high qualifications for the office. He was an old colonist, who had large experience in public life. He had been treasurer of the colony, and at one time acting-governor. He was an officer of rank in the volunteer force, and he was a surveyor by profession. The Government who appointed him were highly commended for their judicious selection; and the general impression was that a better choice could not have been made. Mr Finniss set to work immediately to prepare for the departure of the first expedition, in which he was liberally assisted by the Government. The officers of the party were: B. T. Finniss, Government resident; J. F. Manton, engineer and surveyor; F. E. Goldsmith, surgeon and protector of the aborigines; Ebenezer Ward, clerk in charge and accountant; Stephen King, storekeeper; John Davis, assistant storekeeper and postmaster; W. Pearson, J. Wadham, and A. R. Hamilton, surveyors; R. Watson and J. W. O. Bennett, draughtsmen. In addition to these there was a strong party of chainmen, labourers, and able-bodied seamen.

The Government chartered a good vessel—the “Henry Ellis”—for the first expedition, and fitted her up in such a way as in all respects to promote the comfort of the men during the voyage, and amply supplied her with stores, instruments, and weapons for the protection of the party on their arrival. In the instructions given to the Government resident, Adam Bay was suggested as a likely place for the first town; but he was left with full discretion to select another site if, after examination, he found that unsuitable. Mr Finniss was also instructed to establish and cultivate friendly and confidential relations with his party, and especially to see that no injustice was done to the natives of the country.

Before the expedition sailed a luncheon was given to the party at Port Adelaide, presided over by the chief-secretary, Sir Henry Ayers, and in the presence of Governor Sir Dominic Daly. It was an exceedingly interesting gathering, and high hopes were cherished of the success of this bold attempt to establish a new settlement in Northern Australia. Mr Finniss made an admirable speech, in the course of which he expressed the fullest confidence in his officers. A few days afterwards the expedition sailed, carrying with it the best wishes of the whole people of the colony. In June 1864, the “Henry Ellis” cast anchor in Adam Bay, and the party landed. Unfortunately before the voyage was over misunderstandings had grown up between the head of the party and some of his officers, and these misunderstandings became more serious after the party had taken possession of the territory. The first river camp was fixed on 1st July, and the men celebrated what they regarded as the actual commencement of their work by broaching a barrel of beer which some one of the party had brought to the tent.

The expedition resulted in a decided failure. Quarrels between the Government resident and his officers led to a state of utter disorganisation. The head

of the party seemed to lose all control over it. Mr Finmiss selected Escape Cliffs as the site of the town against the protests and remonstrances of some of his officers and gentlemen who represented the selectors. But little progress was made with the survey; the party became dissatisfied, insubordinate, and idle. Quarrels took place with the natives, who stole the insufficiently protected stores, and who were punished without discrimination. The reports which came from the Territory to Adelaide were of the most disheartening character. The Government resident complained of his officers, and his officers complained of him. Meanwhile precious time was being wasted, and but little was being done towards the survey of the country.

Some of the settlers purchased a small boat—the “Forlorn Hope”—with which to leave the settlement. In this boat they sailed sixteen hundred miles to Champion Bay, and proceeded thence to Adelaide, where they brought before the Government what they averred to be the actual state of things at Adam Bay. The colony was indignant at what they heard. Mr Finmiss was called upon for explanations, which being deemed unsatisfactory, he was finally recalled to Adelaide, and Mr Manton was left in command. A court of inquiry was appointed by the Government to investigate certain charges which had been laid against Mr Finmiss, and the evidence was fully reported. The court found that the Government resident was wanting in tact in the management of his men, that he had not shown skill in organising their labour, and that he had not taken sufficient care to protect the stores upon which the party were dependent. A majority of the commission also blamed Mr Finmiss for selecting such an unsuitable site as Escape Cliffs for the township. They also found that he had not shown sufficient tact and care in his dealings with the natives, and that he had unnecessarily left the Territory without leave. The report, however, stated that the party entrusted to Mr Finmiss included many persons unfitted for the work for which they were engaged, and that some of the witnesses called manifested so much personal animosity towards Mr Finmiss as to render their testimony of comparatively little value. The result of the inquiry was the removal of the Government resident from his position.

Under the administration of Mr Manton there was not much improvement. The impression became stronger and more pronounced that Adam Bay was not the proper place for the settlement; and the question was gravely discussed whether it would not be better to pay back to the selectors their money with interest, withdraw the expedition, and abandon the settlement.

The next step taken by the Government was to find, if possible, a better site for a new settlement. Captain Cadell was despatched to the Gulf of Carpentaria to see what advantages offered there. With his usual enthusiasm he undertook the congenial work, and on his return he presented a highly-poetical report of his explorations and investigations, which was received with ridicule, almost amounting to contempt.

The state of things was now becoming serious. The five years within which the Government had pledged themselves to have the surveys completed, and the land open for selection, were rapidly passing away and nothing practical had

been done. Escape Cliffs was abandoned, and the party recalled, and the Government were at their wits' end to know what was to be done. The London selectors banded themselves together, and demanded back their money with interest. This demand was resisted by the Government, who still hoped to finish the survey. They passed a bill through the Parliament to give to the original selectors a greatly increased area over that to which they were entitled, in consideration of the delay which had taken place in the surveys; but this offer was limited to those who undertook to withdraw the threatened legal action against the Government. Many of the selectors accepted this offer, but the bulk of those in London refused it, and persisted in their demand for a return of their money.

At this time Mr G. W. Goyder, the energetic surveyor-general of the province, was requested by the Government to go personally to the Northern Territory with a competent and thoroughly-equipped party, to select a site, and to complete the survey without delay. Mr Goyder undertook this responsible work, and soon got a fine party together. The Government justly had confidence in his judgment and energy, and left the work very much to his discretion. He selected Port Darwin for the site, and laid the foundation of Palmerston as the chief town. As soon as he arrived, without allowing one day for idleness, he set his band of surveyors to work in various parties, he himself moving amongst them from place to place, directing, encouraging, and animating them all by his personal presence and labours. There was no dissatisfaction, grumbling, or insubordination; and, under the controlling spirit of one energetic man, the great work, which five years had failed to accomplish, was completed in a few months. Had Mr Goyder been despatched in the first instance, the colony would have been saved the disasters which attended the first attempts to settle the Northern Territory, and the large sums of money which they cost and which was extravagantly wasted in the most reckless way.

The overland telegraph has its northern terminus at Port Darwin. In the course of its construction ample evidence was given of the auriferous nature of much of the territory, and when the surveys were completed a considerable number of settlers went there principally with a view to gold-digging. A form of government was provided for the settlement, which still exists, and which has been modified to some extent, especially in the judicial and administrative departments.

That the Northern Territory, notwithstanding its disastrous and humiliating history, is a rich country and destined to become a great settlement, every one who knows it is convinced. It has been grossly mismanaged, and therefore has so far been a failure. Its resources, however, only need to be prudently and energetically developed to bring wealth to the settlers. The Parliament has made Palmerston a free port, with a view to encourage trade with other countries. In this respect it possesses greater advantages than Singapore. It is almost certain to become the *entrepôt* from which Australian horses will be supplied to the Indian Government as re-mounts for the army. The Northern Territory has cost the colony a great deal of money, but there can be no doubt that every

penny will one day be paid back with interest. The adoption of a wise and energetic policy for the encouragement of semi-tropical products and for developing the mines will give it a start; and a fair start is all that it really needs to ensure ultimate success.

In the year 1875 the Government determined to hold a circuit court at Palmerston, presided over by one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the province. Mr Justice Wearing, the third judge, was therefore despatched to hold a court, and was attended by the necessary officers. He and his party reached Port Darwin in safety; the court was held, and they embarked in the steamer "Gothenburg" for the return voyage. Unfortunately, however, the steamer ran on a reef lying off the coast of Queensland, and in the course of a few hours became a total wreck—the greater portion of her passengers and a crew thus meeting with an untimely death. Over a hundred persons—men, women, and little children—were ruthlessly swept from the deck of the ill-fated vessel. A few escaped in boats, but the great majority went down making no sign. Amongst the sufferers were Judge Wearing; his associate, Mr Pelham; Mr Whitby, acting Crown Prosecutor; the Honourable T. Reynolds, who for many years had been a leading politician of the province, and his wife; and the captain and his chief officers. No calamity that ever befell the colony produced such a feeling of sorrow or such a kind expression of heartfelt sympathy as this. For a time people were stunned by the news, and walked like those in a dream. But when the first shock passed away, there was an immediate cry for help for the families of those who had gone down in the sea. The Parliament took care of the families of those who died in the service of the Government, and made liberal provision for them; and the generous benevolence of the public took charge of the rest. Between £9000 and £10,000 was at once contributed and judiciously distributed amongst the sufferers; and when this act of justice was done, the colony breathed more freely.

The land bounding the coast is in a great measure low and uninteresting, in very few instances being more than a hundred feet above the sea-level; wherever the coast is high, it is generally in the nature of cliffs, composed of sandstone, marl, and ironstone; the lower portions are partly sandy beaches, but principally mud flats, thickly fringed with mangroves. The country inland is, generally speaking, of a very level character, over which railways could be easily constructed, and is in a great measure destitute of conspicuous land-marks. At a distance of from thirty to one hundred miles from the coast a tableland is met with, varying in height from three hundred to nine hundred feet, and near the Victoria River it attains a height of nearly seventeen hundred feet.

The year has two climatic divisions, consisting of the wet season, from October to April, and the dry period, from May to September. The different changes of these seasons are so uniform and regular that they may be predicted almost to a day. With regard to the suitability of the country for European labour, a writer affirms—after four years' experience—that a man cannot perform the amount of constant work that he is capable of accomplishing in a more temperate climate; but still there is nothing to prevent a moderate day's work

being done—and further, there is an almost entire absence of those enervating influences which prostrate the European labourer in other tropical countries, such as India, Java, Singapore, or Africa. Workmen carry out their various avocations throughout the day without taking any precaution to ward off the rays of the sun—the eight hours' system being usually adopted, as in other parts of Australia. The climate, in fact, may be said to be more of that type which is generally known as Australian, rather than tropical; and the same remark will—with very few exceptions—also apply to the flora, fauna, and perspective of the country. It is free from cholera and other scourges of hot countries, and on the whole may be considered healthy. Intermittent fever, commonly known as fever and ague, is prevalent at times, especially in low-lying localities, or immediately after the wet season; but this complaint is not dangerous in itself, and can often be prevented by a moderate and judicious use of medicine and a small amount of bodily exercise. The insect nuisances, such as flies, mosquitoes, or sandflies, disappear very quickly on any extent of timber and grass being cleared away. Clothing of a light description is worn throughout the year—white being the best.

The white ant pest deserves a special paragraph; in appearance he is fat and yellow, about the size of the gentles used by anglers—the creature is rarely seen unless unearthed, always working under cover, protecting itself by a shield of glutinous earth as a shelter from the attacks of its constant enemy, the small black ant. The white ant appears to have a wide margin for taste—it eats through almost anything—leather, wood, tobacco, soap, books, clothes—nothing short of sheet-iron will arrest its ravages. Ordinary fir or pine, or ordinary hardwood, afford this ravenous insect a special feast, and no timber except cypress, pine, and paper bark, iron bark, bloodwood, and a few other woods, obtained in the Northern Territory, or the jarrah from Western Australia, is capable of withstanding its attacks. There are hundreds of thousands of ant-hills in the Territory, many being upwards of twenty-five feet in height, and six feet to ten feet in diameter. They are very strong, resisting the heavy pressure of tropical rains, the larger ones appearing to be of great age—possibly some hundreds of years. There is another destructive insect called the “borer,” not met with near the sea-coast, but very active and mischievous inland, its attacks being chiefly levelled against timber. This creature is about the size of a large fly. Its head is armed with a kind of auger, which it drives with great force against the wood proposed to be attacked. The point of the auger is inserted while the body performs a series of rapid revolutions, perhaps a thousand in a minute, and thus bores a hole into the timber as perfectly as could be executed by a carpenter's gimlet. On a still night the noise of this boring operation can be distinctly heard. In consequence of the destruction caused to wooden buildings by the ravages of the white ant, the Government authorities have determined on erecting all future structures of stone, with concrete floors of Portland cement.

The indigenous products of the Northern Territory, like the rest of the Australian colonies, yield little or nothing adapted to sustain civilised life, while they afford sufficient to support the aboriginal population. The native grasses

have, however, been practically tested, and found to yield abundant nutrition to fatten horned cattle and horses. When it is stated as a fact that for hundreds of miles inland there is scarcely a foot of ground which is uncovered by trees, plants, or herbage of one kind or another, growing in rank luxuriance (in some cases on rocky strata, without any apparent soil to sustain vegetable existence), and that such fruits as the banana, cocoa-nut, custard-apple, pine-apple, and tamarind thrive on a hard clayey or ironstone soil, within a few yards of the sea, it may not be unreasonable to infer that the jungle and swamp might be speedily reclaimed and made to yield, under the genial tropical influence of this peculiar clime, productions of great commercial value.

BOOK IX.

HISTORY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

THE SWAN RIVER SETTLEMENT—A FAILURE IN COLONISATION—GOVERNMENTAL IGNORANCE—CAPTAIN STIRLING—THE FIRST SETTLERS—TERRIBLE DISASTERS—A PENAL SETTLEMENT—CAUSES OF THE FAILURE—DESCRIPTION OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA—PERTH—FREMANTLE—WHALING—REMARKABLE CAVES—GUILDFORD—STRANGE BIRDS—NATURAL PRODUCTIONS—CLIMATE—NATURAL CAPABILITIES—KING GEORGE'S SOUND—ABANDONED SETTLEMENTS—MELVILLE ISLAND—FORT WELLINGTON—PORT ESSINGTON, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

THE name Western Australia is given to that large section of the continent situated to the westward of 129° of east longitude, and between the parallels of latitude 13° 44' and 35° S. It has the Pacific on the south, the Indian Ocean on the west-north-west, and the Arafura Sea on the north. As yet, however, only an insignificant corner of this vast region has been settled, and a great portion of it is unexplored. What pastoral, agricultural, and mineral wealth may lie concealed within its immense area remains yet to be revealed.

It was in the year 1829 that a British colony was founded at what was then called Swan River, but on principles and under circumstances that inevitably ensured failure. Mr Peel, a gentleman who had influence with Government, combined with Sydney merchants to found a colony in some other part of Australia. The merchants found the money, Mr Peel the influence. The large fortunes which had been realised by colonists in New South Wales led the colonisers to believe that the same might be realised in a new colony, without the disadvantage of a convict population. Swan River was the site chosen. Sailors who had visited the shores gave the favourable reports, as sailors always do of any safe harbour where they find wood and water enough for their ship's crew. Geographical reasons led the adventurers to expect a temperate climate; further precise investigations as to the quality of the soil, extent of pastures, and character of the aborigines, were considered unnecessary. The Home Government, in total ignorance of the simplest principles of colonisation, did its part by bestowing a million acres on the founder, and to every other colonist acres in proportion to his capital in cash, live stock, implements, or the number of labourers whose passage he paid.

The first governor appointed was Captain Stirling, R.N. During the years 1829 and 1830 fifty-five ships arrived, bringing 1125 emigrants, and cargo to the value of £144,177. The future capital was named Perth, and its seaport Fremantle. Their sites were chosen with great judgment.

In 1831 the arrivals were less frequent, and the vessels numbered only seventeen; and after the first quarter of 1832, the immigration of persons and property ceased, except so far as related to the friends and funds of persons previously established in the colony. Officers of the army and navy, and the officers on the civil establishment of the colony, were authorised by Sir George Murray to receive assignments of land on the terms of importation of property which were open to the public. To some naval and military officers, who engaged to return to the settlement at an early period with the property necessary to qualify them to receive allotments, permission to select land was granted, and the territory so selected was *reserved for a considerable period*. Thus many of the settlers who arrived in 1829 and 1830, on expressing a desire to possess themselves of lands in favourable localities, were informed "that 10,000 acres are reserved for Captain A.; that 6000 acres to Lieutenant B.; that 5000 acres to Mr C.," and so on, over some of the best situated localities.

With these antecedents it would have been difficult for men unconnected with Government and unaided by public support to have formed a colony, even in the loveliest and most fertile land on earth; and it is surprising that the attempt was not abandoned in the outset. The frightful struggles which the settlers of 1829-30 had to undergo are described in a "monster address," signed by nearly every non-official settler, which was transmitted by the governor to Earl Grey. The grievances therein complained of deserve mention, not only as forming a chief cause of the slow progress made by the colony during ensuing years, but also as affording a valuable example of what *should and should not be done* on similar occasions. The errors in this case appear to have arisen chiefly from sheer carelessness, and the most unaccountable want of forethought on the part of all concerned. Had the proposal been to colonise one of the Channel Islands, instead of to form a settlement in the southern hemisphere, matters could hardly have been taken more easily.

The manner in which the terms for the grants of land were framed, rendered its acquisition dependent on arrival in a stated time, and induced the emigrants to bring out in excess servants, live stock, machinery, etc., of which each took more than he required. The season selected for their arrival was the month of June (there mid-winter). Not a shed had been provided for their reception; not an acre had been surveyed, and even a safe anchorage had not been ascertained. Several ships were driven on to the beach, which was crowded with masses of human beings—families with infant children, ladies, civil officers, sailors, soldiers, and farmers, while blood and cart horses, milch cows, prize bulls, sheep, goats, poultry, pigs, pianofortes, ploughs, mills, barouches, casks, furniture, bedding, tools, and seed-corn lay heaped together, drenched with torrents of rain. The confusion was complete: the leaders of the enterprise were equally at a loss with the settlers to know what to do or advise. Some demanded to be led to

their lands, others gave way to despair; servants attacked the spirit casks—masters followed their example. The farmers were told they must wait, *wait* till lands were discovered, and then *wait* until they were surveyed. In fine, a quarter of a million sterling of property was destroyed; the means of the emigrants dissipated, their live stock perished. As soon as practicable, numbers fled from this scene of ruin, carrying with them the wreck of their fortunes, to find a home in the more advanced colonies of New South Wales and Tasmania. It has been asserted, on good authority, that fifteen years elapsed before the surveys were sufficiently advanced to enable a settler to put up a boundary fence within five miles of the capital. Mr James Walcott, one of the earliest settlers, affirms, that in common with others he suffered severely because the Government was unable to redeem its pledges to the colonists, and that one-half the property he imported was lost before he could get a location which offered a prospect of success. Subsequently, when a few, after gallantly penetrating the forest, had discovered good lands, and revived the drooping spirits of the rest, and a chance arose that fresh emigrants arriving with new capital and stock might do well, the conditions of land sales were altered to the same as those in the old-established colony of Sydney, where no hazards were to be run. About that time companies arose to support other colonies, each one naturally maintaining the superior advantages presented by its own, and disparaging the merits of the rest. So the neglected little settlement of Swan River was soon forgotten, and the infant nation left to establish itself, unaided by aught but the resources of its country and climate, and its own natural but over-taxed energies. The effect of the non-arrival of emigrants was soon evident. The hired labourer rapidly acquired the means of independence, and became anxious in his turn to obtain assistance, and the ruin of those who depended upon the hired labour of others was the result. In this and the gold discoveries lies the secret of the failure of the Swan River settlement. In one, and in only one, respect has it really failed, and that is in attracting emigration; in almost every other it has been most successful. Its trade, including its exports, has continually increased; and its settlers have, in proportion to their numbers, effected a large extent of tillage, partially explored the neighbouring territory and developed its mineral wealth, exported large quantities of valuable timber, and cultivated in luxuriance, and with perfect success, the rich and varied fruits of other lands, including those most valuable productions, the vine and olive. But to revert again to its then neglected condition. Without a London company, almost without a friendly voice in its favour, can it appear strange that a settlement, ill-supported (to say the least) by Government, and unrepresented in the mother country, failed to attract the stream of emigration which it has been the object of so much combined exertion to direct elsewhere? Indeed, the miseries endured at the foundation of the colony naturally gave rise to a strong prejudice against it.

The effect of the state of things thus brought about was that convicts were sent from the mother country, and Western Australia became a penal settlement, and remains so to this day; while the other Australian colonies have got rid of transportation entirely. This has fixed a stigma on the colony which has

WEST AUSTRALIA.

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Railways — Roads — Lighted Harbours — Submarine Telegraph Lines known thus



operated against it apart from the overwhelming attractions of the gold regions. Yet it is but fair to say that no men of desperate character have been transported to Western Australia, and that the convicts are not assigned to private persons, but employed by Government in the construction of roads, bridges, harbours, and other works of public utility, the value of which, in a new country, cannot be over-estimated. The convicts being kept apart, there is no danger of contamination, and judicial records prove that the colony is singularly free from crime.

But the first attempt at settling Swan River was, as has been said, a miserable failure, solely on account of the want of intelligent comprehension of what colonisation really is on the part of its founders. The first fleet of colonists arrived to find the country not only unsurveyed, but unexplored. They were disembarked on a narrow slip of beach, bordered by thickets filled with hostile savages, who speared men and their cattle on every opportunity. A fine stud of thorough-bred horses perished for want of fresh water; whole cargoes of furniture and agricultural implements rolled on the beach without being unpacked. The labourers repudiated their home engagements, and obtained exorbitant wages. When the country was further explored, the quantity of available land turned out to be extremely limited; the live stock was rapidly consumed for food, while the remoteness of Swan River from the old colony rendered importations of any kind difficult, expensive, and uncertain. The sheep turned out to pasture repeatedly died, poisoned by a plant which, up to this day, the colonists have been unable to extirpate. In a word, planted in a remote district, far from other ports and out of the track of commerce, with very little land available for agricultural or pastoral purposes—what little there was of the one monopolised by a few hands, much of the other poisonous; with colonists, both high and low, the most unfitted by previous education for a rude, self-dependent life, without leaders or servants of colonial experience, without forced labour—the Swan River settlement failed miserably. This failure would have been confined to the fortunes of the first colonists, however bad the system of colonisation, had there been, as in the other settled districts of Australia, vast plains of sound pasture on which pure-bred merinoes could have fed and multiplied; or coal, or copper, or gold to be had for digging; but there was nothing beyond the bare means of sustenance; thus Swan River, in spite of a series of systems of colonisation, was not able to rise from the condition of an eleemosynary dependency, supported by the bounty of the parent state. With the failure of Swan River the system of free grants of land ended in Australia.

In its physical aspect Western Australia differs from the colonies farther to the east. The coast is laved by the placid waters of the Indian Ocean, and is consequently not so extensively or deeply indented as are the shores exposed to the tremendous roll of the Pacific. The estuaries and inlets are generally obstructed by sand-banks at their entrance, and so not accessible to vessels of deep draught. The best anchorages are Gages Roads, at the entrance of the Swan River, formed by Garden, Rottnest, Peel, and Carnac Islands; Owen's winter anchorage; Cockburn Sound, in south latitude $32^{\circ} 10'$; Rockingham Harbour, and Warnborough and King George's Sounds, in some of which vessels

may discharge their cargo close to the shore. The principal rivers are the Murray, navigable by boats for sixteen miles, and the Swan—on which Perth stands—for about forty miles. There are numerous small streams and fresh-water lakes, bordered by rich soil, and to the margin of these the farms are almost wholly confined. Several of the lakes have been drained, and produce luxuriant crops. Viewed from the sea, the country wears an unfavourable aspect, as only sand is visible, and no signs of cultivation are apparent. Magnificent mountain ranges are, however, sighted at various points along the coast. In Perth county, the Darling Range rises abruptly from the plain of Quartania—rugged, round-topped hills of rock and gravel, extensively covered with eucalyptus forests of excellent timber, well adapted for either house or ship building.

Perth, the capital, is situated on a pretty sheet of water formed by the Swan, surrounded by gardens in which the banana, peach, nectarine, apple, pear, lemon, orange, guava lognat, pomegranate, almond, fig, and mulberry flourish. Successive terraces of vines and olives rise around, while the forest plain stretches far away into the distance, and the mountain range stands out boldly in the clear air. Its position is well chosen, not only on account of its beauty, but for the more solid advantages which it possesses. The sandy soil, united to an unlimited supply of good water, procured at an average depth of fifteen feet, a perfect drainage in each direction, exposure to the healthful sea-breeze sweeping up the succession of picturesque estuaries, and a frontage and rear of garden grounds, offer great promise of salubrity; while abundance of brick-clay, lime, firewood, and timber of good quality, have afforded the materials for a substantial style of building. There is a regular town; excellent houses of brick and stone, with large verandahs and neat gardens around; large stores; places of worship for different denominations of Christians; a government house, court-house, Western Australian bank, barracks, gaol, club-house, hospital, magazine, public offices, hotels, inns, mills, fields, gardens, good roads, farms, and homesteads in various directions. The military barracks at Perth occupy a pretty situation, about four hundred yards from the river Swan (here nearly a mile wide), and at the head of the Government Square, which slopes gently towards the water. From the barracks there is an uninterrupted view of Melville Water for a distance of six miles, and the beauty of the scenery is much enhanced by the many strips of land which run out from the shore on either side. On the left bank of the river, separating Perth from Melville Water, is a long tongue of land, with a windmill; and on the opposite shore of the narrow passage, Mount Eliza raises its rugged and precipitous sides, which are studded here and there with white-walled cottages, peeping out from the foliage of the casuarina and banksia.

Fremantle, the seaport of Perth, distant about fourteen miles by water, and eleven by land, lies immediately behind the little promontory of "Arthur's Head." It is built entirely of white limestone, and the dazzling glare of the walls and houses in summer-time is rather trying to visitors. It contains a very pretty church, a Wesleyan chapel, Government store-houses, good hotels, and commodious dwellings. During the winter season bay whaling is actively carried on,

and one of the most spirited undertakings in the colony is the tunnel made through Arthur's Head, from the principal street in Fremantle to the whaling jetty. The inland face of the cliff, at the mouth of this tunnel, is cut and finished like a fortification, and being surmounted by a stone gaol and court-house, has a striking effect. The whaling companies' store-houses, etc., are partly cut out of the rock, and their ranges of furnaces and try-pots, together with the long sharp boats, suspended over the sea, ready for instant action, with oars, harpoons, baskets of coiled line, lances, and muffled rowlocks, convey an idea of energy and activity fully sustained by the character of the Fremantle resident whaling parties. The jetty is built of the jarrah timber of the country, which defies even the sea-worm.

Monger's Lake is situated in a flat tract, about three miles from Perth, and when filled during the wet season (June), occupies an extent of five miles. There is another lake contiguous. Summer gardens have been formed by the settlers on the borders of these lakes, which yield plentiful crops of melons, carrots, potatoes, and other vegetables. The scenery around, when the beds of the lakes are dry, is dreary; but in June the margin of the water is exquisitely carpeted with flowers.

The remarkable stalagmitic caves of Maidin lie about thirty-five miles in a north-west direction from Perth, the route being along a chain of beautiful lakes, situated from four to six miles behind the sea-coast, whose fertile banks afford luxuriant feed for live stock. These caves have been partially explored, and are somewhat similar to the caves near Bathurst, and in Wellington Valley, New South Wales. Six of the Maidin caves examined by Mr Roe presented a magnificent appearance; a narrow passage of a few yards expanded suddenly into open, extensive chambers, which were traversed to the distance of 180 feet, and found to have an average width of forty-five feet, and a roof of twelve or fifteen feet, thickly studded with beautiful stalactites, some descending to the floor and forming pillars of ten to twelve feet in circumference for the support of the roof. The floor was covered with layers of smooth, white, semi-transparent stalagmite. Another chamber, eighty feet long by thirty feet wide, had stalactites of all shapes and sizes suspended from the roof. The cavernous entrances are in some picturesque rocky glens, near Mambibby Lake. The aborigines consider these recesses the abode of evil spirits.

Another town, or rather scattered hamlet, in Perth county, named Guildford, is advantageously situated at the confluence of the Swan and Helena rivers, about seven miles north-east from Perth, and four miles from the foot of the Darling Range. It stands upon the high part of the alluvial flat fringing the river, which extends from half-a-mile to one mile from it on either side. This flat is so rich that Captain Stokes states it produced, after thirteen years of successive cropping, without manuring, a more abundant harvest than it had done at first. This officer notices, also, that in the year 1833 (a period when the settlers were in want of food), a flight of strange birds, resembling the rail, but larger, appeared in great numbers near Guildford when the corn was green; they were so tame as to be easily taken by the hand, but disappeared in the same mysterious manner

as they arrived, and have not since been seen. A similar occurrence took place shortly after the first settlement of the Mormons at Utah, Salt Lake City. There are no stock farms, properly so called, in this district, and the tillage farms are generally small. Although there are extensive wastes, much fertile soil exists in the colony. It is specially adapted for the growth of wine, silk, and tobacco, and all Mediterranean produce. One great drawback to the settler is the existence of a poison plant which destroys great numbers of cattle; but on enclosed farms its growth can be prevented. The jarrah timber, of which there is an inexhaustible supply, is admirably fitted for shipbuilding, railway-sleepers, etc., and is exported in large quantities. The horses in Western Australia command a high price in the Indian market. Copper, silver, lead, zinc, iron, and coal, all of excellent quality, have been found in the colony. The "bush" of Western Australia yields a "manna gum," which is coming much into request.

Western Australia has great advantages for irrigation in its geological formation. Ample supplies of water can be procured by sinking artesian wells to a depth of fifty feet. It is calculated that two men, with an engine, could, by a fortnight's boring, obtain a supply of water for the irrigation of 500 acres. Fish of excellent quality abound in the inland rivers and creeks, including mullet, perch, the small lobster, and a fish resembling a sardine. From the shore are caught whiting, mullet, bream, king-fish, mackerel, and the snapper, a fish between a halibut and a cod-fish, weighing from ten to forty pounds, readily sold at the Mauritius for about £10 per ton. Whaling is also carried on successfully. Wild fowl, swans, kangaroos, and wallabies abound in the interior. Of course there are no game laws.

In regard to the climate, Dr Rennie, staff surgeon, who resided upwards of six years in the colony, having professional charge of soldiers, women, children, foreign officers, and convicts, so that he had ample data from which to draw definite conclusions, says: "It would be difficult to imagine a more delightful temperature and climate generally than that of Western Australia, more especially the winter, which, though invigorating, is never very cold. The summer is warm, but the average heat does not very materially exceed that of the warmer portions of the winter months; and as a general rule, it is free from any depressing effects, readily admitting of active occupation and ordinary labour being carried on in the sun by Europeans. It is almost impossible, by any description I can give, to do justice to the Western Australian atmosphere. To be appreciated it must be experienced. Many a time, on leaving my house in the morning, have I been struck with the wonderful elasticity of body and mind which the cloudless sky and refreshing atmosphere seemed to develop; and often has the thought occurred to me, 'What a splendid climate for a sanitarium!' My impressions in this respect are by no means singular, and I believe them to be those of residents there generally—except, perhaps, a few whose vicious habits tend to counteract the blessings of climate they enjoy; sensations of debility arising from sensuality and vice being attributed by them to their residence in a temperature warmer than England—climate being too frequently made the scapegoat for the evil effects of gluttony, narcotism, and

intemperance. I have been assured by old settlers, that at a time when the affairs of the colony presented the gloomiest aspect, and everything connected with it was calculated to depress them, still that their minds seemed to refuse to yield to the pressure from without; and their spirits kept up in a manner so remarkable, that they could account for it in no other way than by referring it to the clear and exhilarating atmosphere in which it was at that time their misfortune, in a financial point of view, to be residing. I doubt if any portion of the world is better suited to the English constitution. The mean of the barometer is about 30 inches, and of the thermometer about 63°."

The natural capabilities of Western Australia are certainly inferior to those of other Australian settlements, but not to an extent sufficiently great to account for its slow rate of progress. There can be no doubt that the colony possesses resources much greater than have hitherto been developed. It has, besides, advantages of position which do not belong to other parts of Australia; it is nearer to England than any other portion of the Australian coasts, and possesses superior facilities for intercourse with India, China, and the trading communities of the Eastern Archipelago. Moreover, it fully shares in the advantages of climate which belong to this portion of the globe, and is perhaps, on the whole, possessed of higher advantages in this respect than the other Australian provinces. Yet, beyond the occasional visit of the few merchant ships trading thither, or of one of the whaling vessels engaged in the adjacent seas, the settlement has for many years remained almost isolated from the rest of the world, and is passed comparatively unheeded amidst the rush of emigration to the neighbouring colonies of the Australian continent. This has been mainly owing to the evil impression regarding it which went abroad during its earlier years, and which resulted from the unforeseen difficulties and disappointments which the first settlers met with. Even to the present day, it has never lost the character which it thus acquired, and there is nowhere to be found a more complete example of the truth embodied in the popular adage regarding the consequences which ensue from the giving "a bad name" to a well-known domestic quadruped. The settlement, however, has got a very much worse reputation than it deserves, and there is nothing inherent in its resources or condition which should prevent its becoming a flourishing and important dependency of the British empire.

The settlement at King George's Sound was formed much earlier than that at Swan River, in anticipation of a projected scheme of colonisation by the French Government. It was effected in 1826 by the Government of New South Wales, who despatched a detachment of the 39th Regiment under Major Lockyer for this purpose. After four years' occupation as a military post, the settlement was ordered by the Home Government in 1830 to be transferred to the Government of Swan River, both being within the new colony of Western Australia. During the next twenty years of its existence it survived actual desertion in consequence of its excellent harbour being frequented by whaling ships, which found abundance of whales off the coast. Since the establishment of steam communication between England and Australia, it has come into notice as the first coaling station for the steamers on their outward voyage, *via* the Cape, to

South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales; and there is every likelihood of the little township of Albany becoming a thriving seaport. The sound is a magnificent roadstead, with from seven to fifteen and twenty fathoms water, completely sheltered from south-west to east, and partially by two islands to the south-east. It is only open to southerly winds, which in this locality bring fair weather. On the west the sound is separated by a long tongue of land, terminated at its northern extremity by Point Possession, from the Princess Royal Harbour. The entrance to this nearly circular bay is between Point Possession and Mount Clarence, being not more than two hundred yards across, with a depth of four and a half fathoms water. Princess Royal Harbour is capable of containing many hundred vessels; it is the finest harbour known to exist in Australia to the west of Spencer's Gulf. It enjoys an equable climate, the thermometer, during nineteen months' observations, ranging from 40° to 76° Fahr. Vegetables also grow luxuriantly.

Besides these successful colonies, situated within the great southern or temperate division of Australia, there have been several attempts on the part of the British Government to establish settlements on the north and eastern shores of tropical Australia, which require a brief notice. The first attempt was made by Captain Bremer, in H.M.S. "Tamar," who, in company with two store-ships and a party of military and convicts, established the stockade of Fort Dundas at Melville Island, in latitude 11° 28' S., longitude 130° 30' E., in Apsley Strait. This settlement, however, after an existence of four years, was abandoned on 31st March 1829, in consequence of the continued unfavourable accounts transmitted to the Home Government. The settlement of Fort Wellington was formed by Captain Stirling in H.M.S. "Success," on the 17th June 1827, on the north-east side of Raffles Bay, in latitude 11° 14' S., longitude 132° 24' E., for the purpose of carrying on a traffic with the Malays from Maccassar in the Celebes, who frequent the coast of Northern Australia, in quest of the *trepang* or sea-slug. This settlement was abandoned on the 29th August 1829, at a time when the objects for which it was formed were about to be realised. On the 27th October 1837, a military post, with H.M.S. "Britomart" as tender, was established at Port Essington, for the double purpose of affording shelter to the crews of vessels wrecked in Torres Straits, and of endeavouring to throw open to British enterprise the neighbouring islands of the Indian Archipelago. After having struggled unsuccessfully for twelve years to rear sufficient food for themselves, and having lost a number of their men through privations and hardships and the unhealthiness of the climate, the sappers and miners finally abandoned the settlement named Victoria on the 30th November 1849. In January 1847, the staff of a new penal colony, to be called North Australia, headed by Colonel Barney, R.E., settled on the shores of Port Curtis, on the east coast of Australia, beyond the Tropic of Capricorn. After five months' occupation, and an expenditure of upwards of £15,000, the attempt was abandoned.

BOOK X.

HISTORY OF QUEENSLAND.

QUEENSLAND : ITS EXTENT AND GENERAL CHARACTER—THE MORETON BAY TERRITORY—DESCRIPTION OF MORETON BAY—FRAZER'S ISLAND—WIDE BAY—CORAL REEFS—BRISBANE—THE CLIMATE—CAPABILITIES—COTTON GROWING—THE TWELVE DISTRICTS—THE GOLDFIELDS—THE GYMPIE DIGGINGS—THE PALMER RIVER DIGGINGS—THE CHINESE—THE DARLING DOWNS—FIRST SETTLERS—THE PORT CURTIS RUSH—ROCKHAMPTON—SIR GEORGE BOWEN FIRST GOVERNOR—FIRST PARLIAMENT—ABOLITION OF STATE AID TO RELIGION—POPULAR EDUCATION—THE POLYNESIAN LABOUR QUESTION—A PROSPEROUS COUNTRY.

QUEENSLAND extends from Point Danger, in latitude $28^{\circ} 8'$, to Cape Yorke, the northern extremity of the Australian continent. On the south-west it is bounded by the north-east point of South Australia, in longitude 141° , and on the north it impinges upon the Gulf of Carpentaria. Its superficial extent is about 680,000 square miles, nearly 435 millions of acres, or about eleven times the size of England and Wales.

A band of mountainous country traverses Queensland from north to south, running nearly parallel with the Pacific at a distance of from fifty to seventy miles. On the west of the main range, many secondary ones run in all directions, diversifying and beautifying the extensive country that stretches away for hundreds of miles, and rendering it most valuable pasturage for the ever-growing flocks and herds of the squatter. Here are the sources of numerous streams, that converge into several large rivers, and drain the country of its superfluous water in the wet seasons, and furnish innumerable water-holes for the supply of man and beast when the seasons are dry. The country spreads out into magnificent plains and downs, thinly timbered, well watered, and covered with an abundance of feed for innumerable flocks of sheep, cattle, and horses ; while on the east or seaboard side of the mountains, many spurs push themselves down into the low country. Many isolated hills rise picturesquely from the plains, and broken or hilly country abounds. Generally speaking, this part of the country is heavily timbered, well grassed, and nearly all of it fit for cultivation. Over the thousand miles of coast, many rivers, several of them navigable for many miles, intersect the country, and contribute largely to its fertility and its beauty.

Queensland, as a separate and independent colony, dates only from December

1859. This colonial territory, however, had been long familiar under the general name of the Moreton Bay District, forming the northern district of New South Wales, and distinguished for its pastoral adaptations. Moreton Bay, from which the settlement took its name, is in south latitude 27° , and was discovered by Cook in 1770, and named in honour of the Earl of Moreton, then president of the Royal Society. The river Brisbane, on which the capital, Brisbane, is situated, was discovered only in 1823 by Oxley, who had been sent from Sydney to discover a place suitable for a new penal settlement. He reported that "when examining Moreton Bay we had the satisfaction to find the tide sweeping up a considerable inlet between the first mangrove island and the mainland. A few hours ended our anxiety; the water became perfectly fresh, and no diminution had taken place in the size of the river after passing Sea Reach. The scenery was peculiarly beautiful; the country along the banks alternately hilly and level, but not flooded; the soil of the finest description of good brush land, on which grew timber of great magnitude, some of a description quite unknown to us, amongst others a magnificent species of pine. Up to this point the river was navigable for vessels not drawing more than sixteen feet of water. The tide rose about five feet, being the same as at the entrance. We proceeded about thirty miles farther, no diminution having taken place in either the depth or the breadth of the river, except in one place, for the extent of thirty yards, where a ridge of detached rocks extended across the river, not having more than twelve feet upon them at high water. From this period to Termination Hill the river continued nearly of uniform size. The tide ascends daily fifty miles up the mouth of the Brisbane. The country on either side is of very superior description, and equally well adapted for cultivation or grazing." On Mr Oxley's report, which further explorations proved to be in no degree exaggerated, a penal settlement was founded at Brisbane, and among other experiments for employing the prisoners, sugar was cultivated, until a flood swept the machinery away. In 1842, however, the district was thrown open to free settlement, and the convict establishment removed. Thenceforward there was rapid progress, chiefly due to pastoral or squatting enterprise.

When Moreton Bay was a penal settlement, a convict of the name of Baker escaped to the woods and became naturalised and domiciliated among a tribe of black natives in the upper Brisbane district. The natives recognised, or supposed they recognised, in the runaway, a deceased native of the tribe, who had died some time before, of the name of Boraltchou, and who they supposed had re-appeared in the person of the white man; and although the convict, who, it seems, did not relish the compliment, maintained that he was not Boraltchou, the natives, who knew better, as they had seen both, insisted that he was, *and allotted to him as his own property the portion of land that had belonged to the real Boraltchou.*

Moreton Bay is sixty miles long and about twenty wide. It is studded with islands, especially towards its southern extremity, where it gradually narrows to a mere river in appearance. A few of these islands are high land, and capable of great improvement, as Peel's Island and St Helena Island, the latter



QUEENSLAND.

English Statute Miles 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Scale of 1 inch = 10 English Statute Miles

of which received its name in the penal times of the settlement, from the circumstance of a blackfellow, who had been named Napoleon by the convicts, having been placed upon it by way of punishment for some crime or misdemeanour; the others are low, muddy, covered with mangroves, and merely in process of formation from the gradual deposits of the Brisbane, the Logan, and the other rivers that empty themselves into the bay. The three islands that form the bay to seaward are all hopelessly sterile, at least in regard to productions at all useful for man, for they are all covered with indigenous vegetation, suited, doubtless, to the soil, or rather sand, and climate.

To the northward of Moreton Bay there is a long island called Frazer's Island, parallel to the coast-line, about sixty-five miles in length, with an average breadth of ten miles; the northern half of which, being abreast of a bight in the mainland, gave the latter the appearance of a deep bay, and induced Captain Cook to designate it Hervey's Bay, anticipating, doubtless, that a river would be discovered at its head. In this anticipation Governor Hunter concurred, but when it was ascertained that the land forming the east side of the bay was merely an island, the idea of finding a river on that part of the coast was abandoned. The southern half of Frazer's Island forms a long, narrow sound available for coasting navigation, and Wide Bay, into which the river Mary empties itself, is situated at its southern extremity. Frazer's Island received its name from Captain Frazer, of the ship "*Stirling Castle*," a Scotch vessel, which has obtained some celebrity in New South Wales from having brought out to that colony a number of Scotch mechanics (the first free immigrants of this class who had ever arrived in that colony), to erect buildings for an academical institution in Sydney in the year 1831. On a subsequent voyage to the colony, Captain Frazer was unfortunately wrecked on the Barrier Reef on his way to India. He reached the coast, however, in his boat; but it was only to experience a more awful fate, for he was seized by the black natives on his landing, and inhumanly murdered with most of his crew. Frazer's Island is rather of indifferent character, in point of soil and general capabilities, in the estimation of Europeans; but it is an excellent fishing station, and abounds in the other requisites of aboriginal life.

A remarkable feature of the Queensland coast is the great coral reef which commences at Wide Bay and continues beyond Cape Yorke, rendering the navigation of Torres Straits intricate and dangerous. Along its entire length the coast is studded with islands and promontories, and indented by bays.

Brisbane, the capital, is beautifully situated on an elbow of the river, on its left or northern bank. The river is there very nearly a quarter of a mile broad, a breadth which it preserves for many miles farther up. At thirty-six miles from Brisbane, it is joined by the Bremer from the westward, and the steamers from Brisbane ascend the latter river to the head of the navigation; the main stream, which is navigable for boats for 150 miles from the bay, having a southerly direction in the higher part of its course, as it takes its rise in a ridge of mountains stretching from the coast range to the ocean, and dividing the waters that flow into Moreton Bay from those of Wide Bay, to the northward.

The Bremer River is navigable for fourteen miles from the junction ; the town of Ipswich, the second town in the colony, being situated at the head of the navigation on the great road to the west.

The climate of Queensland, though warm, is undoubtedly healthy, productive of much physical comfort, and not unfriendly to long life. As to the soil it is varied, much of it light, but much also very rich, and largely productive. It ranges from light quick loams, through all the varieties of friable clays, to the richest vegetable mould. Very much of the land, especially in the interior, is fit only for grazing purposes ; but it will be a long while before the proper agricultural lands are exhausted. The geographical position of the country, being partly within and partly without the tropics, contributes largely to the productiveness of the soil. The capabilities are great, and the range of product is also great. On the same farm may be seen growing, side by side, maize, peas, potatoes, oats, coffee, sugar-cane, arrowroot, ginger, flax, cotton, peaches, oranges, apricots, figs, mulberries, grape-vines, pine-apples, and bananas. All these may be seen growing to perfection in the open air, and under any ordinary treatment, in the neighbourhood of Brisbane.

Next to the rearing of cattle and sheep, which is and must long be the chief industry of Queensland, the growth of cotton demands attention. The portion of the territory adapted for cotton-growing is about six hundred miles long by fifty wide, besides including all the islands on the coast. The Sea Island as well as coarser varieties thrive well in this region. The crops are abundant and the quality excellent.

Queensland is divided into twelve large districts : Moreton, Port Curtis, Wide Bay and Burnett, Darling Downs, Leichhardt, East and West Maranoa, Mitchell, Warrego, Gregory, Cook, and Burke. Of these the Moreton district is well watered, having, besides the Brisbane, numerous rivers and creeks, affording every facility for transit. On the Logan, and the Caboolture, and their tributaries, there are several thriving cotton and sugar plantations, belonging to companies and private growers. Indeed, the sugar-cane, ever since its introduction into the colony by Captain the Hon. Louis Hope, is being extensively cultivated.

The Wide Bay and Burnett district — the Wide Bay portion of this extensive district, ranking with Moreton and Port Curtis as settled districts — has Maryborough for its port, situated on the wide and beautiful river Mary, sixty miles from its entrance into the sea at Wide Bay. The town of Gayndah, at a distance of eighty miles inland from Maryborough, is conveniently located on the river Burnett, which empties itself into the Curtis Channel, to the north of Hervey's Bay. Port Curtis, the most northern part of the three settled districts, which together occupy the coast-line from the Palmerston Islands to Port Danger, for nearly six degrees of southern latitude, has the flourishing town of Rockhampton, situated on the river Fitzroy, forty-five miles from the coast, for its capital.

Of the other districts, which are for the present termed "unsettled," Kennedy and Cook have the seaboard to the north of Port Curtis, and Cook and Burke about on the Gulf of Carpentaria, all watered by navigable rivers.

To the south of Burke are Gregory and Mitchell, and farther south of the latter, Warrego, intersected by rivers and tributary streams in every direction. In the Leichhardt district, to the west of Port Curtis, the land is chiefly occupied by the squatter and his flocks and herds. It is well watered by navigable streams. But the Leichhardt district is rich in mineral wealth as well, and the Peak Downs Copper Mining Company was formed in 1862. Since then numerous discoveries of auriferous deposits have been made, and profitable goldfields are being worked in many places, especially at Gympie in the Wide Bay district, and on the Palmer River farther north. Tin, copper, and coal also abound.

The Gympie diggings were discovered by a cedar cutter named Nash, in September 1867. For some time he kept the discovery secret, but was at length induced to announce it, and to claim the reward offered by the Government. The locality is fifty-five miles from Maryborough, and the entire male population of that place rushed to the new diggings. A few months afterwards, the Curtis nugget, value £3000, was found. The Gympie diggings are now a permanent goldfield, and a town, containing four thousand inhabitants, has been established. There are also several minor diggings in the neighbourhood.

The Palmer River diggings were discovered in 1874 by a prospecting party, and a great rush to them took place. Their distance and the want of roads caused a scarcity of food at first, and many deaths occurred in consequence. The news of the richness of these goldfields reached China, and an immense influx of Chinese miners resulted. The European miners did not relish the new immigrants, and a constant warfare was at first waged against them. A poll-tax of £5 a head was imposed by the Government, and this stopped, in a great degree, the Chinese influx. The Chinese question is still a standing difficulty for the Queensland Government.

The Darling Downs were discovered by Allan Cunningham, the king's botanist, in 1830, when he travelled from Sydney to Moreton Bay by land. They are watered by the river of the same name. These downs are part of a system of high table-lands continued toward the north, where the boundaries are indefinite, by the Fitzroy Downs, discovered by Sir Thomas Mitchell in 1846, and toward the south by the New England district. There a rapid descent changes the climate from snow and hail to the hot country of the Peel, Page, and the Liverpool Plains, bounded on the south by the Great Dividing or Liverpool Range, through which Pandora's Pass gives exit to the Hunter River; and thus with intervals of mountain range or desert, a series of pastoral plains run parallel with the interior of the mountain range which encircles the eastern coast of Australia, including the Goulburn, Bathurst district, the Maneroo or Brisbane Downs, and the Murray district, which flow into, if we may use the term, the province of Victoria. And in this series of pastoral plains the climate is considerably modified by their altitude above the sea. It was these plains, where fine-woolled sheep increase and multiply at the least possible expense, which first gave exports and wealth to Australia. Before the shepherd and his flock the savage and the emu gradually disappear.

The squatters hastened northwards for the purpose of occupying the country found by Cunningham in 1841, when Mr Patrick Leslie, followed closely by Messrs Hodgson and Elliott, and King, and Sibley, first broke in upon the beautiful district of Darling Downs, and at once occupied large tracts of country. Ipswich, then called Limestone, was unknown to them—on the east side of the range, twenty-five miles from Brisbane. It was a Government building for an overseer, George Thorn, who superintended an agricultural station called the “Plough,” and had charge of the prisoners who worked on it. It was the first white man’s dwelling-place reached by Messrs Hodgson and Elliott, the first squatters from any part of New South Wales who succeeded in reaching Moreton Bay. Drayton, on the top of the main range, was formed on the last found and now general high road some sixty miles north of the Gap—beyond which Cunningham did not go towards Moreton Bay—which bears his name; a pinch, the ascent of which was then deemed by bullock-drivers impossible from the east. Drayton was known up to about 1847 as the “Springs”—a public-house, a blacksmith’s shop, a store. Toowoomba, known as the “Swamps,” a camping place between the Springs and the descent of the main range, became a town simply because William Orton, who lived at the Springs, built a brick public-house on that spot in 1852, immediately after which it was declared a township, the land was rapidly sold, and houses were built.

Towards the close of the year 1857, a great sensation was produced, not only in New South Wales, but in all the neighbouring colonies, by the reported discovery of large deposits of gold in the district of Port Curtis. The locality indicated as the place in which the precious metal was to be found in abundance was Canoona, to the northward of the Fitzroy River, about a hundred miles north of Gladstone. In the course of a few months the gold mania had affected multitudes, both of the mining population at all the existing diggings, and even of the more staid inhabitants of the colonial towns; and the result was a general rush to Canoona from all parts of the Australian colonies. But the extraordinary excitement was soon followed by a corresponding depression; for the great majority of the diggers never gave the country a fair trial, but returned for the most part to Sydney or Melbourne, not unfrequently in the very vessels in which they had made their outward voyage, after wasting much valuable time and expending a very large amount of money. Very many of the diggers who had gone to Canoona were unable to meet the cost of their return voyage to Sydney or Melbourne, and many more landed penniless in these cities; and the Government and the public were consequently obliged to interfere for their relief. The Victorian Government paid the passages to Melbourne of over two thousand persons, the expense having been £5, 10s. per head. In addition to this, a large number of rations were issued, so that the Fitzroy rush cost the Melbourne Government a very pretty sum. Upwards of £1700 were contributed at the same time by the public of New South Wales, to which the Government added a similar amount, to enable any of the returned diggers that chose to do so to proceed to the different goldfields of New South Wales.

But, calamitous as this result proved to many of the gold-miners, it was of

the utmost benefit, in a great variety of ways, to the colony of Queensland, and served to develop the capabilities and resources of an important section of that country to an extent that would otherwise not have been realised for many years. It proved to the satisfaction of multitudes in all the neighbouring colonies the perfect salubrity of the climate, notwithstanding the comparatively low latitude of the country. It revealed to thousands the existence of a vast extent of the finest land imaginable for all the purposes of man in that portion of the Australian territory, and it led to the occupation and settlement of a country which in all likelihood would otherwise have lain waste and unoccupied for years to come. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, of date 11th of July 1859, only a few months before the final separation of Queensland, Captain O'Connell wrote as follows: "The first blaze of excitement, consequent on the discovery of gold, with its attendant inrush of population, having died away, there succeeded to it a slumbering fire of expectation, which has alternately threatened once more to burst out into flame, and then with a greater or less interval of time has again sunk into almost total extinction, so that it has only been within the last four weeks I have been enabled to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to the probable development to the colonisation of this portion of New South Wales, which the events I have alluded to above are likely to give rise to. There are, however, at the present time, symptoms making themselves apparent, which indicate a great impulse given to the permanent pastoral occupation of the country; and there are lately discoveries of gold in fresh localities which promise to be equally attractive to mining operations. The present condition of this settlement is indicative of greater prosperity than has at any time characterised its previous history, the impulse given to its growth by the events of last year having fostered and increased all species of industrial occupation in a much more remarkable degree than had been done before."

This episode in the history of Queensland resulted in the founding of Rockhampton. Sir Charles Nicholson wrote in enthusiastic terms, in the year 1860, of the capabilities of the site of this new town on the Fitzroy River: "The river debouches into the bay on the southern side of a range of hills, known as Broadmount. The highest and easternmost of the range has an elevation of from 1200 to 1500 feet. At this point the breadth of the river is probably two miles. The southern banks consist of extensive mangrove flats, extending on towards Mount Larcom and the picturesque ranges that bound the southern horizon. Where the river sweeps round the base of Broadmount there is, I am assured, a depth of water close to the shore sufficient for vessels drawing twenty-four feet of water. To reach this point, a narrow bar (said not to be more than from forty to fifty feet broad) has to be crossed; the tide rises some ten feet. Accounts vary as to the minimum depth of water on this bar. I infer, however, that some engineering efforts would be required to render it passable for vessels of considerable tonnage. At the foot of Broadmount there is a strip of nearly level land, admirably suited for the erection of a city. I cannot help regarding this as the future site of some great commercial town. Having seen most of the

capitals of the old world, I could not call to mind any the geographical position of which seemed to combine *all* the conditions necessary for becoming a great emporium more strikingly than the locality here referred to. Seated at the entrance of a fine river, the whole commerce of which must pass at its feet; placed on a smooth plateau at the base of a picturesque mountain, the gentle acclivities of which might form healthful sites for houses and gardens, with abundance of fresh water in its immediate neighbourhood, and in the constant enjoyment of refreshing sea-breezes, with a soil of unsurpassed richness extending for an almost unlimited distance around it, it seems difficult to suggest the absence of any condition essential to prosperity. The one single drawback is the existence of the narrow bar above referred to. Even with this impediment, when it is recollected that within a distance of a very few miles (probably not above three or four) anchorage for vessels of any size can be commanded, the commercial importance of a town at Broadmount could hardly fail to be soon realised, if the settlement were once established."

Sir George Ferguson Bowen, the first governor, arrived in Queensland, which was then proclaimed a British colony, on the 10th of December 1859. For some time previous the colonists had been anticipating his Excellency's arrival with great eagerness, and his coming was accordingly hailed with general rejoicing. The form of government for the new colony was to be precisely similar to that of the older colony of New South Wales, from which it had just been dissevered, viz., an elective Assembly and a nominee Upper House. There was one particular, indeed, in which the constitution of Queensland differed from that of New South Wales; for as the imperial arrangements for the separation of the Moreton Bay country, and its erection into a distinct colony, had been made previous to the passing of the Electoral Reform Act of New South Wales, it was decided by the judges that the new colony could only be established under the previously existing colonial constitution. It was earnestly desired, by all parties concerned, that the first Parliament of Queensland should be constituted and assembled as speedily as possible; but in consequence of some technical difficulties, the writs for the election of members to serve in the Legislative Assembly could not be issued till the close of the month of April 1860, and the Parliament did not meet till June thereafter. The Legislative Assembly at first consisted of twenty-six members, and the first president of the Legislative Council or Upper Chamber was Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.

One of the first Acts passed by the legislature was the Act to discontinue grants from the revenue in aid of religion. Fortunately this important question presented itself to the legislature of Queensland in a very simple form. The whole burden upon the revenue, under the previously existing system of New South Wales, for the salaries of ministers of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan Methodist communions, did not exceed £750 a year; and while all were willing that the recipients of that amount should retain the salaries they were respectively receiving under the previous system during their lives, the voice of the public strongly demanded the entire discontinuance of State support for religion for the future. A preliminary motion had been

made by one of the members who advocated the system of State support, to the effect that the sum appropriated for distribution among the clergy of the different communions should be increased to £4000 a year; but this motion having been lost by a large majority, the Government having thus felt the pulse of the Assembly, made a virtue of necessity, and introduced the bill, which was passed almost without opposition, as a Government measure.

The subject of education engaged the early attention of the colonial legislature, and a system has been established of the most efficient and liberal character. In the primary schools, a good English education is brought within reach of the very poorest classes, while in the grammar schools facilities are provided for obtaining, at a very moderate cost, a good classical and general education, such as will fit the pupil for the English universities. Boys distinguishing themselves in the primary schools are eligible for scholarships at the grammar schools; and again, the best scholars at these higher seminaries are eligible for exhibitions of a certain annual value at any British or Australian university.

The history of Queensland since the establishment of responsible government has been purely a history of domestic progress. The basis of the legislature has been reformed and extended. An extensive railway system has been carried into effect. Local industries have been fostered, and an Act was passed in 1868—the Polynesian Labourers Act—to permit of the introduction of labourers from the South Sea Islands to work on the cotton-fields. This Act is designed to prevent the introduction of anything like slavery, and to protect the labourers. But an agitation sprung up against this trade, and some facts were brought to light proving that, at bottom, it was little better than a slave trade. The consequence was that it fell into disrepute, and the number of islanders now introduced into the colony every year is insignificantly small. At the present time (1878) Queensland is in the full flood-tide of prosperity. The population is rapidly increasing; the land laws are of an extremely liberal character; and the Queenslanders are a spirited and enterprising people. With her unrivalled climate, her inexhaustible mineral resources, her vast breadths of fertile soil for pasture and agriculture, her varied natural productions, her flourishing seaports, her numerous rivers, and her favourable geographical position, Queensland must of necessity become in time a populous, wealthy, and even magnificent country.

BOOK XI.

HISTORY OF TASMANIA.

CHAPTER I.

GOVERNOR COLLINS.

FIRST DISCOVERY—BASS AND FLINDERS—COLONEL COLLINS—SETTLEMENT AT DERWENT—GOVERNOR COLLINS—THE NORFOLK ISLANDERS—COLLINS'S EARLY CAREER—HIS CHARACTER—FIRST OFFICERS—FIRST STRUGGLES—COLLINS'S DEATH.

THE discovery of Van Diemen's Land by Abel Jansz Tasman, in the year 1642, has already been narrated, as have also been the circumstances attending on the visits of Furneaux in 1773 and of Cook in 1777. The belief of the English navigators was that the country really formed the southern portion of the Australian continent; and this belief was universally held until Bass and Flinders rectified it, by sailing through the straits, and subsequently round the island in the "Norfolk." Lieutenant Flinders, in his narrative of the voyage of the "Norfolk," says: "In September 1798, his Excellency Governor Hunter had the goodness to give me the 'Norfolk,' a colonial sloop of twenty-five tons, with authority to penetrate behind Furneaux's Islands; and should a strait be found, to pass through it and return by the south end of Van Diemen's Land; making such examinations and surveys on the way as circumstances might permit. Twelve weeks were allowed for the performance of this service, and provisions for that time were put on board. I had the happiness to associate my friend Bass in this new expedition, and to form an excellent crew of eight volunteers from the king's ships. My report of the seals at Furneaux's Islands had induced Messrs Bishop and Simpson, the commander and supercargo of the snow 'Nautilus' to prepare their vessel for a sealing speculation to that quarter; and on 7th October we sailed out of Port Jackson together."

The voyagers discovered and entered the Tamar Heads on the 3d of November, casting anchor in Port Dalrymple. They remained in this harbour, detained by contrary winds, for nearly a month, and quitted it on the 3d of December. It was shortly after named Port Dalrymple as a mark of respect to



BASS STRAIT

TASMANIA.

Scale of English Miles

20 10 0 20 40 60

Long. E. of Greenwich.

Alexander Dalrymple, hydrographer to the Admiralty. The name of the Tamar was conferred on the river by Lieut.-Colonel Paterson, who was sent from Port Jackson to settle a new colony there in 1804. The sources of the river were then explored. The first town established was York Town, at the head of the Western Arm, but this proving inconvenient, it was removed to Launceston, which was intended to be the capital of the new colony, at the junction of the North and South Esks.

On the 7th of December Bass and Flinders, having kept to the westward, found that they had passed through the straits dividing Van Diemen's Land from the continent. On the 13th they were off the south-west cape of Van Diemen's Land, and on the 23d entered the Derwent. The account says: "On the 23d, the wind being fair, we ran upwards between shores which were sometimes steep, but generally of a gradual ascent, and well clothed with grass and wood. At nine miles from the entrance lies Sullivan's Cove, on the west side, where a settlement has since been established by Colonel Collins; and here the width of the river is suddenly contracted from one mile and a half to less than three-quarters of a mile, but the depth is not diminished. Four miles higher up we found Risdon Cove, and anchored there in four fathoms, with the intention of filling our empty water-casks at the Risdon River of Mr Hayes; but finding it to be a little creek, which even our boat could not enter, I determined to seek a more convenient watering-place higher up the Derwent." Sullivan's Cove is the site of the present city of Hobart Town. The first settlement of Van Diemen's Land (1803) was not, however, made there, but at Risdon Cove—which spot was selected by Captain John Bowen, of the Navy, who had been sent from Sydney for that purpose by Governor King; but on the arrival of the first Governor of Van Diemen's Land—Colonel Collins—in 1804, he selected Sullivan's Cove as a more suitable situation, and to that spot the settlement was at once removed. Flinders, in his journal, notes that "the banks of the Derwent are not remarkably high, but the country in general may be termed mountainous. Mount Table [afterwards named Mount Wellington], at the back of Sullivan's Cove, is supposed to be three-quarters of a mile in height; nor do I think, from having seen it beyond the distance of thirty miles from the sloop's deck, that it can be much less. The publication of Mr Bass's remarks upon the soil and productions of this part of Van Diemen's Land were so favourable as to induce the establishment of a colony on the banks of the Derwent four years afterwards."

The navigators sailed from Storm Bay (as the estuary of the Derwent had been named) on the 3d of January 1799, and reached Port Jackson on the 11th of the same month. Flinders concludes his account of this remarkable voyage with a generous recognition of his young companion's claims to the honour of being the first discoverer of the strait which bears his name: "To the strait which had been the great object of research, and whose discovery was now completed, Governor Hunter gave, at my recommendation, the name of Bass's Strait. This was no more than a just tribute to my worthy friend and companion, for the extreme dangers and fatigues he had undergone in the first entering it in the whaleboat, and to the correct judgment he had formed from

various indications of the existence of a wide opening between Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales."

At the beginning of the year 1803, the idea of abandoning the settlement at Norfolk Island began to be entertained by the Home Government. That step had long before been recommended by Governor Hunter. For notwithstanding the high estimate which Governor King had formed of the capabilities of the place, the want of a harbour and other disadvantages had made the settlement a source of greater trouble and expense than, in the opinion of many, it was worth. Guided principally by the accounts given by Flinders of the capabilities of Van Diemen's Land, it was determined to form a settlement at the river Derwent, in the southern part of that island, with a view to the removal to that place of the prisoners and settlers from Norfolk Island, and the ultimate breaking up of the establishment there. In July 1803, a small party, consisting of Lieutenant Bowen, Surgeon Mountgarret, three soldiers, and sixteen prisoners, was despatched to the Derwent, in the schooner "Lady Nelson." They landed and commenced operations at a place on the left bank of the Derwent which they called Rest-down (or Risdon) Cove, on the 10th of August. Colonel Paterson was also sent from Sydney shortly afterwards to form a new settlement at Port Dalrymple. He at first fixed his headquarters at York Town, near the entrance and on the right bank of the estuary of the Tamar, but afterwards removed to George Town on the opposite shore; and ultimately a site, to which the name of Launceston was given, at the head of the tidal waters, and about thirty miles from the mouth, was chosen as the position for the northern capital of the island.

The attempt to found the settlement is understood to have been owing to the desire of Lord Hobart, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to immortalise his name in connection with Australian colonisation. It was on the advice of Mr Capper, one of the clerks of his office, that Port Phillip was fixed upon as the site of the settlement which should transmit the name of Hobart to future generations. This ambitious design was, however, frustrated, so far as this particular site was concerned, by circumstances which will be presently narrated. The officer appointed to form the Port Phillip settlement was Lieut.-Colonel David Collins, Judge-Advocate of New South Wales. He had proceeded to England in 1799, and was chosen from his long Australian experience to be the founder of the new colony on the northern shores of Bass's Strait.

Soon after the discovery, by Captain Murray, of the magnificent bay on whose shores it was intended to found the settlement, and the visit of Flinders, Port Phillip was examined and reported upon by Captain Grimes, the surveyor-general of New South Wales. The locality having been determined on, the "Calcutta," a fifty-gun ship, was commissioned in England to take out the officers and people, and the merchant ship "Ocean," of six hundred tons, chartered to convey the necessary provisions, tools, and stores to last for three years. On board the former were three hundred prisoners, about fifty marines, a few free settlers, with twenty-five women, ten children, and the proper complement of officers. The "Ocean" arrived at Port Phillip Heads in the first week of October 1803, and the "Calcutta" on the 10th of the same month.

Shortly after landing, however, Collins and those under his charge became dissatisfied with the place and their prospects; the situation on which the encampment was formed was badly chosen, water was scarce, and the natives were numerous and turbulent. Collins at once represented to Governor King, in Sydney, the desirability of removing the settlement to Van Diemen's Land, and having gained permission to do so, operations to effect that object were shortly afterwards commenced, and the "Ocean" transport was employed for their removal to their new destination. The place to which it was determined to remove the colony was Sullivan's Cove, at the Derwent, the place chosen by Lieutenant Bowen as the site on which the people removed from Norfolk Island were to form their new settlement. At Sullivan's Cove accordingly the first party of the Port Phillip expedition landed on the 30th January 1804, and the remainder in the month of June following.

The order which had reached the colony in 1803, for the abandonment of Norfolk Island, was not attempted to be carried into effect until two years afterwards. Governor King, who had been entrusted with the founding of the settlement there in 1788, had always regarded the place with favour, and it is probable, if his wishes had been consulted at this period, he would have advised that New South Wales should be abandoned rather than his pet colony. But Governor Hunter's opinion, after having visited the place on his way to England, was against it, and his representations ultimately prevailed with the British Government. Still Governor King managed to delay commencing to carry out his instructions until 1805. He represented, and probably with truth, that the settlers themselves were opposed to their removal. However that might be, five years elapsed from the date of the order until its accomplishment by the entire removal of the people. The population in 1805, when the process of their transportation to Van Diemen's Land commenced, numbered over one thousand. The consideration granted by the British Government to the settlers for giving up their little farms and homes was liberal, and their transference was carried out with the utmost regard for their interests. The place at which most of them settled in Van Diemen's Land they named New Norfolk, perpetuating in their new home the name of the old one which they quitted so reluctantly. The formation of a colony in so small and remote an island was, no doubt, a mistake. Such a settlement could never repay the expense incident to its formation and protection. But having been formed—all the heavy expenses having been incurred—having existed for fifteen years, and having attained to a moderate degree of prosperity, it is difficult to discover any good grounds for its abandonment. When the settlement was broken up there was a large quantity of land in cultivation, which, from its exuberant fertility, yielded abundant returns. Many substantial buildings, public as well as private, had been erected. If the Government wished to withdraw the prisoners, they might have handed over their abandoned structures to the free settlers. If these people had been allowed to remain, they would, in all probability, have quickly risen to a flourishing community. But the orders for the abandonment of the island were imperative. There was no appeal, and every soul had to obey.

Colonel David Collins deserves a more particular notice than he has yet received. Next to Governor Phillip himself, he must be regarded as the most prominent and talented man connected with the foundation and early history of British communities in Australasia. Colonel Collins was the son of General Arthur Tooker Collins, and grandson of Arthur Collins, author of a well-known work on the peerage of England. He was of Irish extraction, but born at Exeter, and entered the service of his country at a very early age. In 1770 he was appointed lieutenant of marines. In 1772 he was engaged with Admiral M'Bride, in the rescue of the unfortunate Matilda, Queen of Denmark, sister of George III. In 1775 he was serving in America, and married a lady of that country. He greatly distinguished himself in the revolutionary war, and particularly at the battle of Bunker's Hill, in storming the redoubt with the first battalion of marines. In 1784 he took part, as captain of marines in the "Courageux," of seventy-four guns, in the relief of Gibraltar. In 1787, on the British Government resolving to found a colony in Australia, he was appointed Judge-Advocate and chosen as secretary by the governor. He filled this position, with credit to himself and advantage to his country, for a period of nearly ten years, during which, in common with Governor Phillip and other officers, he underwent great privations. He returned to England in 1797, and shortly afterwards published his history of the settlement. This work, which is written in a style of attractive simplicity and good taste, abounds with information of a highly interesting character, embellished with engravings of a very superior kind, illustrative of the scenery and natural history of the country, and the customs, ceremonies, weapons, and implements of the natives. He had the mortification of finding, on his return to England, that his ten years of arduous service in the colony were rewarded with merely the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, while his remuneration was confined to the pittance of a half-pay captain, the time spent in the colony not being allowed to count. This injustice, for which he was never able to obtain effectual redress, wrung from him some remarks at the close of his history. The attention thus drawn to his case induced those in power to offer him the government of the settlement at Port Phillip. This offer he accepted. His landing there with the expedition under his command, and his abandonment of the place afterwards for what he considered a more eligible site on the shores of the Derwent, have been before related. His conduct in precipitately leaving so excellent a site for a settlement has been generally condemned, and it must be confessed that he evinced a want of judgment or firmness, for it was probably the persuasions of others rather than his own inclination that induced him to leave Port Phillip for the less promising insular land. He underwent at Sullivan's Cove a repetition of the hardships and privations he had experienced many years previously on the shores of Port Jackson. He governed the settlement at the Derwent for about six years, during which period the little colony emerged from a condition of struggling poverty into one comparatively flourishing. He was a man of extremely prepossessing manners and handsome person. To a cultivated understanding and literary tastes he joined a very lively and social disposition. He was very popular with all classes of the settlers, the

humbler part of the community especially, regarding him rather as a father and a friend than as a ruler.

The number and description of persons sent out with Collins to form the settlement has been before stated. They were most of them transferred from the shores of Port Phillip to the banks of the Derwent in the month of February 1804. The names of the officers were the Rev. R. Knopwood, chaplain; E. Bromley, surgeon-superintendent; W. Anson, colonial surgeon; M. Boden and W. Hopley, assistant-surgeons; P. H. Humphrey, mineralogist; Lieutenant Fosbrook, deputy commissary-general; G. P. Harris, deputy-surveyor; John Clarke and William Patterson, superintendents of convicts. The military consisted of forty-four marines, under Lieutenants Sladen, Johnson, and Lord, having in their charge 367 male prisoners. In addition to the party from Sydney, under command of Lieutenant Bowen, which Collins found at Risdon Cove, a number of prisoners were soon afterwards sent from Sydney. These consisted for the most part of persons who had been transported for their share in the Irish rebellion, and who were connected, or were suspected of being connected, with the outbreak at Castlehill. To these were afterwards added some of the Norfolk Island settlers, both free and bond, whose removal from their little home commenced a few months after Collins had established his settlement at the Derwent. Many were free settlers, and this class evinced great reluctance to quit a place where, by many years of industry, they had built comfortable houses and cleared farms, which, although in general of small extent, were of remarkable fertility. The prison class were, of course, ready to go anywhere or to do anything to escape from a spot where they were obliged to toil for the benefit of others. The first vessel sent to effect their removal was mainly filled by these people, as only four free persons could then be induced to embrace the offers of the Government. H.M.S. "Buffalo" was sent shortly afterwards, and more of the free settlers having become reconciled to the change, and the offers made for their settlement elsewhere being really advantageous, a larger number at length agreed to accept them. A majority of their number preferred Van Diemen's Land to Sydney as their future home. The first detachment, consisting mostly of prisoners, was taken to Port Dalrymple, the others to the Derwent, where the names of New Norfolk and Norfolk Plains still indicate the spots on which they were located. Their reasons for preferring Tasmania to Sydney were probably mostly of a personal character. They all knew both Governor King and Colonel Collins, and although the former was by no means disliked, the greater popularity of the latter, his kindness, gentleness, and conciliatory conduct on all occasions, induced them to prefer his rule to that of his more arbitrary and impetuous superior. Holt, whose memoirs have been referred to in these pages, and who was sent to Norfolk Island for his supposed complicity with the Castlehill insurrection, was one of those who went to Van Diemen's Land. He speaks in the highest terms of the character and conduct of Collins: "This gentleman had the goodwill, the good wishes, and good word of every one in the settlement. His conduct was exemplary, and his disposition most humane. His treatment of the runaway convicts was conciliatory, and even

kind. He would go into the forests, among the natives, to allow these poor creatures, the runaways, an opportunity of returning to their former condition ; and, half dead with cold and hunger, they would come and drop on their knees before him, imploring pardon for their behaviour. ‘Well,’ he would say to them, ‘now that you have lived in the bush, do you think the change you made was for the better? Are you sorry for what you have done?’ ‘Yes, sir.’ ‘And will you promise me never to go away again?’ ‘Never, sir.’ ‘Go to the store-keeper, then,’ the benevolent Collins would say, ‘and get a suit of slops and your week’s ration, and then go to the overseer and attend to your work. I give you my pardon ; but remember that I expect you will keep your promise to me.’ I never heard of any other governor or commandant acting in this manner, nor did I ever witness much leniency from any governor. I have, however, been assured, that there was less crime, and much fewer faults committed among the people under Governor Collins, than in any other settlement, which I think is a clear proof that mercy and humanity are the best policy.”

The records of the early days of Tasmanian colonisation resemble in their general features those of New South Wales. Frequently recurring scarcities of food, hardships, privations, crimes, and conflicts with the natives, make up the staple of both narratives. The settlement formed by Colonel Paterson at York Town, on the Tamar, underwent as full a share of difficulties and disasters as the larger settlement at the Derwent. For several years both had to make desperate struggles for existence. Sometimes there was no beef, sometimes no flour. Kangaroos were purchased by the commissariat at eightpence a pound, and flour, when it could be had at all, was often more than £100 sterling a ton, and at one time as much as £200, and wheat £4 a bushel. Very few official documents relative to the early days of the settlements are now in existence ; and it is asserted that on the night of Governor Collins’s death, all his official papers were destroyed by fire. For one year, indeed, that of 1809, the only record now in the archives of the colony is the garrison order-book.

This was the last important occurrence in the eventful life of Collins. He died on the 24th of March 1810, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, having held the administration six years and thirty-six days. His death was sudden : except a slight cold, there was little warning of its approach. He died while sitting in his chair and conversing with his attendant. His funeral was celebrated with all the pomp the colony could command, and six hundred persons were present. The share he accepted in the responsibility of the deposition of Bligh disturbed his tranquillity, and it was thought hastened his end. Governor Collins was buried in the churchyard of St David’s, Hobart Town. To provide a temporary place for public worship, a small wooden church was erected on the spot, and its altar was reared over his grave. This building was afterwards blown down in a tempest, and its materials being carried off, left the resting-place of Collins long exposed to the careless tread of the stranger. Sir John Franklin, always generous to the memory of official worth, reared a monument bearing an inscription, commemorating him as the first governor of the settlement and the founder of Hobart Town.

CHAPTER II.

GOVERNOR DAVEY.

LIEUTENANT LORD—GOVERNOR MACQUARIE'S VISIT—COLONEL GEILS—CONDITION OF THE COLONY IN 1812—GOVERNOR DAVEY ARRIVES—HIS CHARACTER—FIRST NEWSPAPERS—SOCIAL AND MORAL CONDITION—PROGRESS DURING GOVERNOR DAVEY'S RULE.

ON the demise of Colonel Collins the government devolved on Lieutenant Edward Lord until the arrival of Captain Murray of the 73d Regiment. The governor-in-chief visited Van Diemen's Land during Captain Murray's administration. This auspicious event was the subject of great exultation. Macquarie was received with all possible formality and tokens of gladness; a salute from a battery of no great power; an illumination in the small windows of the scattered cottages; and an address delivered by delegates not bound to declare the number of their constituents. Nothing remarkable is remembered of this visit, except that Macquarie traced the future city. He complained of the utter neglect of right lines in the erection of dwellings, which advanced or retreated according to the whim of the builder. The centre of the projected town he called St George's Square; in this he intended to rear a church and town hall, and the quarters of the main guard; the open space he designed for a market. The streets which intersect each other he called by the names which still distinguish them: Liverpool Street, after the minister of that name; Macquarie Street, after himself; Elizabeth Street, in honour of his lady; Argyle Street, of their native county; and Murray Street, in compliment to the officer in command. The plan sketched by Macquarie has not been absolutely followed, nor has it been improved. He ordered the erection of a signal staff on Mount Nelson, named after the vessel which brought him to port, and conveyed him safely to Port Jackson. The settlers on the Derwent expressed a fervent admiration of his devotedness in thus venturing to face the dangers of the visit; especially accompanied by his "consort"—so they distinguished Mrs Macquarie. The governor merited their gratitude, for his hand was liberal.

In February 1812 Colonel Geils became acting lieutenant-governor, and remained until the arrival of Colonel Davey. Colonel Geils devoted great attention to agricultural pursuits, and first formed at Risdon a considerable farming establishment. Ordered to India with the troops under his command, he forwarded his youthful sons to the Cape of Good Hope, thence to be conveyed

to England. The colonists heard soon after with deep commiseration that the vessel in which they re-embarked was lost.

The condition of Van Diemen's Land at this period (1812), although Macquarie had termed it "one of the finest countries in the world in a state of rapid improvement," was by no means a very prosperous one. The population did not exceed fifteen hundred souls, and their habitations were of the most wretched description; there were no fences, very few cattle, and little that was worthy of the name of agriculture had been attempted. There were no capitalist settlers as in the older colony, and very few persons in a position to employ others. There were a few free persons, but the great majority of the people were, or had been, prisoners. The want of employment, or the absence of that sturdy energy required to subdue the forest and make homes in the wilderness, impelled many idle and reckless men to seek a living by hunting. The prisoners, for whose labour there was little demand, if not encouraged were at least permitted by the authorities to follow the same irregular and lazy course of life. Many of the most vicious and abandoned of these people associated with the aboriginal natives of the island—at first the most gentle and inoffensive of all the Australian tribes, but rendered at length by the oppressions and crimes of these outcasts of the civilised world the most intractable and remorseless of foes. When the unfortunate aborigines had been reduced in numbers or driven from the vicinity of the settlements, many of the white savages turned their hands against their more peaceful and industrious neighbours. This was the first outbreak of Australian bushranging.

At length, in February 1813, three years after Colonel Collins's death, his successor, Colonel Davey, of the Marines, reached the Derwent. His arrival was unexpected, for opportunities of communicating with the mother country were few, and the manner of his entrance into his capital exceedingly singular. The day was a very hot one, and he landed, with his coat under his arm, from the vessel which brought him out, and after stating who he was, requested temporary accommodation at almost the first house he approached. What led to Colonel Davey's appointment to the government of Van Diemen's Land has never been discovered. He was a man whose disregard of conventional forms and outward appearances amounted to eccentricity, but this did not prevent his quickly becoming very popular. He had gained the character of a brave soldier in many a battle with the enemies of his country, and was, like many of his class in that day, a hard drinker. He was willing to join in a carouse whenever invited, and was by no means fastidious as to the companionship in which he found himself. Yet it does not appear that he neglected his duties, although the way in which they were performed was not perhaps quite so studied and deliberate as might have been desired. He seems to have thought the place was in reality what it was called, "the Camp," for such was the common designation of Hobart Town in his time, and for many years afterwards. His period of rule lasted about four years, and was characterised by the prevalence of crime and particularly of bushranging to a deplorable extent. Colonel Davey was not the man to devise a suitable remedy for such a condition of things. If the despera-

does who infested the country would have met him in a body in the open field, he would probably have been able to give a good account of them, but nature and habit had alike unfitted him for coping with such men in a manner in accordance with civilian notions and appliances.

His proceedings did not lack energy, but were often in direct opposition to law. Sometimes, if suspected persons escaped conviction, the witnesses were flogged, and many captured prisoners were hanged on very slight evidence. Colonel Davey's proceedings at length brought him into collision with Macquarie, the governor-in-chief, who did not hesitate to express his dislike and disapproval of the lieutenant-governor's proceedings. Many of the inhabitants, however, commended Davey for his promptness and eulogised his stretches of power. Finding himself thus hampered by his superior officer, he at length relinquished his office and turned settler. His agricultural operations were not, however, very successful, and soon afterwards he returned to England. His memory is still cherished as that of a plain, open, generous man, if not quite a model governor.

It was during Colonel Davey's period of rule, however, notwithstanding all the drawbacks of that period, that the press first became a permanent institution in Van Diemen's Land. Colonel Collins's abortive attempt to establish a newspaper in 1810 has already been noticed. A second attempt, also a failure, occurred in 1814. A third and more successful effort was made in 1816. In June of that year Mr Andrew Bent commenced the publication of the *Hobart Town Gazette*, a newspaper which existed for several years, and which became the forerunner of the many journals which afterwards sprung into existence in Tasmania.

The social and moral condition of the Van Diemen's Land settlements appears for many years after their foundation to have been inferior to that of New South Wales. The example of men of character and position was almost wholly wanting in the former; the regulations for enforcing order, and even the usual appliances of government, were in a great degree absent; very insufficient means of controlling the turbulent and vicious were at hand; the examples of immorality often set by the officers themselves, completely removed as they were from the curbing restraint of public opinion, exercised a most deplorable influence on the characters of those over whom they were placed. Sydney was bad enough in this respect, but the presence of a virtuous, active, and popular lady like Mrs Macquarie, and the influence of some of the officers' wives, was sufficient to give a healthier tone to society there, and to check at least any open or unblushing display of vice on the part of those who would otherwise have set a bad example, and whose private lives, notwithstanding their compliance with the external forms of propriety, were anything but what they ought to have been. In Hobart Town things might not have been much worse in reality, but there was less restraint practised. Colonel Collins himself, if contemporary accounts can be relied upon, was far from blameless in his social relations. The wife of Colonel Davey, his successor, was too meek, retiring, and timid a woman to exert that authority and to exercise that influence in social life which her position

entitled her to assume. Besides, there were few or none to second her efforts, if she had been inclined to make any, for at that period the women of the colony were for the most part of a class that it would have been impossible for her to associate with. The practice of assigning female convicts to the military and other officers, which had obtained from the earliest days of the colony, was a fruitful source of vice, and for many years the cause of the most deplorable social demoralisation.

Governor Davey died in England in May 1823. During his short term of government there was some considerable improvement in the condition of the settlement. The ports were opened for general commerce; some houses of trade were established; Mr Birch, an enterprising merchant, fitted out a vessel to survey the western coast; Captain Kelly discovered Macquarie Harbour and Port Davey; a new species of pine, highly valued by artificers, was found by Captain Florence; the whale fishery was enlarged considerably; corn was exported; the plough was introduced, and gradually superseded the hoe; a mill was erected; passage boats connected the banks of the Derwent; a civil court for the recovery of small debts was established; and the foundation of St David's Church was laid. The ship that conveyed Davey's luggage to England was taken by the Americans, as war was then raging, and the governor was indemnified by a grant of three thousand acres of land, the largest grant ever made in the island.

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNOR SORELL.

BUSHRANGING—MICHAEL HOWE—IMMIGRATION—AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS—MAC-
QUARIE'S SECOND VISIT—PROGRESS—NO CIVIL LAW COURT—A BRITISH COLONIAL
COMPANY—GOVERNOR SORELL'S ADMINISTRATION—HIS CHARACTER—HIS RETIRE-
MENT—PENSION—STATE OF THE COLONY—CHIEF-JUSTICE FIELD—PRIMITIVE
MANNERS—A POETICAL PROPHECY.

IN 1817 Colonel William Sorell succeeded Colonel Davey as lieutenant-governor. He found the Tasmanian settlements in an exceedingly disturbed state from a large number of bushrangers, whose depredations had been carried on in a very daring manner for several years. Mr Humphrey, police magistrate at Hobart Town, attributed the origin and spread of this description of crime to the necessities of the prisoners in the early days of the settlement, and the frequent scarcity of food which led the authorities there to sanction their attempts to live by hunting and associating with the aborigines. The prisoners assigned to the military officers were, in times of scarcity, not only obliged to procure food for themselves, but to furnish weekly to their masters a certain quantity of kangaroo flesh. The experience thus gained in the capture of game, and the knowledge acquired of the bush, together with the lax state of discipline which prevailed, encouraged these men in their tendency to roving and predatory habits, and ultimately led to the formation of gangs of marauders, distinguished for their violence and rapacity. The excesses of these daring outlaws both on the northern and southern sides of the island had attained an alarming height at the period of Colonel Davey's arrival, and continued with little intermission during his administration of the government of the colony. The success of the desperadoes, and the impunity with which they carried on their depredations, at length induced persons to join them who had no such excuses to offer for their conduct as might be urged on account of many of the convicts. Two of these amateur robbers were named Mills and Williams, both of whom left subordinate situations in the Commissariat Department to enter upon a career of crime. They and the gangs with which they became connected carried on such a successful system of plunder upon the persons and property of individuals of every description, that the inhabitants of several districts were forced at length to abandon their dwellings, and remove for safety to the towns.

The measures adopted by Lieut.-Governor Sorell, on his arrival at Hobart Town, to check these wholesale outrages, were of a very judicious and effectual

kind. He first endeavoured to awaken in all who wished to save their persons from outrage and their property from plunder a sense of the necessity for co-operation in measures of self-defence, and of combination against the common enemy; and such was his success, that liberal subscriptions were at once entered into in order to carry his plans into effect, and to offer large rewards for the capture of the ringleaders of the gangs. By keeping a watchful eye on those who were suspected of giving aid or information to the banditti, by sending assistance to those who were believed to be in danger of attack, by establishing a more vigilant system of control over the gangs of prisoners, and especially by their frequent removal from one district to another, he succeeded in a short time in checking the movements and intercepting the supplies of the bushranging desperadoes. Some of those who still continued their depredations were at length reduced by the spirited pursuit and exertions of a detachment of the 46th Regiment; others fell victims to the cruelty and treachery of their companions, the greatest atrocities being perpetrated amongst them from fear of betrayal by each other, or with the hope of obtaining a share of the promised reward. A price was set upon the heads of some of the ringleaders, and it is asserted, but doubtless with considerable exaggeration, that it was no unusual thing for a man to make his appearance at a settlement of a morning, with the head of one of his companions in crime under his arm, in order to claim the reward. In more than one case it was afterwards suspected and generally believed that the head produced was not that of the bushranger for whom the reward had been offered, but of some unfortunate shepherd or solitary wayfarer who happened to bear some resemblance to him, and who had been murdered in order to secure the offered premium.

A notorious leader of the principal party, named Michael Howe, after surrendering to the lieutenant-governor on an assurance of present safety, and a recommendation in his favour to Governor Macquarie, suspecting he had been entrapped, made his escape from the gaol at Hobart Town, and attempted, in concert with a servant of the Judge-Advocate, to leave the colony in an American vessel. Foiled in this effort, Howe returned to his former desperate courses, and was apprehended a second time and secured; but by means of a knife, which he had managed to conceal, he stabbed both the men who were guarding him, and again took to the bush, where he subsisted for some time with much difficulty on account of the loss of his fire-arms, and the detestation with which he had come to be regarded in consequence of his atrocious crimes. Driven at length to enter a hut with the hope of obtaining arms and ammunition, he encountered a soldier and another man who were lying in wait for him. They fell upon him at once, and after a desperate conflict, killed him on the spot. This took place in October 1818, and may be looked upon as the termination for that time of a system of terror and plunder which had existed for a long period; although the effects of the predatory and wandering habits which the convicts had acquired led to many isolated crimes during the next few years. The only subsequent attempt to form a gang appears to have been made on the northern side of the island, by a desperado named Hector Macdonald, who at the head of four others committed several robberies between George Town and Launceston.

But being hotly pursued, the leader was shot by two civilians, and another of the gang by a soldier of the 48th Regiment. The other three were afterwards taken and punished.

One of the greatest difficulties which Governor Sorell had to contend with in restoring order arose from the want of suitable persons amongst the settlers to fill the office of magistrate. Most of those who had been removed from Norfolk Island to Van Diemen's Land at the formation of the settlement in 1804 had originally been prisoners, and many others who had been sent from New South Wales were men who had been doubly convicted, and consequently suitable materials for local government and the maintenance of order were less available.

This want of settlers of means and respectability was, however, remedied a few years after the time of which we are now speaking by the arrival (in 1822) of a considerable number of suitable emigrants from England, attracted by the favourable accounts of the colony which had reached the mother country; and in truth, whatever might be said in disparagement of the social and moral condition of the island up to this time, it is clear that it had at length emerged into a state of great material prosperity. The farmers, although their operations were conducted in an exceedingly rude and slovenly manner, had, as there was abundance of elbow-room, selected the most fertile spots, and their crops for several years had been so prolific that in 1820 they were able to export wheat to the value of £20,000 to Sydney.

The capital introduced by the newly-arrived settlers soon gave an impetus to trade, while their intelligence, energy, and character afforded examples which produced the best effects upon the moral and social condition of the community. In 1821 the population of Van Diemen's Land amounted to 7400, and the land in cultivation to 15,000 acres. The horned cattle, sheep, and horses had increased in proportion. The extraordinary progress made in the two or three preceding years may be judged of from the fact that in 1818 the population was only 3557, the land in cultivation but 5080 acres, and the quantity of live stock correspondingly small.

Governor Macquarie visited Van Diemen's Land for the second time in April 1821. He found the place wonderfully improved. At his first visit, about nine years before, although the settlement had then been established about seven years, very little progress had been made, so that in 1821 he was both surprised and gratified by the changed condition of things. On his return to Sydney, after a stay of more than two months, he published in the *Gazette* a very flattering account of the industry, enterprise, and progress of the insular colonists. He lauded the taste displayed in their buildings, the beauty and spaciousness of their harbour, their appliances and facilities for trade, and ended as usual by conferring his name, or the name of his native place, or that of his wife, or something which was his, on a large number of places or things on the fortunate island.

With the influx of immigration in 1821, trade began to assume regularity; distilleries and breweries were erected; the Van Diemen's Land Bank was established; St David's Church at Hobart Town was completed and opened; and many other steps were taken in the direction of public improvement. Still,

the settlement laboured under the disadvantage of having no regular civil or criminal court; suitors in the one for sums above £50, and all prosecutors in the other, were compelled to wait the uncertain arrival of the judges from New South Wales to hold an occasional sessions; or else they were compelled to sustain all the inconvenience and expense of repairing to Sydney.

In the early journals the name of Sorell occurs frequently to illustrate the qualities which adorn a ruler, and to point a satire on his successor. On his departure a banquet was given him, "where," said the reporter, "the cup was often replenished, and the flow of reason never ebbed." It was observed that the return freight for merino wool which the colony owed to his care and foresight anchored beside the "Guildford," that was to carry him home. Towards the close of Sorell's government the commerce of the colony was assisted by the enterprise of some British merchants. A company was formed at Leith, with a capital of £100,000, professing to promote the welfare of the colonies by taking their produce in exchange for merchandise. A succession of vessels were despatched; the first was the "Greenock," among the rest the "Triton," Captain Crear. These vessels introduced many families from Scotland, whose moral worth and successful enterprise have established their families among the chief of the land. The shipments provoked the anger and broke up the monopoly of the local merchants.

The administration of Sorell was successful in colonial estimation; his habits were familiar without rudeness, and his fine countenance attracted the confidence of the stranger. He was accustomed to linger about the gate of Government House chatting with the passers-by, and a slight excuse entitled the humblest persons to prefer their solicitations. The admiration expressed by the settlers for his character was partly the result of their relative positions. He was a dispenser of Crown favours, and when compelled to refuse an immoderate suitor, he could refer his request to the governor-in-chief. The rigour of king's commissioner was softened by his official worth; nor is it necessary to search for a censure amidst such concurrence of praise. The settlers, to express their regard, agreed to offer Sorell a testimonial of £750 value. They deprecated his recall by petition—a rare instance of popular favour; there was but one dissentient. A request so unusual might perhaps have been successful had it not come too late. On his return to England he received a pension which, commencing in 1825, continued until his death—twenty-four years—and amounted in all to £11,500, more than the official salary he received during his government twice told. This pension was authorised by the Crown, and charged on the colonial revenue. Sorell was colonel of the 48th Regiment. He died on the 4th June 1848, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

The aspect of the country at this time was not inviting to strangers; but the current of colonisation was set in, and its ultimate superiority, compared with all others, became an article of Tasmanian faith. On this subject the agricultural societies maintained a war of papers. Barron Field, the Chief-Justice of New South Wales, was the champion of that country, and dwelt on its vast forests, its wool, its boundless pastures, and its rivers. The president of the Tasmanian

agriculturists urged all in the defence of Van Diemen's Land which became his position. At that time protective laws had not furnished them with more formidable weapons. The trials and disappointments of the colonist pioneer have been long since forgotten. The modern emigrant to Australia can know them only in part. He is carried to his destination by a public conveyance, at a cost determined by extensive competition. He can have the mechanical labour he may need; he can buy the stock descended from European flocks and herds lower than in their native regions. The choice fruit-trees, flowers, and plants, which multitudes have combined to collect, he can obtain often as a gift. The costly experiments of his predecessors have established the rules which preserve his crops from destruction, or his folds from disease. There is a market for his produce, and a bank for his money, and a school for his children.

A poet, of some celebrity at the time, predicted the fortunes of Tasmania. The picture he drew is no unpleasing prospect for posterity :

“Now on my soul the rising vision warms,
But mingled in a thousand lovely forms;
Methinks I see Australian landscapes still,
But softer beauty sits on every hill:
I see bright meadows decked in livelier green,
The yellow cornfield, and the blossomed bean:
A hundred flocks o'er smiling pastures roam,
And hark, the music of the harvest home!
Methinks I hear the hammer's busy sound,
The cheerful hum of human voices round,
The laughter and the song that lightens toil,
Sung in the language of my native isle:
The vision leads me on by many a stream;
And spreading cities crowd upon my dream,
Where turrets darkly frown, and lofty spires
Point to the stars and sparkle in their fires!
Here Sydney gazes from the mountain side,
Narcissus like, upon the glassy tide;
O'er rising towns Notasian commerce reigns,
And temples crowd Tasmania's lovely plains.
The prospect varies in an endless range;
Villas and lawns go by in ceaseless change;
And wafted on the gale from many a dell
Methinks I hear the village Sabbath-bell;
Faith upwards mounts upon devotion's wings,
And, like the lark, at heaven's pure portal sings;
From myriad tongues the song of praise is poured,
And o'er them floats the Spirit of the Lord!”

CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNOR ARTHUR.

ARTHUR'S EARLY CAREER—FIRST IMPRESSIONS—HIS UNPOPULARITY—CHIEF-JUSTICE PEDDER—SEPARATION FROM NEW SOUTH WALES—FIRST EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—ARTHUR'S DEALINGS WITH THE NATIVES—A BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM—THE VAN DIEMEN'S LAND COMPANY—JORGEN JORGENSEN—ARTHUR'S RECALL—ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION—PROGRESS OF THE COLONY—A SEVERE CRISIS—ARTHUR'S CHARACTER.

THE successor of Sorell in the government of Van Diemen's Land was George Arthur, Esq., formerly superintendent of Honduras, where he was extensively known as an officer of an inflexible and energetic disposition. His administration there had occasioned much debate, and was the subject of parliamentary and judicial inquiries. At that time, slavery existed at Honduras in its foulest forms, and the superintendent was a decided enemy to slavery. He won the regard of the anti-slavery party in England, headed by Wilberforce and Stephen, by his efforts to suppress the evils connected with the system, and his fearless exposure of the connivance of magistrates at the cruelty of the masters. It was probably through the influence of the leaders of the party that he was appointed to the command of the penal settlement of Van Diemen's Land.

His first appearance before the settlers, however, was not favourable. An address of welcome was presented to the new governor, and the reply to it was cold and formal. In truth, Arthur was not of the stamp of his predecessor. The one was mild and indulgent; the other carried strictness to an extreme. The one was familiar in his manners, easy of access, while the other was haughty and dictatorial. The one acted as if he felt himself to be a member of the community over whose affairs he presided; the other appeared to look upon the colonists generally as criminals whom he had been sent to control. He regarded all their claims to constitutional rights as absurd. Liberty of the press and trial by jury found in him an uncompromising opponent. His opposition to these measures—unlike that of Darling, his kindred spirit in New South Wales—was successful. Arthur's views were supported by a pliant Chief-Justice, J. L. Pedder, Esq., who had arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1824, about the time that Sir Francis Forbes had reached Sydney. Owing to the difference in the character and views of these judges, a striking variation arose in the manner in which justice was administered in the two Australian communities. Judge Pedder had brought with him from England a charter for establishing a Supreme Court in Van

Diemen's Land, which was indeed identical with that granted to the elder colony. When information respecting Chief-Justice Forbes's construction of the charter in favour of trial by jury reached Hobart Town, the matter was brought before the Supreme Court there by the Attorney-General, Mr Alfred Stephen, who contended that the Act ought to be administered in the form most favourable to the subject. Judge Pedder, however, acting probably under the influence of the lieutenant-governor, ignored the ruling of Judge Forbes, and decided in favour of retaining the military jury. In respect to the liberty of the press, which subsequently agitated the public mind in both colonies, Judge Pedder's conduct was equally opposed to popular rights; and was afterwards adduced by Governor Darling in New South Wales as an argument against the course pursued by Chief-Justice Forbes. A comparison of the results in the two cases will tend to show the debt of gratitude which the people of New South Wales owe to that eminent judge. Darling and Arthur were equally the enemies of popular institutions. But while one colony was blessed with an upright and able administrator of the law, the other had the misfortune of having its Supreme Court presided over by a pliant time-server, who did not hesitate to give effect to the will of an arbitrary ruler.

The reasons urged by the colonists for the separation of Van Diemen's Land from New South Wales were so strong that, notwithstanding Sorell's opposition, they were acceded to by the Home authorities soon after his departure, and when, in the latter part of 1825, General Darling was appointed to the government of New South Wales, he was commissioned to call at Hobart Town on his voyage out, to formally proclaim the independence of the island from the control of the elder colony. Executive and Legislative Councils were appointed, and the machinery and powers of the Government made to correspond with those of New South Wales. The Executive Council consisted of Dudley Montague Percival, Colonial Secretary; John Lewis Pedder, Chief-Justice; A. W. H. Humphrey, and Jocelyn Thomas. The members of the Legislative Council were the Colonial Secretary, the Chief-Justice, and Messrs Abbott, Hamilton, Humphrey, and Curr.

Sorell's accommodating character had caused his rule to sit lightly upon the prison population, and that class, ever ready to take advantage of the want of strictness and vigilance in their rulers, had fallen into habits of vice and dissipation to an extent in all probability seldom before witnessed. It was not that great crimes were more frequent than at other periods, for that consequence has never attended a laxity of penal discipline in the Australian colonies—rather the reverse; but the habits of the people became looser and their conduct more vicious every day. The extremities of the executive power were paralysed by the weakness of the head. The police service had gradually grown irregular and inefficient, until theft, intemperance, and other minor offences were allowed to go almost unchecked. In such a condition of things the arrival of a ruler of firm and determined character was a fortunate circumstance for the colony. Arthur's arbitrary conduct in respect to matters of constitutional right may be incapable of defence; but many will be inclined to overlook his shortcomings in

that respect, because of his vigorous and successful efforts in the repression of crime, and the influence of his example as a model of virtuous conduct in private life. At the time of his arrival roving bands of bushrangers pillaged the country, and their depredations, together with those of the aboriginal natives, kept the settlers in the outlying districts in a constant state of alarm. Arthur made successful endeavours to enlist and combine the well-disposed part of the population in upholding law and order, and the unsparing way in which he disposed of captured delinquents tended to strike terror into those who remained at large. The records of Tasmanian bushranging in those days afford a painful picture of the dark side of human nature; but their details, although sufficiently attractive to have enlisted the pens of many local writers, are not of such an important character as to demand a place in a general history of Australia.

Not so, however, Arthur's proceedings with reference to the aboriginal natives, for those proceedings may be said to have been the commencement of a conflict which ended in the destruction of a race. The aborigines of Van Diemen's Land, if the statements of early navigators are to be credited—and they are singularly accordant—were, before their intercourse with the settlers and convicts, the most gentle and inoffensive of savages. Twenty years of contact, however, with the offscourings of the most degraded class of England's criminals, made the original possessors of the country little better than beasts of prey. The seeds of treachery and cruelty planted by their white oppressors quickly bore fruit; and the black man's hand was at length raised against every man as every man's hand was against him. At the time of Colonel Arthur's advent it might be said with truth that the two races seldom met but to shed each other's blood. Various schemes were propounded—some for conciliating and others for subduing the blacks. The natural bent of Arthur's mind was to the more arbitrary and despotic course; and at length, in 1830, he resolved to try one of the most extraordinary plans to effect his purpose that was ever conceived. This notable scheme was nothing less than to drive the whole aboriginal race into a narrow corner of the island, and there to confine them by guarding the only approach to the place. Tasman's Peninsula was selected as the most appropriate spot for this purpose. Situated on the south-eastern coast, and joined to the mainland by only a narrow neck, it was thought if the natives could be cooped up there, that conflicts between them and the settlers would be impossible. East-bay Neck, the narrow strip which joined the peninsula to the main, was to be carefully guarded, so that no aboriginal should ever again set foot on the rest of the island.

To carry out this singular scheme all the able-bodied settlers were called out, and in conjunction with the military were ordered to form a cordon across the island, and thus to drive the blacks like so many sheep before them. Arthur himself and his suite took part in the enterprise. The soldiers were three hundred in number, and the settlers above three thousand. Every man in the colony possessed of the slightest experience of the bush, knew that the plan was as impracticable in execution as it was silly in conception. Impassable gullies and precipices, and almost impenetrable woods, afforded the blacks innumerable

places of shelter, from which, if they had chosen to remain, the whole British army could not have dislodged them; and even if they wished to fly, and their numbers had been ten times as great as they were, all might have escaped by slipping past in the night in the shade of trees, bushes, and rocks. Knowing as they did every cavern and corner, every gully—every defile in the mountains and every hiding-place in the plains—it was as impossible to hem them in as if they had been so many birds. Rules and regulations for the guidance of the men-hunters prescribed the distance that each was to keep from the other in the line of march. Large fires were to be lighted at night, watchwords to be given every ten minutes, and the sentinels were to pass them along with their number and “All’s well.” When, however, the line reached the neck of Tasman’s Peninsula, after weeks of toil and privation, it became known that not a single blackfellow was before them, and that only two miserable creatures had been captured by the way. Those who knew the habits of the blacks were, of course, quite prepared for this result. They knew how easily the cunning savages could have slipped through, if so minded, in full day—much more under cover of night. It was calculated that the expenses and loss occasioned by this absurd expedition amounted to £70,000, and that consequently the two wretched natives taken prisoners cost the colony £35,000 apiece. Other methods of a more humane character were afterwards successfully adopted. The history of the Tasmanian aborigines affords one of the most melancholy chapters in the annals of colonisation, and cannot be read without arousing feelings of a most painful kind.

The population of Van Diemen’s Land at the time of its separation from New South Wales (1825) exceeded 12,000 in number. The local revenue was mainly raised by customs duties, which at that period amounted to about £2 per head of the population. The principal article of export was wheat, of which, in 1823, 55,522 bushels were exported, mostly to Sydney. The other exports were oil, whalebone, and skins, with small quantities of potatoes and barley. Owing to the insular position of Van Diemen’s Land, the climate is more equal and temperate than that of the Australian continent, and to this circumstance more than to any superiority of soil the fact is probably due that agriculture there has generally been regarded as a more reliable and successful pursuit than in the other Australian colonies. The climate is not unlike that of the south of England, and this perhaps has had its influence on the social habits of the population, which have generally struck visitors as being more in accordance with those of the mother country than is the case with their continental neighbours.

To a young, struggling, and energetic community like that of Van Diemen’s Land, pervaded as it was to a great extent by persons of a most vicious and disorderly tendency, the rule of a benevolent despot like Colonel Arthur brought many benefits. His want of sympathy with popular liberty was, in the circumstances of the colony at that period, a matter of comparatively little moment. It was of much greater importance to the welfare of the virtuous and well-disposed part of the population that crime should be repressed, and the vicious and dishonest effectually controlled and punished, than that, under the name of liberty, vice and disorder should be permitted to run riot. Arthur’s proceedings,

however arbitrary, were prompted by a desire to promote the welfare of the country he was sent to govern. Under his rule the resources of the colony were rapidly developed, many extensive and durable public works executed, order preserved, and vice discountenanced. He acted as he thought best for the benefit of all, and could hardly comprehend the motives of those who presumed to tender their advice or to oppose his plans. During his rule the Van Diemen's Land Company was formed in London, to develop the resources of the colony.

Amongst those employed in the company's service was Jorgen Jorgenson, whose adventurous life made him remarkable even among vagabonds. He was born at Copenhagen, 1780. After some employment in the coal trade, he accompanied the expedition of Flinders, and afterwards, as mate on board the "Lady Nelson," attended the first party to Risdon. Having returned to Europe and become commander of a privateer in the service of his country, he was captured, after a smart resistance, by the British ships "Sappho" and "Clio." He obtained, while out on his parole, the merchant ship "Margaret and Anne," to carry provisions to Iceland, where the people were suffering extreme privation. On a second voyage the governor, Count Tramp, prohibited the intercourse. Jorgenson landed while the people were at church, and, aided by his seamen, took the governor prisoner. He then, with extraordinary impudence, issued a proclamation stating that he had been called by an oppressed people to take the reins of government. He proceeded to reform its various departments; he lightened the taxes; augmented the pay of the clergy; improved the system of education; established trial by jury; formed an army consisting of eight soldiers; and fortified the harbour with six guns. Having performed these exploits, he returned to London in a prize taken from the island. His proceedings were already known to the ministry, and he was arrested as an alien at large. Jorgenson made no small stir by his appearance among legislators and conquerors. After a variety of adventures, in which he was often on the borders of crime, he pawned the linen taken from his lodging, and was sentenced to transportation. In Newgate he was employed as a dispenser of medicine. After four years' detention he was released, but was retaken, having neglected to quit Great Britain, and was transported for life. Such is the account he gave of his imprisonment. The penalty might have been commuted, but he undertook to write on various subjects and created some trouble. He was therefore forwarded to Van Diemen's Land. Here he was chiefly employed as a constable, detected many crimes, and brought several to the scaffold. A woman, who had assisted him in discovering certain offenders, became his wife; and he was often seen fleeing from her fury through the streets. He, however, survived her, and at length closed his singular career in the colonial hospital.

The recall of Arthur, long anticipated by his enemies, at length arrived. Some months before he had been informed by the Secretary of State that, having continued in his government for the unusual period of twelve years, the Crown intended to name his successor. On the recommendation of Mr Huskisson, the duration of an ordinary government was limited to six years; but special reasons withdrew Van Diemen's Land from the operation of this rule.

The ministerial changes at the seat of empire left Arthur's influence unimpaired. The variations of national policy rarely reached his sphere. Unwelcome orders he managed to modify or evade. The difficult nature of his duties, the distance of his government from supervision, and the weakness of the free population, enabled him to assume and maintain for many years a discretion all but unlimited. The state of the colony on his arrival has been already noticed. His dealings with the aboriginal inhabitants have been narrated. He repressed the outrages of the lawless, and restored comparative tranquillity. Under his auspices the chief town, which he found consisting of a few frail dwellings, assumed the aspect of a commercial city. Many whom he received in chains were established in social happiness; many immigrants, who arrived with slender resources, had risen to opulence. A series of statistical tables, prepared by the Colonial Secretary, his nephew, exhibit a progress then almost unexampled. In 1836 the revenue had increased from £16,866 to £106,639; the imports from £62,000 to £583,646; the exports from £14,500 to £320,679; mills from five to forty-seven; colonial vessels from one to seventy-one; churches from four to eighteen; the population had risen from 12,000 to 40,000; and every branch of public and private enterprise exhibited the same general aspect. It would be absurd to ascribe to Arthur even the main credit of these results; they were the effect of that spirit of industry which ever characterises the native of Great Britain, and which nothing can wholly extinguish. Nor was this prosperity without alloy. The unproductive improvement encouraged was sometimes unhealthy. The settlers were deeply involved; the valuation of property was raised beyond reasonable calculation. The pleasing delusion was cherished by the members of the Government, whose official and private interests concurred to dupe them. Happy were they who sold! Arthur left many who, acquiring his favour by the extent of their outlay and the vigour of their enterprise, were laden with debts from which they never recovered, and made them a prey to perpetual solicitude. The great demand for sheep and cattle, created by the establishment of new colonies, gave a temporary respite; flocks were sold at £2 per head, and were purchased in large quantities. These ameliorations were only transient, and the wide regions open to adventure lessened the worth of those properties which had been valued by the farms of Great Britain, not by the unpeopled wilds of New Holland. A just estimate of Arthur's administration must include all the peculiarities of his position, and the complicated interests he held in trust, whether they relate to the Imperial Government, the free, or the bond. The measures best adapted for the colony were not always compatible with the design of its establishment. Nor must we forget that in surveying the past we have lights which rarely attend the present; that much which experience may amend, it is not possible for wisdom to foresee.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN.

COLONEL SNODGRASS—FRANKLIN'S APPOINTMENT—FIRST IMPRESSIONS—A HEARTY RECEPTION—A FIRST DESPATCH—RIVAL PARTIES—MESSRS MONTAGU AND FORSTER—PRIVATE INFLUENCE—FRANKLIN'S IMPARTIALITY—THE "COAT-TAILS"—CONCILIATORY POLICY—JUDGE MONTAGU—MR ALFRED STEPHEN—PUBLIC ADMISSION TO LEGISLATURE—CHURCH SQUABBLES—SUPERIOR IMMIGRATION—LAND AND LABOUR—HELP FOR ADELAIDE—SUBSIDY TO IMMIGRATION—BAD POLICY—GENERAL DISTRESS—GOVERNMENT BLUNDERS—A SEVERE REACTION—AN EMPTY TREASURY—BOILING-DOWN—FRANKLIN'S LAST THREE YEARS—HIS ADMINISTRATION—HIS GENEROSITY, JUSTICE, PIETY, AND GENTLENESS—FRANKLIN'S GREAT SERVICES TO THE WORLD—AN IMMORTAL MEMORY.

BEFORE the departure of Colonel Arthur, the brigade-major of the military district, Lieut.-Colonel Kenneth Snodgrass, C.B., arrived at Hobart Town from Sydney. He was sworn in as acting lieutenant-governor on 31st of October 1836. He had attained a military reputation in the Burmese War, of which he published a narrative. He was cordially received, and his temporary relations were too brief to leave any impression on colonial affairs.

The appointment of Sir John Franklin, captain in the Royal Navy, and Knight of the Guelphic Order of Hanover, was announced by Sir George Grey in the House of Commons on 13th April 1836. He was presented to the king by Lord Glenelg on the 20th of August, and embarked in the "Fairlie" on the 27th. He was accompanied by Captain Maconochie, late secretary of the Geographical Society, and one of the professors of the London University, and by the Rev. William Hutchins, in whose favour Van Diemen's Land was erected into an archdeaconry. Sir John Franklin assumed the government on the 6th January 1837. The nomination of Franklin was acceptable to the colony. His profession, his career, and character, were considered auspicious. He had accompanied the illustrious Flinders on his voyage of discovery, and was at Sydney when the first party left that port to colonise Van Diemen's Land. During thirty-four years he had himself obtained great nautical renown; his intrepidity, his sufferings, his humanity, and piety, had been often the theme of popular admiration, and were not unknown in Tasmania. The colonists were resolved to give him an appropriate welcome. He saw with astonishment the signs of wealth and activity in a country which he only remembered as a wilderness. Crowds followed him with acclamations; addresses, couched in language

of eulogy and hope, poured in from every district. The progress of the governor through the colony was attended with feasting, balls, and public festivities. On his entrance into Launceston he was escorted by three hundred horsemen and seventy carriages; the streets were thronged; the windows were crowded by fair spectators, who shared the general enthusiasm. The private settlers received him with unsparing hospitality; he was both oppressed and delighted with the signs of popular joy. The hearty frankness of his replies was contrasted with the official coldness ascribed to his predecessor. He repeatedly reminded the colonists that, although ambitious of their favour, the duties of his station would probably oblige him to disappoint their desires. He assured them that he came among them without prejudice, and determined to "see with his own eyes, hear with his own ears, and judge with his own judgment." On his return to the seat of government, Franklin addressed a despatch to Lord Glenelg, containing an exulting description of his tour. He had seen the colony in its holiday dress, and all parties had mingled their acclamations. He depicted, with expressions of astonishment, the easy circumstances and general intelligence of the settlers, and especially noticed their exertions to acquire religious and educational advantages. His lordship replied that this report confirmed his estimate of Franklin's predecessor. In his first minute to the Legislative Council, Franklin pronounced a eulogium on Arthur's services, and laid on the table a despatch of the Secretary of State of similar import.

The admirers of the late governor were gratified by these flattering tributes; but they were not without risk to Franklin's general popularity. The party of Arthur was dreaded by the opposition, and was still powerful; nor was it difficult to perceive that past animosities had lost but little of their vigour. Captain John Montagu had been recently confirmed as Colonial Secretary, and Captain Matthew Forster held the office of chief police magistrate. Most details of government were transacted in their offices. They were both clever men; they exercised considerable local influence, especially Montagu, in connection with the Derwent Bank. Their advice Franklin could not easily evade. Thus the policy of their distinguished relative survived in his nephews. Franklin was scarcely seated when the press professed to discover that he was an instrument in the hands of the "Arthur faction." Arthur, anxious for the welfare of his relatives and friends, commended them to the confidence of his successor. Many unsettled claims were left to his final decision. Colonists aggrieved by the late governor, when their appeals for redress to Franklin (not unfrequently inequitable) were unavailing, fancied that their former antagonists still turned the course of justice. The sanguine hopes excited by an auspicious name gradually gave way, and the governor was assailed with remonstrances, which enlarged into reproaches by a rapid growth. A design was commonly imputed to the advisers of Franklin to render him unpopular, and thus make the late ruler an object of regret. They slighted, however, the reproaches they had been accustomed to despise. "These lingering traces of discord" were distressing to Franklin. In answer to an address from Richmond, which deplored the absence and invoked the restoration of social peace, he expressed his anxiety with touching ardour: "With my whole

heart I agree with you. Let us be divided, then, if we cannot be united in political sentiments, yet knit together as friends and neighbours in everything besides. Let us differ where honest men may differ; and let us agree, not in undervaluing the points of political dissent, but in respecting the motives which may produce it, in cherishing domestic virtues which will be found to characterise individuals of every party, and in making the generous sacrifice of private feelings for the general good, rather than aggravating the importance of grievances which must render such forbearance impossible." These sentiments, not less charming for their amiable spirit than happy in expression, are important as maxims of political life, and they depict the main difficulty of the governor's position. To promote the harmony of parties, Franklin considerably added to the list of magistrates; persons, discountenanced by Arthur, were placed on a level with their late antagonists. But selection is difficult where many are candidates. Free settlers of all sorts were equally eligible by their wealth, and made equal pretensions. Thus, when the list was issued, it was received with mockery and laughter; and, said the scorers, all the "coat-tails"—rarely worn except by freemen—contain a commission. They were certainly numerous—large in proportion to the emigrant adult population; but who can extinguish the flames of envy without kindling contempt? To further his conciliatory policy, Franklin nominated to his council Mr W. E. Lawrence, a gentleman of wealth and intelligence, and great liberality of opinion. An early disagreement with Arthur had been aggravated by frequent irritation, and excluded Mr Lawrence from a station for which his qualifications were many.

But the Government was disquieted by internal discord. Judge Montagu and the Attorney-General had quarrelled in open court. Mr Stephen had eaten sandwiches in the judge's presence, so it was said, and had delayed a trial. Montagu assailed him with a virulence scarcely tolerated even at the bar. Without awaiting his defence, the judge poured forth a torrent of reproof, among which the following: "No, sir; in your official capacity I shall always treat you with the courtesy and respect due to you. Were you elsewhere, I should treat you after your conduct with less courtesy than a dog." Such quarrels were little regarded by Arthur; but when the authority fell into the hands of Franklin, the altercations of parties were less disguised, and the moral weight of the Government was seriously injured. The Attorney-General resigned his appointment; and shortly after as judge obtained the object of professional ambition. Mr Stephen, while the law officer of the Crown, was said to display eminent legislative skill; his drafts often elicited considerable opposition, and he did not disdain to explain the principles he embodied in his measures whenever they were seriously questioned by the public. Before his removal from the colony, Mr Alfred Stephen promoted a petition to the Crown for the concession of British institutions; an instance remarkable for the unanimity of the colonists, and the friendly countenance of the governor. It was almost universally signed (June 1838), but, like its predecessors, was unavailing. The opinions adopted by Captain Maconochie on convict discipline, and which placed him in opposition to every colonial party, rendered his dismissal necessary; but it deprived the governor of

a long-cherished friend, and who, in happier circumstances, might have greatly facilitated his affairs. Thus Franklin stood alone; and the nephews of Arthur absorbed the influence which subordinate officers rarely acquire without rendering their chief contemptible.

Many efforts had been made to obtain admission for the public during the sittings of the legislature. The members had been long released from the oath of secrecy, and their votes, and even the substance of their speeches, were occasionally known. Franklin determined to throw open the doors of the council chamber in 1837, and he expressed a conviction that the freedom of public discussion, founded on accurate knowledge, would confirm the measures or correct the wanderings of the legislature. At the first sittings of the Council, the novelty of the privilege secured an attendance at the debates, but the desultory and heavy discussions soon tired the patience, and members pointed with exultation or regret to those deserted benches where patriots had vowed to watch the course of legislation. The principle of open debate is, however, invaluable; reporters were there, and the public could read in an instant what it required hours to gather. Nor is the exercise of a privilege necessary to establish its worth; the title to be present belonged to the whole people, and Britons esteem and acknowledge a real treasure in a right. An open threshold, although rarely darkened by guests, is the pledge that all is honest within.

To compose ecclesiastical claims has ever been amongst the most difficult functions of the civil government. Franklin found the relations of the Churches unsettled, and among his earliest measures was one to define the objects and fix the amount of clerical pay. The chaplains appointed for the Australian colonies by the Crown had been always ministers of the Church of England; the greater part of the population, mostly prisoners of the Crown or their descendants, were members of the Anglican Church. Thus expediency corroborated the exclusive claims of the clergy to the spiritual oversight of the colonies. It was, however, impossible to obtain qualified clergymen of the English Church in sufficient numbers to supply the penal establishments. Thus the Government employed ministers of other denominations, chiefly the Wesleyan, as religious instructors, sometimes with the express sanction of the chaplains. In the country, catechists were appointed with the concurrence of Archdeacon Scott, who, however, were often members of dissenting communions.

The emigration of respectable families from Scotland produced an important revolution; they, it is alleged, constituted one-half of the free settlers in the country districts. Their attachment to that form of Christianity which is professed in North Britain was not weakened by their migration. The Rev. A. Macarthur, ordained a missionary minister by the United Associate Synod of Scotland, arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1823, the first Presbyterian clergyman established in this hemisphere.

The extensive land sales, combined with the demand for labour, in 1840, induced Sir John Franklin to promote emigration. The impression was general that transportation to Van Diemen's Land would cease; such had been announced as the policy of the Crown. A vessel was despatched to Adelaide, where many

were suffering severe distress. The New Zealand emigrants were also dissatisfied, and many found their way to colonies where wages were high. This course was inconvenient, and excited great indignation among employers in South Australia, who prevailed on the Government to pass a law intended to check emigration to Van Diemen's Land. Sir John Franklin disapproved of these methods of supplying the labour market, and proposed to devote £60,000 for the introduction of suitable working families from Great Britain. By many this movement was hailed with strong expressions of approbation as a pledge of the social elevation of the working classes. An exceedingly useful class of emigrants arrived under the commissioners, who readily sanctioned the applications, regard being had to the equality of the sexes. The commissioners defended their opposition to the plans of the local government. They asserted that private agents could never select labourers in numbers sufficient to freight a ship, and they inferred that transferable orders for the payment of bounty on the arrival of emigrants would be either matters of traffic, or that private persons, discouraged by the difficulties of their task, would abandon it in despair. For two or three years the emigrants were satisfied and moderately prosperous. The subdivision of town property was rapid. On every side small brick tenements multiplied. Every mechanic aspired to possess a dwelling of his own. But Lord Stanley's system of probation rapidly told on the condition of the workman. He stood aghast; he persevered for a time; he appealed to the Government for protection against convict competition. For one-fourth its actual cost, his property passed into the hands of others; and in Launceston especially many suburban neighbourhoods were deserted. The emigrants brought out at so much private cost were expelled to the adjacent settlements to begin the world anew.

One of those seasons of general distress to which small communities are especially liable pervaded the entire colonies in 1841-44. A variety of causes contributed to augment its pressure, and to involve the whole in commercial embarrassment. The imports of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, exceeding £20 per head; the high price of grain, reaching 28s. per bushel; the enormous rate of interest, and the boundless extravagance of credit and expense, produced a convulsion all but universal. The measures of the Government increased the pressure of these difficulties. The land sales by auction at Port Phillip were succeeded by the system of selling on special surveys at £1 per acre; and he who, one year before, had competed for his purchase, found the next section in the hands of his neighbour at half the price he had given. The settlers in the elder colonies had speculated deeply. Stock and implements were transferred to the new country under cover of credit. Competition raised the value of bullocks to £30 per pair, of horses to £60, of sheep to £2, and the wages of servants to £50 per annum. The Government had raised the minimum price of land, and thus those who were entitled to take up their surveys under a lower denomination hastened their purchases with borrowed money. The London merchants consigned immense quantities of goods on speculation, which were poured into the market; the promissory notes of irresponsible persons were taken by their agents; the fraudulent laid up for the

crisis; insolvent estates were crowded into auctions; goods sunk below the expenses of the factor; dividends of a few shillings in the pound represented the assets of persons indebted from £50,000 to £100,000; and had not the chief losses finally rested with the London merchants and the English banks, the disasters of the times must have long retarded colonial prosperity. The effects of this revulsion were soon felt in Van Diemen's Land, where peddling traders had thriven in momentary credit by the union of worthless names on their bills. As an instance: one hundred bushels of wheat, sold ultimately for £40, were transferred to a succession of speculating purchasers, who raised among them £1000 on credit of the exchange from one to another. The governments of the colonies had exhibited remarkable miscalculations. In all, the Treasury failed to meet the expenses. The deposits formerly realised by land sales were withdrawn from the banks. Debentures were issued, new taxes were imposed. The commercial panic was in full career when the Crown renewed transportation to Van Diemen's Land, and thousands and tens of thousands of British offenders were gathered on its shores. The expenditure of the Government, though large, was chiefly confined to the capital, or fell into the hands of the merchants; but it is worthy of remark that, except one house, all who could pretend to that rank maintained their position. The settlers were, however, deeply involved. They were most induced to purchase at the land sales by borrowed capital. They complained bitterly of the usury to which their produce bore no comparison, and incessantly invoked the legislature to limit the exactions of money-lenders. To aggravate these evils, American flour poured into the colonial markets, drawing their cash and rendering agriculture profitless. The declarations of insolvency were daily. Whole streets of mechanics and traders followed each other. A common liability to the same ordeal introduced a system of dangerous license, and men walked away with their creditors' property without molestation, and almost without reproach. The statistics of these times afford a memorable warning to all. To the Government, that by enticing the people to purchase land, the general revenue will suffer by their imprudence; to the banks, that by reckless advances capital will be sacrificed for nominal assets; and to the British merchants, that by glutting every store with speculative consignments, they render their exports of no value, that they ruin the shopkeeper, whose capital they destroy by the competition and sacrifice of their own. But the great resources of the colonies soon manifested themselves. A settler at Port Phillip discovered, or applied, the art of boiling down the surplus stock so as to produce the tallow of commerce; and sheep lately worth only 2s. 6d. became worth 8s. The discovery of the Burra Mines raised Adelaide from deep prostration. The opening of new tracts of country offered a vast field for successful enterprise; wool once more rose in price; the banks lowered their discounts to a reasonable level; the goods saved from the general wreck appeared in the shops of those who took the tide at its flow; and every colony exhibited the signs of returning vigour, all but Van Diemen's Land. The last three years of Sir John Franklin's administration were chiefly employed in arranging the details of the system of convict discipline, afterwards expanded

by Lord Stanley to gigantic proportions. Accompanied by Lady Franklin, Sir John penetrated the western district of Van Diemen's Land to Macquarie Harbour, formerly a penal station, to ascertain its fitness for a similar purpose, and some of the perils of his early life were renewed. His absence for several weeks awakened great anxiety, and his return was greeted with a general welcome.

The appointment of Franklin was made at the instance of William IV., by whom he was greatly esteemed. It was the expectation of Sir John to find an easy retreat like some of the military governments, where veterans enjoy the dignity of office without its toils. But he found himself doomed to encounter all the responsibilities of ordinary legislation and government, with difficulties peculiar to a penal colony. For this his former pursuits had not prepared him. His manner was often embarrassed and hesitating, and presented a contrast to the quiet vigour of his more able but not more amiable predecessor. The colony had attained that development when the public institutions require reconstruction, and the popular will must in some measure regulate their form and spirit. The administration of the governor was eminently disinterested. He had no private speculations or secret agents, and his measures were free from both the taint and the reproach of corruption. Such faults were sometimes imputed, but they were the staple slanders of writers without credit or name. His expenditure greatly exceeded his official income, and while the plainness of his establishments and entertainments was the topic of thoughtless censure, the charities of his family were scattered with a liberal hand. The piety of Franklin was ardent, and his conscience scrupulous. His remarks in Council on the sports of some idle boys in the Government Domain on the Lord's Day exposed him to the satire of scorners. He thought that youths who violate the sanctity of the Sabbath take the first ordinary steps in a dissolute and dishonest life. An anecdote on the authority of Captain Back shows his harmless character in a striking light. The writer observes: "As an illustration of the excellent individual to whom it refers, I may be pardoned for introducing it here. It was the custom of Sir John Franklin never to kill a fly, and though teased with them beyond expression, especially when taking observations, he would gently desist from his work and patiently blow the half-gorged intruders from his hands, saying, 'The world is wide enough for both.' Manfelly (an Indian chief) could not refrain from expressing his surprise that I should be so unlike the 'old chief,' who would not destroy a single mosquito."

The name of Franklin is indissolubly connected with the great problem of modern geography—the connection of the Polar seas with the North Pacific Ocean. In 1818 he was first employed in this service, but returned without success. In 1820 he conducted an overland expedition to the Coppermine River. This party suffered every kind of hardship from the loss of boats and the mutiny of their attendants; several perished, having eaten their old shoes and scraps of leather; yet Franklin recorded in his journal the following grateful expressions: "We looked to the Great Author and Giver of all good for the continuance of the support hitherto supplied in our greatest need."

They completed a journey of 5550 miles. The narrative of this expedition excited at the time much admiration, as a rare example of intrepidity, perseverance, and elevated piety. In 1824 Franklin was entrusted with the charge of another expedition. They were attacked by the Indians, and the party was saved from destruction by the coolness and judgment of the leaders; they encountered storms, fogs, and cold, which prevented their reaching their destination. These efforts considerably enlarged our scientific knowledge of the icy regions. On his return to England in 1843, it was resolved to confide to Sir John Franklin a new effort to discover the North-West Passage. Accompanied by Captain Crozier, he sailed in May 1845. The vessels—the “Erebus” and “Terror”—were furnished with provisions and artificial fuel for four years. They were last seen by whalers in Lancaster’s Sound. In 1847 the long absence of Franklin and the 136 persons under his command awakened considerable alarm. English expeditions, both by land and water, a reward of £20,000 offered by Parliament, and the earnest co-operation of foreign powers, have done all that money, or daring, or affection could accomplish to solve the mystery of their fate, which was never fully cleared up.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNOR WILMOT.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT—A SHORT AND TROUBLED RULE—A HEAVY TASK—HIS PREVIOUS CAREER—FIRST IMPRESSIONS—COLLISION BETWEEN EXECUTIVE AND THE JUDGES—KAVANAGH THE BUSHRANGER—AGRICULTURE ENCOURAGED—BUSHRANGING AGAIN—A YEOMANRY CORPS—LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—INCREASED SALARY—MAJOR COTTON'S PLANS FOR IRRIGATION—DEFICIENT WAYS AND MEANS—NEW LICENSE FEES—POPULAR DISCONTENT—WILMOT RECALLED—HIS UNHAPPY ADMINISTRATION—HIS DEATH—CLERICAL SQUABBLES—WILMOT'S FAMILY—MR LA TROBE.

SIR JOHN EARDLEY EARDLEY WILMOT, Bart., succeeded Sir John Franklin, 21st August 1843. His short and troubled administration, although crowded with incidents, presents few events of permanent interest. Charged with the development of a gigantic scheme of penal discipline founded on erroneous data, and imperfectly sustained by material resources, he was involved in the discredit of its failure. The opposition of the colony to his measures he too readily resented as disrespectful to himself, and thus a long and useful public life was closed in sadness. Sir Eardley Wilmot received his appointment from Lord Stanley, whose political leadership he followed in his secession from the Whigs, occasioned by the reduction of the Irish Church. During successive Parliaments he represented Warwickshire, and for twenty years was chairman of the quarter sessions of that county, in England a post of some consequence. He inclined rather to the Liberal than the Tory section of the House, and supported most measures favourable to civil and religious freedom. On the question of negro slavery he was a coadjutor of the decided abolitionists, and on his motion apprenticeship, a milder form of slavery, was finally terminated. He contributed papers on prison discipline, and initiated a bill for the summary trial of juvenile offenders. Thus he appeared not unqualified to preside in a colony where penal institutions constituted the main business of government, and where many religious opinions divide the population. Wilmot landed at a distance from Hobart Town, and delayed his entrance on office to afford time for a removal of Franklin's household. When he was sworn in, the town was illuminated, and the usual excitement of novelty wore the appearance of public welcome.

The open and affable address of the governor attracted the people. He rapidly traversed the island. The agricultural knowledge he possessed, his promptitude in forming and expressing opinions, contrasted with the habits and manners of

his predecessor. Those who were experienced in official life foresaw the dangers of a temper so free and of movements so informal. The opponents of the late governor recommended the neglect of all the distinctions which had limited intercourse, and some persons never before seen at Government House were admitted to the closet and boasted their intimacy and influence.

Scarcely had Wilmot entered office when an exercise of mercy brought him into collision with one of the judges. Kavanagh, a notorious bushranger, was condemned to death. He had fired on a settler, whose house he attempted to pillage. In giving sentence, the judge remarked that he had seldom tried a culprit stained with so great an aggregate of crime. Ten minutes before the time appointed for his execution, the governor granted a reprieve. Judge Montagu was indignant, and those who had suffered by the depredations of the robber shared in his opinion. The press, in commenting on the commutation, predicted that the culprit would not long escape the scaffold. He was implicated in the murders of Norfolk Island and suffered death (1846). Judge Montagu, shortly after the reprieve, tried four men for a similar crime, and instead of pronouncing sentence, directed death to be recorded. He stated that the sparing of Kavanagh could only be justified by the almost total abolition of capital punishment. At a meeting of the Midland Agricultural Association, Wilmot noticed these reflections, and declared that he would never inflict death in consideration of offences not on the records of the Court, and that in this case robbery only had been proved. He thus early complained of anonymous attacks, and admitted that in offering these explanations he was outstepping the line of his situation. Topics of a far more agreeable nature were suggested by the special business of the day. He dwelt with great fluency on the advantages of agriculture, and dilated on the importance of independent tenants and an industrious peasantry. "You," he observed, "are to consider yourselves as the column of a lofty pillar, but depend upon it a tenantry form the pedestal, a virtuous, moral, and industrious peasantry the foundation on which that pillar rests. I see around me some of your largest proprietors, who this day are lords of wastes and princes of deserts; but who, if the system of tenantry be carried out as fully as it deserves, will become patriarchs, and the future Russells, Cavendishes, and Percys of the colony may be proud to date their ancestry from any one of you." This strain of compliment was returned by Mr Kemp, the oldest of the settlers—so many years before distinguished in the deposition of Governor Bligh. He congratulated the meeting on the appointment of his Excellency, whose presence he compared to the vivifying rays of the sun after a long cheerless winter encouraging the ploughman to resume his labours with fresh spirit.

The prevalence of bushranging, though far less than at an earlier period, induced the midlanders to project a yeomanry corps. They were to provide weapons meet for exercise, and always stand prepared to answer a summons. They proceeded to the choice of a treasurer and secretary, Messrs Keach and Leake, jun. They were, however, informed that the levying of armed men is the prerogative of the Queen. On reference to the governor he declined to sanction their incorporation, while he praised their martial spirit. Bushrangers rarely

move in numbers, and a military is not the kind of power best adapted to suppress them.

On meeting his Council for the first time (October 21, 1843), Wilmot expressed his admiration of the colony, its soil, its climate, and immense resources. He promised to consider the pecuniary difficulties of the settlers with a view to their alleviation. Referring to the appointment of a comptroller-general, the chief officer of the convict department, he declared his cordial concurrence with the new discipline as a reformatory system, and noticing the recent arrival of a bishop, he avowed his preference for the Episcopal Church, and in still stronger terms his attachment to religious liberty and equality. The salary of the governor was augmented to £4000 per annum; the former uncertain but expensive allowances were withdrawn. Franklin had enjoyed £2000 per annum as salary, and the government houses of Hobart Town, New Norfolk, and Launceston, a farm at New Town, and a large garden in the Domain. The salary of the new governor was given in full discharge of all demands. The beautiful garden he determined to throw open to the public. To benefit the rural interest the governor proposed a grand scheme of irrigation. An eminent engineer, Major Cotton, was employed to report on the subject, and suggested the detention of the waters of the vast lakes which overflow from the heights of the western mountains. A rate to be imposed on the various estates was to discharge the cost. Thus in those seasons of drought which sometimes occur, the lowlands would be made increasingly fertile. The immediate object—the employment of probation labour at the colonial cost—detracted something from the charms of the project. Nor did it seem just that the settlers should risk the ultimate cost of an undertaking they could not limit. Sir E. Wilmot earnestly recommended the scheme to the Home Government, but Lord Stanley hesitated until the evils of the probation system enforced a change and lessened the labour at the disposal of the Crown. Had the men been employed on a work so popular, they would have been withdrawn from the colonial eye, and the interest of their new labours might have extinguished the prevailing discontent. But while the governor waited for instructions the men were idle or employed in useless attempts at cultivation on barren land, of which the produce rarely defrayed the cost of the implements destroyed.

A committee of the Council had been appointed to ascertain how the expenditure could be reduced and the revenue augmented. They enumerated various forms in which further taxation might be practicable. These were proposed by the governor. Auctioneers, pawnbrokers, publicans, butchers, eating-house keepers, stage-coach and steamboat proprietors, cabmen and watermen, were to be subject to new or increased license fees.

This project aroused the people to an unusual degree. On the day of public meeting a procession of cabs and waggons, decorated with flags, bearing the inscription, "No taxation without representation," presented a novelty in colonial agitation. Mr Kemp, the veteran politician, presided. The opposition prevailed, and the governor resolved to withdraw the obnoxious measure. It would be difficult to discern a line beyond which taxation might not pass if every trade

and profession can be subject to arbitrary imposts levied by a legislature at the mere dictation of the Crown.

In closing the session (September 1845) Sir E. Wilmot announced his recall. Although not usual then to address the Council, he stated that he could not permit the members to disperse without acknowledging their assistance. A delusion for a time might expose a public man to popular injustice; but however misjudged, either during his lifetime or after death, his character would require no other vindication than truth would afford. He informed them that his recall was not occasioned by his differences with the late members, but was ascribed to an imputed neglect of the moral and religious welfare of the prisoners; and he added that the memory of their kindness would remain with him during the short remainder of his life.

No governor ever was more unfortunate in his political position. He could only tax and restrain. There was nothing in his gift. To the substantial difficulties of the people around him he was unable to offer more than those general assurances which often exasperate rather than console. The state of religious parties increased his disquiet. He had to adjust the claims of churches to spiritual authority. In declining to erect ecclesiastical courts Wilmot not only gratified many, but he followed the direction of his legal advisers.

The usual order had been given, that the governor during his residence in the colony should enjoy the complimentary distinctions of office. It was commonly understood that his stay would be prolonged; but he died soon after his retirement (February 3, 1847), in the sixty-fourth year of his age. The treatment he had received from the Colonial Office, and his death, far from the honoured sepulchre of his fathers and the scenes of his early political fame, produced a general sentiment of regret. All the houses of business showed marks of mourning. A public funeral, attended by the administrator and the newly-arrived governor, was thronged by the citizens. It had been officially arranged that except the ministering priest, the clergy of all denominations should walk in their several classes, but in one body, and the archdeacon, the moderator, and the vicar-general, as representatives of the three endowed churches, abreast. The Anglican clergy evaded this plan by stepping up before the coffin. When, however, the bearers were in motion, the Catholic priests, by a rapid evolution, shot ahead of the procession. An ornamented Gothic tomb was erected in St David's burial-ground to the memory of Sir Eardley Wilmot by subscription. It stands near the highway. His remains were interred close to the tomb of Collins.

Sir John Eardley Eardley Wilmot was descended from the ancient family of Eardley of Audely, Staffordshire. He was grandson of Wilmot, Lord Chief-Justice of the Court of Common Pleas—a judge celebrated for justice and piety. Sir E. Wilmot was twice married—first to Elizabeth, daughter of Dr Parry of Bath; and afterwards to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir R. Chester of Bush Hall, Staffordshire.

Charles Joseph La Trobe, Esq., superintendent of the Port Phillip district, and subsequently first governor of that territory now called Victoria, superseded Sir E. Wilmot (October 13, 1846). During his short stay as administrator he

was employed in a careful scrutiny of the Probation Department. In performing this difficult duty he displayed exemplary activity and decision. He resolved to remove every officer chargeable with incapacity or neglect, and thus many were dismissed. This promptitude exposed him to imputations of harshness; but although it is probable he did not wholly escape errors of judgment, the chief acts of his administration were amply vindicated by the facts he saw. The opinions he expressed sustained the colonial impressions respecting the convict system. While he suggested many improvements in its details, he concurred with the general wish for its extinction. Mr La Trobe never met the Legislative Council; and his government being limited to the established routine, left nothing to record.

CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNOR DENISON.

SIR W. DENISON—PREVIOUS SERVICES—A COOL RECEPTION—AN ELECTIVE LEGISLATURE—AGAINST DEMOCRACY—POLITICAL FREEDOM—POPULAR REJOICINGS—GOVERNOR SUPPORTS TRANSPORTATION—POPULAR OPPOSITION TO HIS VIEWS—ARGUMENTS ON BOTH SIDES—RESOLVES FOR FREEDOM—A SERVILE DESPOT.

SIR WILLIAM THOMAS DENISON, Knight, captain of the Royal Engineers, presented his commission on the 26th January 1847. He had been employed in the dockyards and in the survey of important public works. His eminent abilities in a department connected with the employment of prisoners, not less than his respectable connections, led to his nomination. His professional habits had not qualified him equally for civil affairs; but the chief object proposed by the minister, Mr Gladstone, was the better disposal of prison labour and the more effectual control of the convicts. Sir William entered on his office with less acclamation than usual. The changes had been too rapid and unfortunate to encourage much enthusiasm.

Sir William Denison was instructed to report on the subject of an elective legislature for Van Diemen's Land. He furnished Lord Grey with various opinions and suggestions. He had recommended a frame-work the counterpart of the New South Wales Assembly, only, however, that he deemed it undesirable for colonies so contiguous to differ in their institutions. The experience of the Tasmanian Council had, he asserted, assisted him in forming an opinion on the character of the people. "When we see," said Sir William, "the low estimate which is placed upon everything which can distinguish a man from his fellows, with the sole exception of wealth; when we see that even wealth does not lead to distinction or open the road to any other ambition save that of excelling in habits of self-indulgence—it can be hardly a subject of surprise that so few rise above the general level, or that those few owe more to the possession of a certain oratorical facility than to their powers of mind or the justness of the opinions they advocate. There is an essentially democratic spirit which actuates a large mass of the community; and it is with a view to check the development of this spirit that I would suggest the formation of an Upper Chamber." Sir William Denison suggested that bishops might be members of an Upper House, and certain *ex-officio* representatives of Government; the rest, whether nominated by the Crown or elected by the people, to hold their seats for life.

When the new bill arrived in the colonies, the joy of Port Phillip was

unbounded. Several days were devoted to processions and feasting. Numberless devices were exhibited displaying the political bias of the people. Many thousand pounds were spent in the festivities. A similar though less magnificent display was made in Van Diemen's Land. All ranks were inclined to forget their differences, and public dinners, at which many hundreds were guests, celebrated the constitutional victory.

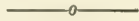
Sir William Denison, although opposed to one form of transportation, maintained its substance with a pertinacity which never wavered. He stood almost alone. He adopted the opinion that the supply of labour to the colonies of this hemisphere was within the special province of his government. The tendency of high wages to demoralise the workman and retard the prosperity of employers are prominent topics in all his discourses and writings. Thus the masses of the people inferred that his schemes were hostile to their welfare, and that the depression of the working classes was a primary object of his policy. The opulent settlers had abandoned these considerations under the influence of higher aims. They were resolved to trust to the experience of other colonies where—with a demand for labour—a rapid enlargement of capital and diminished crime seemed to prove that the moral and material interests of the wealthy and industrial classes were not incompatible. The social recovery of the colony could only be effected by the influx of families, and a comfortable subsistence was indispensable to attract them. The arguments of the governor, addressed to momentary interests, were overpowered by a desire to stand on a level with free people. The disputants on both sides were in possession of facts favourable to their respective opinions. Whatever evils were proved against transportation, the labour it afforded had been long employed. Habit had reconciled the minds of many to its inferiority; and the means of supplying its place were confessedly contingent and remote. A new society having no disabilities to remove, no moral stain to obliterate, and formed of elements in natural proportion, could not hesitate a moment. Economical experience would dictate the rejection of slaves. But to clear away the refuse of a long-existing social state and to build a new was a formidable undertaking, however certain of reward. Many landholders and masters foresaw the trials attending the transition, but were willing to encounter them to attain an object beyond all price. The opposition of Sir William Denison to the colonial will on this subject, his injustice to the judges, and his sarcastic delineations of colonial character, narrowed the circle of his friends. In future times an opinion more favourable to his reputation may be expected to prevail. It will then be remembered that he promoted the advancement of science, fostered liberal education, increased the facilities of commerce, abated the practical evils of the convict department, advocated the principles of legislative freedom, and by a respectable private character sustained the moral dignity of government. But even then it will not be forgotten that, in perpetuating the convict curse, he adopted any argument however false, and tolerated any ally however abject. At the conclusion of his term in Van Diemen's Land, Sir William Denison was transferred to the governorship of New South Wales.

Rejoins this —

by 16.4 x 10¹⁰ m³ per year. The total volume of water in the world is 1.35 x 10²¹ m³.

BOOK XII.

HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND.



CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS.

FIRST DISCOVERIES — FIRST PROPOSALS OF SETTLEMENT — WHALERS — GEORGE BRUCE — THE NATIVE RUATARA — ADVANCING CIVILISATION — MASSACRE OF THE CREW OF THE “BOYD” — A SIGNAL REVENGE — TE PAHI’S FATE — OUTRAGES ON THE NATIVES — HONGI HIKA’S STORY — DEMAND FOR FIRE-ARMS — PIONEERS OF CIVILISATION — BAY OF ISLANDS — NATIVE WARS — GOOD FROM EVIL — PRESERVED HEADS.

THE discoveries of Cook and Crozet made New Zealand known all over Europe; and men of the highest and lowest intellects read their narratives with intense interest. The existence of an undoubted race of cannibals furnished seasoned food for vulgar minds, while the intelligence of the New Zealanders, their anxiety for iron nails and fish-hooks, and their contempt for beads and baubles, attracted the attention of the learned and philanthropic. Dr Franklin, then in the zenith of his fame, proposed that a ship should be filled with various useful articles, and sent to trade with them—a proposition indicative of the accurate judgment the philosopher had formed of the character of the people. New Zealand was at this time likewise proposed in the House of Commons as an eligible field for convicts; but the cannibal propensities of the aborigines overpowered every argument in favour of the scheme. The islands were, however, included in the royal commission of 1787, as a part of the British dominions, in virtue of the sovereignty established by Cook.

The islands were occasionally visited by whaling ships, and in 1793 a vessel was sent to cruise about the New Zealand coast with the avowed purpose of kidnapping one of the aborigines. When it arrived off the Bay of Islands, two men were enticed on board, and the captain immediately trimmed the ship’s sails away for Norfolk Island. Unluckily one of the captives was a chief and the other a priest, and neither would admit they knew anything about dressing flax—an occupation which they contemptuously termed woman’s work. After a six

months' detention at Norfolk Island, these men were conveyed to their native land by the governor, Captain King, where they were received with joy and astonishment. A few European sailors, fascinated by the dark restless-eyed women, and a love of freedom, left their ships and took up their abode among the natives. One of the first of this afterwards important class of settlers was George Bruce. This sailor lad had bestowed kind attention on a sick chief named Te Pahi during his trip from Sydney to the Bay of Islands, in the year 1804, and was begged by him to stop in the country. Fascinated with the offer of Te Pahi's youngest daughter, and a large piece of land, Bruce left his ship and settled at the Bay of Islands. To gain his wife's affections, Bruce submitted to be tattooed; his gentle manners and usefulness as an interpreter between the whalers and the natives, caused the tribe to respect and value him. One unfortunate day the "General Wellesley," an English vessel, arrived off the coast, and Captain Dalrymple begged Bruce and his wife to come on board to assist him in searching for gold near the North Cape. Distrusting Dalrymple's simple word, Bruce extracted a solemn promise that both would be safely landed at the place where they had embarked. Disappointed at not finding gold, Captain Dalrymple broke his promise and carried Bruce and his wife away from New Zealand. At Malacca Dalrymple left Bruce on shore, carrying off his wife to Penang, where he sold her to the master of another ship. Here Bruce, who followed in pursuit, found her, and with the governor's aid got her back, and a passage for both to Calcutta, in the hope of meeting there with a vessel bound for Sydney. But neither Bruce nor his wife ever returned to the Bay of Islands.

A native named Ruatara was the most intelligent traveller of this era. In 1805, when a mere lad, he shipped on board a whaler, and after many adventures reached London in 1809. He returned to Australia with the Rev. Mr Marsden, and resided a year with that gentleman learning agriculture. From Sydney he proceeded to New Zealand, which he reached after a long detention at Norfolk Island. In 1814 Ruatara again visited Sydney, accompanied by Hongi, returned with Mr Marsden and the missionaries to New Zealand, and died suddenly a few days afterwards. Ruatara was the first native who cultivated wheat, and was very instrumental in introducing Christianity and letters among his countrymen. Travelled New Zealanders spread and magnified England's power and greatness among their countrymen, and the people soon became aware of the advantage of keeping on friendly terms with Englishmen.

Meanwhile the people at large were advancing in civilisation, and in 1808 they were living more peaceably than they were in 1780. Trade and the industry commerce brings in her train were now producing a visible effect among them. Several Europeans had taken up their abode in the Middle Island, and whale ships annually resorted to the North Island for the purpose of changing blankets, axes, fish-hooks, and other articles, for pigs, potatoes, spars, and flax. Neither tobacco smoking nor much anxiety to possess fire-arms had yet arisen among them.

This growing confidence between Europeans and New Zealanders was interrupted by the massacre of the crew and passengers of the ship "Boyd," in

the year 1809. This vessel started from Sydney for England, with the intention of touching at Wangaroa for spars. She carried seventy Europeans and five New Zealanders, who were shipped to work their passages to their own country. Tarra, or George, one of the New Zealanders, was the son of a Wangaroa chief. During the voyage George refused to work, because he was sick, for which conduct the captain stopped his food, and twice flogged him at the gangway with much severity. When the vessel arrived at Wangaroa, George exhibited his scarified back to his father's tribe, and they unanimously resolved to revenge the starvation and stripes their chief's son had suffered. This was accomplished by treachery. The captain and a considerable number of the crew were allured on shore, murdered, and eaten; and all left on board, save one woman, two children, and a cabin boy, shared a similar fate. The lad was saved by George, in gratitude for a trifling kindness, and the woman and children preserved themselves by concealment. These Europeans were rescued from the natives by Te Pahi and Mr Berrey, the supercargo of a ship then at the Bay of Islands. They resolved on taking revenge, which was managed thus: Five whaling ships met in the outer harbour at the Bay of Islands soon after the massacre. Here their crews, maddened by reading an account of it, and confident in their numbers, were falsely told that Te Pahi was the sole instigator of the bloody transaction. This chief had a village on an island in the bay, very accessible and without any stockade, where he and his people were then living in the security of peaceful innocence. Secretly the whalers fell upon Te Pahi's village, killed young and old, sick and healthy, males and females, to the number of thirty, and then burned whatever stood or grew on the soil. Te Pahi escaped severely wounded, and was slain soon afterwards in a conflict with the Wangaroa tribes which originated in his having attempted to save some of the crew of the "Boyd." Misfortune was Te Pahi's lot from the day he became acquainted with the English. His youngest daughter was stolen away from him by Europeans; his favourite son died from a disease contracted in England; his generous attempt to save life connected his name with an affair which brought extinction upon his tribe, partly from his own race and partly from the English, the heaviest blow coming from the European side, a quarter from which he least expected or deserved such a reward.

The evil effects of the massacre of the crew and passengers of the "Boyd" did not terminate with the murder of Te Pahi's people. It prevented for five years the introduction of Christianity into the country, caused the natives to be denominated the enemies of mankind, and justified in the minds of certain men the cruelties and murders committed by the masters of trading vessels. Several of these actions are so atrocious as, for human nature's sake, to excite a hope they are untrue, or exaggerated. It is related that a European gave a chief corrosive sublimate to poison his foes at a feast held to commemorate peace; that a European trader enticed New Zealanders on board his ship, and landed them in the midst of their enemies; and that whalers often forcibly kidnapped natives of both sexes. In 1814 the Government of New South Wales tried to suppress these outrages, by appointing Mr Thomas Kendall, and the

chiefs Ruatara, Hongi, and Koro Koro, magistrates for the Bay of Islands territory.

About the year 1777 was born, near the Bay of Islands, Hongi Hika, a scion of the illustrious Ngapuhi nation. In early manhood he distinguished himself in battle; and although influential from his birth, he soon became more so by his deeds. After rendering his name famous in his country's annals, he accompanied Ruatara to Sydney in 1814, lived in the Rev. Mr Marsden's house, and returned to New Zealand the patron and protector of Christianity and letters. These offices, however, did not restrain him from plunging into war and ravaging the Bay of Plenty, Rotorua, Wangaroa, and Hokianga; when, having subdued every foe he could safely reach, he grew restless from idleness, and announced his intention of visiting England "to see King George and bring back missionaries, carpenters, blacksmiths, Europeans, and twenty soldiers." In 1820 Hongi and Waikato embarked for England, accompanied by Mr Kendall, a missionary; and on arriving at London were of great assistance to Professor Lee of Cambridge in the construction of a vocabulary and grammar of the New Zealand language. George IV. gave Hongi an audience, and dismissed him with a suit of armour and many presents. After a month's residence in England he returned to Sydney. There a New Zealander informed him that during his absence his son-in-law had fallen in battle on the banks of the river Thames. From the grief this news produced he soon recovered, and immediately commenced collecting guns and powder. All the valuable presents brought from England, excepting the coat of mail, were sold to purchase three hundred muskets; and with this supply he returned home to revenge his son-in-law's blood. Early in 1822 Hongi embarked in his war canoes at the Bay of Islands, with a thousand followers, steered up the Houraki Gulf, and entered the river Thames. Totara, a fortification standing on its left bank, was taken by stratagem, five hundred of its defenders slain, and three hundred eaten. The enemy then sought safety in Matakītaki, a stronghold on the Waipa River. Thither Hongi pursued them, and slew fourteen hundred out of a garrison of four thousand. Rauparaha, who lived at Kawhia, terrified at his deeds, fled southwards. One portion of the army, under Thomas Walker Nene, advanced on Taranaki, and Hongi returned home from the greatest of his campaigns with crowds of slaves. A missionary witnessed the conqueror's disembarkation at the Bay of Islands. The women, who remained at home, rushed out to meet the warriors, and those who had relatives slain during the expedition gave vent to their passions by murdering unarmed and unresisting slaves. During this campaign the enemy were without fire-arms, while Hongi's warriors mustered upwards of three hundred stand of arms. In 1826 he fought a pitched battle at Kaipara, where his favourite son was slain; and, in revenge, he scooped out and swallowed the eyes of several of the prostrate wounded on the battle-field. At this engagement he wore the suit of armour King George had given him, as a protection from the guns the enemy had now obtained. His last and fatal expedition was made in 1827 against his old foes at Wangaroa. During an early part of the conflict a bullet passed close to his ear, and whispered death was at

hand ; subsequently one penetrated his lungs, for he wore upon this occasion his helmet but not his breastplate, and the wound never healed, although he recovered so far as occasionally to entertain his friends by making the air whistle through the hole in his back. Fifteen months after receiving this wound he died from its effects, aged fifty-five years. On his death-bed, which was decked out with instruments of war, he exhorted his followers to be courageous, to protect the missionaries, and not allow these holy men to leave the country ; "For," said he, "they have done good and have done no harm." Hongi left a son who lives without a name, and will probably die without posterity.

The demand for fire-arms now sprung up amongst the natives, and this, together with the high commercial value of flax, caused several vessels to be fitted out at Sydney for the New Zealand trade. The governor of that colony dreading bloodshed tried to prevent all traffic : finding this impossible, he endeavoured to keep the trade in the hands of Government, by chartering several vessels in the year 1824 ; but as it was soon found that free trade could not be prevented, the attempt ceased. The result was that in 1830, vessels amounting to 5888 tons cleared out of Sydney for New Zealand ; and twenty-six vessels, having an average burthen of one hundred tons, arrived there from the latter country laden with flax.

As commerce increased, numbers of Europeans took up their abode among the New Zealanders, acquired their language, and managed the trade between the two races. These men were the pioneers of civilisation, and must not be confounded with the lawless band of Europeans congregated at Kororareka, in the Bay of Islands. There is, however, no good without an alloy of evil. That very commerce which led to peace between the New Zealanders and their foreign foes rendered war for some time more frequent among themselves ; and at no former period in the country's annals were conflicts so general as they were during the twenty years preceding the establishment of British rule. The example of Hongi, the novelty of fire-arms, the ambition of Rauparaha and Te Whero Whero, produced these results. In 1824, Rauparaha, having purchased a large stock of powder and muskets from the Cook's Strait whalers, commenced his depopulating wars among the natives residing on the east and west coasts of the North and Middle Islands. No security was felt within a hundred miles of his headquarters. Portions of the Ngatiawa nation fled from New Zealand, to get away from him, in the English brig "Rodney," to the Chatham Islands in 1838, and Europeans with half-caste families left the country to avoid his extortionate demands.

Twenty thousand lives were sacrificed directly and indirectly during those twenty years of strife in New Zealand. By the principle of retaliation upon which the natives acted, the rude idea of natural justice, the breach between the combatants was daily widened ; new deaths involved distant connections, tribe after tribe became partners in the conflict, truces without alliances occurred, and peace, or rather an intermission of murders, was only produced by exhaustion. It may appear a paradox, but it is nevertheless true, that the cause which generated this universal strife ultimately produced harmony. The darkest hour

often precedes the dawn. Fire-arms, in the first instance, led to war ; but after the whole population had obtained them battles became less frequent and less fatal. Men's passions are less excited in distant than in close conflict. Formerly warriors were maddened by the deadly struggle of man with man, now actions are commenced and maintained at a distance ; and while men skilful in fence in ancient fights frequently saved their lives by dexterity, it has now become a proverb among the people that "the blow from a bullet, like a curse, strikes unseen and cannot be warded off."

The people of the Bay of Islands were defeated with considerable loss at Tauranga in the year 1830, and the conquerors dried the heads of the slain and sold them to the master of a schooner called the "Prince of Denmark," bound for Sydney, but intending to touch at the Bay of Islands. On the arrival of the vessel at the latter place, a number of natives came on board to trade. The master of the ship, in a state of tipsy jollity, brought up a sack containing twelve heads, and rolled them out on the deck. Some of the New Zealanders on board recognised their fathers' heads, others those of their brothers and friends. Appalling weeping and lamentations rent the air, and the natives fled precipitately from the ship. The master, seeing his dangerous position, put to sea before the news of his cargo spread on shore. Fortunately the scene now described was reported to Governor Darling of New South Wales, who issued a proclamation against this degrading trade, and called upon all who had brought heads from the "Prince of Denmark," to deliver them up, for the purpose of having them restored to the relatives of the deceased parties "to whom those heads belonged." The governor, after earnestly pointing out the dreadful consequences produced by this inhuman traffic, imposed a fine of forty pounds, with the publication of the names of persons detected in such a disgraceful occupation.

CHAPTER II.

PERIOD OF CIVILISATION.

FIRST ROOTS OF CIVILISATION—WHALERS AND SEALERS—THE PAKEHA MAORIS—THE MISSIONARIES AND THE SHIP “DUFF”—REV. SAMUEL MARSDEN—CHRISTIANISING THE NATIVES—MISSIONARIES—BIBLE TRANSLATED—MISSIONARIES LAND-JOBING.

CIVILISATION was planted in New Zealand by the crews of the early ships, and by the sealers, whalers, and Pakeha Maoris. These men sprung from various classes; many were sailors who preferred ruling savages to serving white men; several were runaway convicts, whose fear of the gallows overpowered the horror of cannibalism; some were liberated convicts, who dreaded returning to exasperated kindred, and others were men of obscure origin with the education and manners of gentlemen. A few were Frenchmen, but the majority were Englishmen and Americans.

The sealers formed the next arrival. These men commenced their intercourse with the natives in the southern parts of the Middle Island about the beginning of the century, being landed from whale ships for the purpose of killing the seals then very numerous all round the coast. Disputes at first arose between the sealers and the natives relative to property and women, and in such conflicts the sealers adopted the New Zealand war custom of slaying the first native they encountered; but both races soon became sensible of the benefits of peace, and the savages to promote this great object gave the strangers wives and Cod-fish Island as a residence. Here they built houses and cultivated the soil; and when their numbers increased, they spread themselves round the coasts. Between 1816 and 1826 a hundred sealers were permanently settled in New Zealand, and in 1814 a vessel 150 tons burthen was built by them at Dusky Bay. These whalers were living in the country years before the missionary ever visited the districts, and they purchased from the natives the exclusive right of fishing along a certain line of coast. Sydney merchants generally made the first outlay in forming stations, and whalers received a certain percentage of the profits. At twelve stations south of Banks' Peninsula, during the thirteen years preceding 1843, seventy whales were killed on an average annually, and thirty-nine whale ships were counted in Cloudy Bay at one time. Three hundred whalers were settled in New Zealand in 1840, and such men must not be confounded with whaling sailors landed from ships to enjoy riotous living for a few days after long voyages. Killing whales being an exciting and dangerous occupation,

whalers were held in high estimation by the natives, who gloried in accompanying them in their daily avocations.

Sprung from the same class of men as the whalers were the Pakeha Maoris, a term which being interpreted signifies "strangers turned into natives." They were the next pioneers of civilisation, and their influence was exerted on the natives living in the North Island. The Pakeha Maori must not be confounded with the idlers and beach-combers who loitered about Kororareka, nor with the sawyers hewing down the giant kauri trees in the Hokianga forests, as few of these men spoke Maori or had intercourse with natives in the interior. Pakeha Maoris lived among the New Zealanders years before the advent of the missionaries, and they were spread over the country when the missionaries were congregated at the Bay of Islands. In 1804 a European lived in the neighbourhood of Kororareka, of whom the natives spoke well; and not long after George Bruce. In 1812 an American sailor and four other white men lived among the natives, and were well treated. These men were known all over the country, and their physical conformation and customs afforded endless matter for conversation. From the coasting traders Europeans proceeded into the interior to procure flax, and as they frequently lived in the country for several weeks until the cargo was ready, they provided themselves with wives. These dark-eyed women twined themselves round the rough hearts of these men, who, when the flax was ready, tore themselves away to sea with regret; some, not having sufficient energy for this separation, remained in the country under an engagement with the traders to have cargoes of flax ready at certain periods. Europeans, who were treated as slaves in 1820, were considered chiefs in 1830, and every inducement was held out to white men to settle in the country; houses were built for them, land was given them, they were allowed to select wives from among the daughters of chiefs, and were not required to hew wood or draw water. In return for these royal privileges, Pakeha Maoris were required to barter pigs, potatoes, and flax, for guns, blankets, tobacco, and other articles. But the influx of European traders, travelling about the country, proved a death-blow to the royal privileges of the Pakeha Maoris. Many of them, in consequence, left their native habitations, and took up their abode in the English settlements. Women with half-caste children accompanied their lords; childless women returned to their own race; as most of the Pakeha Maoris after this revolution were more destitute than the aborigines. One unemployed tattooed Pakeha Maori visited England, and acted the part of a New Zealand savage in several provincial theatres. Here he married an Englishwoman, who accompanied him to New Zealand, but she eloped with a Yankee sailor, because the tattooed actor's old Maori wife met him, and obtained an influence over him the white woman could not combat.

The year 1796 will be ever memorable in the annals of our faith, as that in which the "Duff" sailed out of the river Thames with thirty missionaries, for the purpose of converting the people of Tahiti, the Marquesas, and the Tonga or Friendly Islands, to Christianity. These places were chosen from among the numerous islands in the Pacific, as the first field for missionary operations, because the aborigines were reputed kind to strangers. No allusion was then

made to New Zealand. A proposal to send convicts there, guarded by soldiers, was about this period scouted as refined cruelty; and the idea of landing unarmed missionaries was never contemplated, until the Rev. Samuel Marsden, originally a Yorkshire blacksmith, senior chaplain of the colony of New South Wales, drew attention to the country. Mr Marsden was led to suggest the formation of a settlement in New Zealand for the civil and religious improvement of the people, by the noble appearance of several chiefs he accidentally saw in the streets of Sydney. This proposal was carefully considered by the Church Missionary Society, and in 1810 twenty-five persons left Great Britain for the conversion of the New Zealanders. Unfortunately, news reached Sydney before their arrival of the massacre of the crew and passengers of the ship "Boyd;" and the Governor of New South Wales was more inclined to send a ship of war to slaughter the natives than a body of missionaries to preach peace.

The idea of Christianising the New Zealanders was now considered hopeless by all, save Marsden. To his mind the day was only delayed, and he spared neither labour nor money to accomplish the favourite scheme of his life. Early in 1814, an event occurred which hastened it. Hongi, the Napoleon of New Zealand, accompanied his cousin Ruatara to Sydney, and both chiefs resided with the colonial chaplain. Mr Marsden soon discovered that Hongi was endowed with a reflective mind, and, although he knew him to be a notorious cannibal, he determined to make his influence useful. He saw that even Hongi's seared conscience had a tender spot, and acting on it by kindness, he obtained from the cannibal hero a declaration that he would protect all missionaries; in virtue of which promise Mr Marsden, accompanied by Messrs Kendall, Hall, and King, their wives, several mechanics, Hongi and Ruatara, and a few sheep and cattle, embarked for New Zealand in November 1814, in a brig navigated by convicts. On arriving at the Bay of Islands they were received by the natives as Hongi's friends, and for twelve axes they purchased two hundred acres of land at Rangihu, a place near that chief's residence, upon which to form a station. Here a white flag was hoisted, on which were painted a cross, a dove, an olive branch, and the word "Rongopai," or "good tidings;" and the missionaries commenced building houses, studying the language, educating children, and preaching.

When it became known in England that several of these good men had actually taken up their residence in New Zealand, more Christian pioneers were sent to this heathen out-post, and new settlements were established in the country. In 1819 a station was formed at the Kerikeri. In 1822 the Rev. Mr Leigh, from the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and two clergymen, established themselves at Wangaroa, on the east coast, among the tribe rendered infamous by the massacre of the "Boyd." In 1827 the Wesleyan missionaries fled from Wangaroa in terror of their lives, and, on the entreaty of Patuone, settled at Hokianga. In 1832 the Church mission station was moved from Rangihu to Te Puna. As all these settlements were in the northern part of the North Island, the people in England, who furnished the funds for the conversion of the heathen, suggested to the missionaries the propriety of spreading themselves

over the land; and, in accordance with this request, stations were formed in 1834 on the Thames and Waipa rivers; in 1835 at Tauranga in the Bay of Plenty, at Rotorua in the interior, and at Kawhia and Whaingaroa on the west coast. From this date the missionaries, like Saxon bishops and Protestants in the early days of the Reformation, made expeditions into the country, and preached the Gospel far away from their stations. In 1839 they penetrated to Cook's Strait and the Middle Island.

In the year 1836, Pope Gregory XVI. appointed J. B. F. Pompallier Roman Catholic Bishop of New Zealand, and the Lyons Association for the Propagation of the Faith furnished him with money. In 1838 he arrived, with several priests, and took up his abode in Kororareka; and since that period stations have been formed all over the islands, by the three missionary bodies.

The Wesleyan missionaries at Wangaroa lost all but their lives in 1827 at the hands of the natives; and in 1836 the Church missionaries were similarly treated at Tauranga and Rotorua. The anxiety and dangers these Christian pioneers then underwent are detailed in the missionary journals; but the wars which caused these misfortunes were not directed against them; they were merely sufferers from the calamities of the country, for the blood of no European connected with the missions has yet been spilt. As no people were ever converted but by preaching to them in their own tongue, one of the first duties of the missionaries was the settlement of the orthography of the language, and its reduction to the rules of grammar. This was a difficult task to men unused to literature, and advantage was therefore taken of the visit of Hongi and Waikato to England in 1820 to refer the work to a scholar. Both these chiefs were taken to Cambridge by Mr Kendall, where they remained two months, and had frequent intercourse with Professor Lee, who shortly afterwards published a grammar and vocabulary of the New Zealand language. The translation of the Bible was subsequently completed by Bishop Williams and the Rev. Robert Maunsell, portions having previously been translated by various missionaries.

No miraculous success attended the rise of Christianity in New Zealand. For fifteen years the missionaries were like men crying in the wilderness, and they frequently said they were casting their seed on a rock. Six years after their arrival they had not made a single convert. In 1825 the Rev. Henry Williams stated that the natives were "as insensible to the necessity of redemption as brutes," and in 1829 the Wesleyan mission contemplated withdrawing their establishment from want of success. When Christianity did take root it grew rapidly, and soon after 1830 the scattered seed began to sprout. Churches were filled after this date by attentive audiences, who listened with respect to that grotesque phraseology which men always use who think in one language and speak in another. The feeling of the missionaries was changed from despondency to exultation upon witnessing this happy change in the people. Before 1838 two-thirds of the natives had never seen a missionary's face, although all had heard of them. Natives living around the base of Tongariro, at Poverty Bay, and on the banks of the Mokau and Wanganni rivers, all knew that a small body of unarmed men had taken up their abode in Hongi's territory. New

Zealanders, who went to and from the north, brought with them occasionally religious books, and always news of the sayings and doings of the missionaries. Masters of whalers reported that the aborigines far away from the mission stations prayed night and morning in nasal psalmody, and chanted Christian psalms to heathen tunes. It passed from hamlet to hamlet that the missionaries were a different class from the whalers and the *Pakeha* Maoris, that they kept schools, and instructed persons to write on paper words which others seeing comprehended, gave books for nothing, performed a ceremony called baptism, opposed war, promoted peace, cultivated new sorts of food, preached against cannibalism, and of a God who did good and not evil. Rauparaha's son and Rangihaeata's nephew, hearing in Cook's Strait of the reformation now at work, passed through hostile tribes to the Bay of Islands in 1839, and prevailed on the Rev. Mr Hadfield to return with them to Otaki to teach God's Word to their kindred and clan; and after some time Rauparaha's son visited the Middle Island, preaching the Gospel of peace to men who had suffered from his father's wars.

The civilising influence and blessings which Christianity has conferred on New Zealand cannot be weighed in the scales of the market. Like musk in a room, it has communicated a portion of its fragrance to everything in the country. It has broken the theocratic principle of the *tapu* and other superstitions; it has put an end to cannibalism, and has assisted in eradicating slavery; it has proved a bond of union between the races, the native Christian and the settler feeling themselves members of one federation; it has led the way to intellectual development, industry, peace, contentment, regard for the rights of every class, and progressive civilisation.

Seven times did the planter of Christianity in New Zealand revisit the country, to see how the tree grew; and in 1820 he landed at Coromandel, and travelled overland to the Bay of Islands. His name and personal appearance long survived among the natives in the north. His last visit was made to the country in 1837, and he died in 1838, aged seventy-two years, after having been forty-four years chaplain of the colony of New South Wales. Marsden has left a name which all admire, but few can hope to rival; and was rewarded by one of the greatest felicities which God vouchsafes to man on earth—the realisation of his own idea.

But some of the missionaries were not slow to take advantage of the opportunities of amassing worldly fortune lying open before them. In 1821 Mr William Fairburn, a Church missionary catechist, purchased four hundred acres of land for ten pounds' worth of merchandise. In 1822 Baron de Thierry bought, through Mr Kendall of the Mission Society, 40,000 acres of land on the Hokianga River for thirty-six axes. One million of acres were purchased between the years 1825 and 1829 by settlers and merchants in Sydney. Twenty-five thousand acres were bought during the five years ending 1835 at Kaitaia, the Bay of Islands, and Hokianga; 17,000 acres of which, or twenty-seven square miles, were purchased by missionaries. Before the year 1839, 20,000,000 acres of land were claimed as having been purchased by white men.

CHAPTER III.

COLONISATION.

THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY—MR BUSBY GOVERNMENT RESIDENT—WRECK OF THE
“HARRIET”—GUARD’S STORY—BARON DE THIERRY’S STORY—FIRST GROG-SHOP
—COLONIAL PROGRESS—VIGILANCE ASSOCIATION—WAKEFIELD’S EXPEDITION—
FAILURE OF THE COMPANY—A CROWN COLONY—MODERN IMPROVEMENTS—THE
EIGHT PROVINCES.

IN 1825 a company was formed in London of highly influential men, among whom was Lord Durham, to colonise New Zealand. Mr Huskisson, the president of the Board of Trade, approved of the project. A vessel was fitted out, sixty settlers embarked, and late in the year 1826 they arrived in New Zealand. The place chosen for the settlement was near the mouth of the Hokianga River; and here Captain Herd, the company’s agent, purchased a quantity of land, since found to be only one square mile, and two islands in the Houraki Gulf. Unluckily for the success of the colony, the Hokianga natives were at war with those of the Bay of Islands when the settlers disembarked; and the sight of a war dance, and alarming reports of battles won and lost in the neighbourhood, so terrified the colonists that most of them left the country after a short residence. Twenty thousand pounds were squandered on this ill-managed affair, and its failure was described by some persons as a death-blow to the colonisation of New Zealand; while others, who had acquired land in the country, prophesied that the formation of a British colony was only deferred, not abandoned.

At length Mr James Busby, a well-known settler in Australia, was appointed by his Majesty’s ministers to proceed to New Zealand as British resident, an officer the East India Government have living at all native courts. Mr Busby arrived at the Bay of Islands in May 1833. The natives received him with respect, but the English settlers laughed at him as a “wooden gun.” He suggested to the Governor of New South Wales that New Zealand should have a national flag, and that ships owned by New Zealanders should be registered. Sir Richard Bourke, a soldier more than a diplomatist, readily fell into the snare, and ordered his Majesty’s ship “Alligator” to the Bay of Islands with three pattern flags for the chiefs to select one from. Prompted by some Yankee whaler, these warriors chose an ensign adorned with stars and stripes, which flag afterwards altered was inaugurated with a royal salute from the “Alligator’s” guns. An account of this ridiculous farce was transmitted to the Colonial Secretary of State, who approved of it in the king’s name, and the Lords of the Admiralty

instructed their officers to acknowledge and respect New Zealand's national flag.

The twenty-four pounders which inaugurated this standard were soon afterwards turned against the people. In April 1834 the barque "*Harriet*," J. Guard, master, bound for Cloudy Bay, was wrecked at Taranaki, near to the spot where the English settlement now stands. For six days the shipwrecked mariners were treated as friends; but from some unexplained cause a quarrel arose, in which twelve sailors and twenty-five natives were slain, and Mr and Mrs Guard, two children, and ten seamen were made prisoners. Guard and several sailors were allowed to depart, on promising to return with powder as a ransom for the others. In consequence of Guard's representations, the Government of New South Wales sent the ship "*Alligator*," Captain Lambert, and a company of the 50th Regiment, to rescue the prisoners. On the arrival of the force at Taranaki, the captured sailors were delivered up, and the two interpreters who were sent on shore promised that a payment should be made when the woman and children were released. The soldiers were then landed, and as they formed in battle array on the beach, two unarmed and unattended natives came down to meet them. One introduced himself as the chief who had got the woman and children, rubbed noses with Guard in token of ancient friendship, and told him that Mrs Guard and the children were well, and that they would be surrendered on the natives receiving the promised payment. The officer in charge of the boat attributing evil motives to this man, seized him, dragged him into the boat, and stabbed him with a bayonet. A few days afterwards Mrs Guard and one child were released, and the wounded chief was restored to his friends. The other child was subsequently brought down to the strand on the shoulder of the chief who had fed it, and he requested to be allowed to take the child on board ship in order to receive the promised ransom. When told none would be given, he turned away; but before getting many yards he was shot, and the infant was taken from the agonising clutch of the dying man, to whom it clung as to a friend. The dead man's head was then cut off, and kicked about the sand; and Mrs Guard afterwards identified it as the head of their best friend. In consequence of a shot discharged, by whom and at whom none knew, the ship's guns and the soldiers commenced firing, and after destroying two villages and several canoes, and killing many natives, the troops re-embarked, and the expedition returned to Sydney. The Government of New South Wales then urged on his Majesty's Government the necessity of supporting the British resident with an armed force, as that officer was placed in a position neither creditable to himself nor to the English he represented.

In 1835 Baron de Thierry claimed to have purchased, for thirty-six axes, all the territory north of the isthmus on which Auckland stands. He informed the British resident of his intention of establishing, in his own person, an independent sovereignty in the country; and announced that he had already declared his intentions to their Majesties the Kings of Great Britain and France and to the President of the United States. This declaration was dated from the island of Tahiti, where, according to the proclamation, "Charles, Baron de Thierry,

Sovereign Chief of New Zealand, and King of Nuhueva"—one of the Marquesas Islands—"was awaiting the arrival of an armed ship from Panama to enable him to proceed to the Bay of Islands with strength to maintain his authority. To the settlers and the missionaries King de Thierry was graciously pleased to forward an elaborate exposition of his intended system of government, signed with a crown seal; and promised salaries to those missionaries who would act under his authority as magistrates. The whole production resembles the vagaries of those unfortunate beings who are confined in asylums, and labour under the delusion that they are kings and emperors. The British resident, although evidently confounded at the baron's proclamation, lost no time in appealing to the loyalty and good sense of the English settlers against what he denominated the "schemes of an adventurer;" and announced his intention of assembling the natives to inform them of this attempt on their independence, and to instruct them in what should be done to demonstrate its utter hopelessness. The assembly was held, and from it was issued a declaration of independence in the name of all the chiefs, repudiating the baron's claim. His assumption of sovereignty was a sort of monomania; and Mr Busby's Declaration of Independence, and the subsequent events which occurred, were described by Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales, as "a silly and unauthorised act, a paper pellet fired off at Baron de Thierry."

In March 1837 Baron de Thierry issued another address to the white inhabitants of New Zealand, dated from Sydney, in which, while announcing his intention of visiting the country in a peaceable attitude, he moderated his claim to sovereignty. Every ship which touched at the Bay of Islands after his declaration was expected to have him and his fillibusters on board; and the arrival of Captain Fitzroy in his armed surveying vessel threw the whole settlement into a panic. Early in 1838, Baron de Thierry landed in his dominions at Hokianga, with ninety-three Europeans, the majority being men picked up in the streets of Sydney. Here he unfurled a silken banner, ordered his subjects to back out of his presence, and offered to create the master of the ship which conveyed him to his kingdom an admiral. In the midst of his greatness King de Thierry was startled with the intelligence that the thirty-six axes given by Mr Kendall to the natives for the land did not purchase it, but were merely a deposit. He commenced cutting a carriage road to the Bay of Islands, but his exchequer being soon exhausted, his subjects threw off their allegiance, and took up their abode in Kororareka. The natives, pitying a king without subjects or dominions, allowed him to squat on a piece of ground, for which he promised to give them some blankets at a future day. In 1839 a visitor at Hokianga found the baron living in a humble way for a sovereign prince. When war broke out in the north part of New Zealand in 1844, it was announced in a London journal that Baron de Thierry had been killed and eaten by his own subjects—an untrue statement. He went through many adventures on Pitcairn's Island and the Sandwich Islands since then, and subsequently lived at Auckland, usefully employed in trying to discover a mode of cleaning the flax fibre of its gum. De Thierry's French name and his Continental and obscure origin, revived in 1836

the groundless rumour that the French were about to form a colony in New Zealand.

In 1825 a few Europeans had peaceably located themselves in the Bay of Islands, and in 1830 Benjamin Turner opened the first grog-shop. In these days the settlers lived apart in remote inlets, until experience taught them that the most convenient place for erecting huts was around the deep-water beach at Kororareka, in close proximity to the native village. In these beautiful inlets the free-trading flax schooners and whalers rode out gales in safety, and their crews, although leading a piratical sort of lives themselves, objected to all intruders. One morning, in 1827, a Sydney vessel anchored in the bay with eighty men on board. An old New Zealand trader, named Duke, invited the captain on board, and discovered that he and his crew were convicts who had overpowered the guard, and seized the vessel, during their voyage from Sydney to Norfolk Island. Duke hoisted two guns out of the hold, and with the aid of several Maori war canoes he commanded the convicts to surrender; this being refused, an engagement ensued, which ended, after considerable loss to the convicts, in Duke's victory. The vessel was taken back to Sydney, where nine of the mutineers were hung, and the others again shipped to Norfolk Island. In 1832 there were a hundred white settlers permanently located in Kororareka, and the place was then described as the Cyprus of the Southern Ocean, in which life was one unceasing revel. Meanwhile Kororareka prospered. In 1838 it was the most frequented resort for whalers in all the South Sea Islands; and its European population, although fluctuating, was then estimated at a thousand souls. It had a church, five hotels, numberless grog-shops, a theatre, billiard tables, skittle alleys, finishes, and "hells." For six successive years a hundred whale ships anchored in the bay, and land facing the beach sold at £3 a foot. Thirty-six large whale ships were anchored at Kororareka at one time in 1836; and in 1838 fifty-six American vessels entered the bay, twenty-three English, twenty-one French, one Bremen, twenty-four from New South Wales, and six from the coast.

A vigilance association was established at Kororareka, and his Majesty's ministers were startled on hearing of this new declaration of independence in New Zealand, and the Secretary of State now saw that British authority must henceforth be established, to prevent the Kororareka association growing into a republic, and perhaps ultimately governing the country through the fictitious aid of the united tribes. In December 1838, Lord Glenelg suggested that a British consul should be sent out; but no steps were taken towards the appointment of that officer until the New Zealand Company's expedition had actually sailed for the purpose of laying the foundation of a republican settlement in Cook's Strait. Then Captain Hobson, an officer of the Royal Navy, was ordered to New Zealand as a consul with a lieutenant-governor's commission in his possession.

In 1837, Lord Durham, as the representative of a number of gentlemen who called themselves the New Zealand Land Company, proposed to the Government that they should be incorporated, with powers to colonise the

country. The negotiations were at first friendly, and the Government favoured the plan; but ultimately misunderstandings arose, when the New Zealand Company determined to take the matter into its own hands, and despatched its preliminary expedition on the 12th May 1839, under the command of Colonel William Wakefield, who held instructions to purchase land from the natives, and to select the site of the first settlement. He arrived in August of the same year, and selected Port Nicholson, in Cook's Strait; and on the 22d January following, the first batch of immigrants arrived. In twelve months they had increased to upwards of twelve hundred from Great Britain, besides a few from Australia.

The object of the founders of the New Zealand Company was chiefly to revive systematic colonisation, and to conduct on fixed principles operations which had certainly, since the colonisation of the British colonies in America, been left very much to haphazard. South Australia was founded by nearly the same persons, and on the same principles, and almost at the same time; but the colonisation of New South Wales and Tasmania, so far as they existed outside of the convict establishments, which were their nucleus, may be said to have been founded without any principle, and the result left to chance. The founders of New Zealand colonisation sought to transplant to its shores, as far as possible, a complete and ready-made section of the society of the old country, with various social orders, its institutions and organisations, maintaining also, as far as circumstances would admit, the relations of the different classes of the population as they had existed at home. Above all things, they believed that the failure of other colonies to become duplicates of the old country, was owing chiefly to the indiscriminate manner in which the waste lands of the Crown had been disposed of, and to the defective proportion which, as a consequence, existed between capital and labour. They determined to remedy this by the adoption of what was known as the Wakefield theory, which consisted mainly in fixing the price of the land so high as to prohibit, for a considerable time at least, its purchase by the labouring man, thus compelling him to work as a labourer till he might be supposed to have compensated the capitalist or the State for the cost of his importation to the colony. The immigration fund was to be supplied by the land sales. The application of these principles can hardly be said to have been tested at all in the three first founded of the company's settlements—Wellington, New Plymouth, and Nelson. Its inability to put the colonists, for many years, in quiet possession of the lands it had sold to them, its long and ruinous controversy with the Imperial Government, and the consequent exhaustion of its resources, precluded altogether the experiment receiving a fair trial in the settlements mentioned. In Otago and Canterbury, however, founded at a later date, there were fewer, if any, obstacles, and the remarkable success of those settlements is by many attributed to the principles on which they were founded. The elements of class association (the Free Church of Scotland and the Church of England being respectively taken as the bonds of union), and the high price of land which has been maintained, though with modifications of the original scheme, have no doubt had much to do with the form into which society in

those settlements has developed itself, though the unforeseen discovery of gold, and the existence of great pastoral resources, which formed no element in the Wakefield scheme, have perhaps contributed more to the great prosperity of those settlements than any special principle on which they were founded.

Those who are now seeking a home in New Zealand can scarcely appreciate the feelings of the early colonists, or the trials and difficulties they had to encounter. To descend from the deck of a ship 15,000 miles from home, at the end of a weary voyage of from three to five months' duration, on to a shore unprepared for their occupation, without a single house to shelter them, with no friend or fellow-countryman to welcome them, quite uncertain as to the reception they would meet with at the hands of the savage race whose territory they were peacefully but aggressively invading, with few of the conveniences of civilised life, or the appliances for creating them, except so far as they brought them with them in very limited quantities—how different from the experience of those who now arrive in the colony, where, though many external differences present themselves, they find all the machinery of social life, and the general aspect of everything very much as they left them at home. The emigrant who now lands at Lyttelton, Dunedin, Auckland, or Wellington, finds himself surrounded by numbers of his own countrymen, dressed like himself, hurrying about on the various businesses common on the wharfs of any considerable seaport of the old country: he sees shops, with plate-glass windows, and English names above the doors, filled with the latest novelties from London, Birmingham, or even Paris; cabs plying for customers; omnibuses rumbling along the streets; hotels innumerable; churches and schools in moderate numbers; public buildings exhibiting pretentious feats of architectural skill; asphalt pavements and macadamised streets leading out to suburbs thick with comfortable and even handsome mansions, surrounded by well-kept gardens, gay with brilliant flowers and semi-tropical vegetation. Amidst all this he may, perhaps, in any of the towns of the North Island, notice a stray Maori or two, not, however, clad in the dirty blanket or rough flax mat, but “got up” in fashionable European costume, with polished boots, silk hats, gold watch-guards, and probably a silver-mounted riding-whip; and only distinguishable from the other passers-by by the dark skin, and, perhaps, the ineffaceable tattoo. In the early days the settlers felt that they were “colonising”—adding a new province to the empire. Now, the new arrivals “immigrate,” entering into the labours of those who went before them. The former was, perhaps, the more “heroic work.” The latter is probably the most profitable, and certainly the least laborious. If it is colonising at all, it is colonising made easy; and the immigrant may so far congratulate himself that it is so.

It remains briefly to mention the order in which the various settlements were formed:

1. WELLINGTON was founded by the New Zealand Company in 1840. Preliminary expedition for selection of site, August 1839.

2. AUCKLAND, established by the first governor, Captain Hobson, in the same year. It remained the seat of government till 1865, when, by Act of the Colonial

Parliament, and the selection of certain commissioners appointed at its request by the Australian governors. Wellington became the capital.

3. NEW PLYMOUTH, also founded by the New Zealand Company, in September 1841. Preliminary expedition, August 1840.

4. NELSON, founded by the company in October 1841.

5. OTAGO, founded in March 1848 by a Scotch company working in connection with the New Zealand Company, and by means of its machinery, under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland, and with an appropriation of a portion of its lands and pecuniary resources to Free Church purposes.

6. CANTERBURY, similarly founded in December 1850 in connection with the Church of England.

7. HAWKE'S BAY was originally a part of Wellington Province, but separated from it, and created a province of itself in 1858.

8. MARLBOROUGH, originally part of Nelson, separated in the same manner in 1860.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EIGHT PROVINCES.

WELLINGTON—AUCKLAND—WESTLAND—NELSON—OTAGO—CANTERBURY—
MARLBOROUGH—TARANAKI.

WELLINGTON was the first settlement in New Zealand, and was founded in 1840 by the New Zealand Company, an association formed in London for the purpose of carrying on colonising operations in this colony. The first emigrant ship, the "Aurora," anchored in Port Nicholson on the 22d January of that year.

Until 1841 New Zealand was a dependency of New South Wales, but in that year it was made an independent colony, and in January 1848 was divided into two provinces, New Ulster and New Munster; the first comprising the northern portion of the North Island, and the second the remaining portion of the North and the whole of the Middle Island. What is now the Wellington Province was included in New Munster. Sir George Grey was then governor of the colony, and a lieutenant-governor, Edward John Eyre, Esq., resided in Wellington. Under the New Constitution Act, the first elections took place in 1853, when Dr Featherston was chosen superintendent, which office he retained by successive re-elections until April 1871, when he resigned it in order to undertake the duties of agent-general of the colony in London, being succeeded in the superintendency by the Hon. William Fitzherbert, who was re-elected in January 1873. Dr Featherston met the first Council on the 28th October 1853, and in his opening speech expressed his intention of adopting the system of responsible government in the conduct of the affairs of the province, and accordingly chose an executive on that principle. He stated that of the 10,502,000 acres of which the province then consisted (Hawke's Bay forming part of the province at that time), the native title had already been extinguished over 2,015,000, of which 235,000 acres had been alienated, leaving a balance of 1,780,000 acres open to purchase, which would be immediately increased to 3,000,000 acres, arrangements having been made for the purchase of other blocks in Hawke's Bay and the Wairarapa. His honour estimated the revenue for the year ending 30th September 1854, at £18,000, of which £8500 would be available for public works. In opening the session of the Provincial Council in 1873, the superintendent estimated the income for the financial year ending 31st March 1874, at £85,942, of which £54,968 were proposed to be expended on public works.

Leaving the Manawatu Gorge and going westward along the railway line to the Rangitikei River, the traveller passes for twenty miles through a stretch of

rich level land, known as the "Manchester" block. This block is twenty miles in length and about eight miles in width, with an area of 106,000 acres, and being the subject of an interesting and important colonising operation, is worthy of more than a passing notice.

In December 1871, the Hon. Colonel Fielding, as representative of an English company, presided over by the Duke of Manchester, and called "The Emigrant and Colonist's Aid Corporation," visited New Zealand, after going through the Australian colonies, his object being to find a field for the commencement of colonising operations. Finding in New Zealand a climate eminently suited to the English constitution, a soil abundantly fertile, internal communications fairly developed already and rapidly progressive, and, above all, a Government anxious to foster any reasonable scheme for the settlement of people on its unoccupied territory, Colonel Fielding had little difficulty in selecting a favourable site, and making terms with the Colonial and Provincial Governments. Negotiations resulted in the purchase of this block at 15s. per acre. The corporation undertook to introduce to the colony, and to settle on the land, two thousand people within six years. The Government, on the other hand, was to provide free passages for these people from England, and to find work, in the formation of the railway line through the property, or on other public works in the neighbourhood, for a current number of two hundred labourers. The Provincial Government made a conditional agreement to expend a sum not exceeding £2000 per annum for five years, to assist in forming by-roads. The scheme hung fire awhile on Colonel Fielding's return to England; but the work of colonisation has now commenced in earnest, and the result is anxiously watched: for, if successful, private capital and enterprise will be certainly directed to the formation of similar settlements in some of the large tracts of country from time to time falling into the hands of the Government by purchase from the natives.

The early history of the province of AUCKLAND is, in a great degree, identical with that of the colony of New Zealand. This portion of the country was the first in which a European landed; in this the missionaries of religion began, and mainly carried on, their enterprise, the effects of which, in a social and political point of view, have been extremely important; here was the scene of that celebrated transaction called "The Treaty of Waitangi," on which the British Government ultimately based their right of sovereignty over these islands; in this province a British governor first resided; and the locality in which the city of Auckland now stands was chosen by the first governor as the site for the capital of New Zealand.

About thirty miles eastward from Auckland is the extensive mountainous peninsula named Coromandel. Numerous quartz veins run through the primary rocks, and it is in these that the gold is found. Mining operations were commenced in the creeks at Kapanga, where rough gold, washed out of the hills, was discovered. This deposit was of small extent. The hills were then prospected, and mining carried on with varying results, and it is still continued. During the first eleven months of 1873, 8549 tons of stone were crushed in the

Coromandel (that is, the Kapanga) district, and yielded 14,867 ounces of gold. The Thames goldfield, situated on the same peninsula, farther south, was opened in August 1867, much later than Coromandel; yet it has altogether outstripped the previously-prospected goldfield. The richness of this field is indicated by the fact that amongst the pioneers the six owners of Hunt's claim, one of the first taken up, obtained 25,000 ounces of gold in a few days' work. The Golden Crown paid £200,000 dividends in twelve months; and the Caledonian Mine subsequently yielded ten tons of gold in about the same period of time, and distributed £572,000 amongst the shareholders. Other mines have given handsome returns, although less dazzlingly rich than those mentioned. There is little doubt that the whole of the peninsula from Cape Colville to Te Aroha Mountain, a distance of 120 miles, is more or less auriferous, and will afford employment to a large mining population for an indefinitely lengthened period of time.

In 1861 the whole of the land comprising the province of WESTLAND was purchased by the Government from the original inhabitants. There were not more than thirty of them in the province at that time. The natives of this province had formerly been subject to frequent attacks from the natives of the North Island, who made predatory excursions to the Middle Island in search of greenstone, for which this province is noted. Twenty-five years previous to the Government purchasing the land of the province, two native commanders, Niho and Takerei, after having served under Te Rauparaha in attacking the native settlements on the east coast of this island, proceeded with their followers down the west coast as far as the Hokitika River, killing and taking prisoners nearly all the existing inhabitants. Niho and Takerei settled at the mouth of the river Grey, and parties of their followers formed detached settlements on the coast north of the Grey, and as far south as Bruce Bay. The natives have now no claims to any lands in the province, except to a few reserves that have been made for their use, and to secure to them a right to any greenstone that may exist in those reserves. In 1864 gold was discovered in the province, at the Hohonu River, and a rush of miners from the other provinces then set in to the Greenstone. Discoveries of gold were soon made at the Totara, Waimea, Salt-water, Kanieri, Grey, and Okarita districts.

The province of Westland extends from the province of Nelson on the north to the province of Otago on the south, and from the province of Canterbury on the east to the sea-coast on the west; its boundaries being—on the north the river Grey, on the south the river Awarua (flowing into Big Bay), and on the east the watershed of the Southern Alps. Its divisions are—the municipalities of Hokitika and Greymouth, and the road board districts of Paroa, Arahura, Kanieri, Totara, and Okarita.

The success which attended the first colonising effort of the New Zealand Company, in forming the settlement of Wellington in 1839, induced that body, in the early part of 1841, to bring out the scheme of a second settlement, to be named after England's greatest naval hero, NELSON. It was proposed that this should consist of 1000 allotments, each to comprise 50 acres of suburban and 150 acres of rural land, to be sold at thirty shillings per acre, and that a town acre

should be given with each allotment. It was further agreed that 100 allotments should be added as reserves for natives, so that the entire settlement should consist of 221,100 acres, which were expected to realise £300,000.

As very little about New Zealand was known in England at that time, no site could be assigned to the settlement, and Captain Arthur Wakefield, a distinguished naval officer, and a man eminently fitted for the task, was appointed to lead the expedition, select a site, and represent the company at Nelson when the settlement should be formed. This expedition, consisting of a party of surveyors and about seventy labourers, left the Thames at the end of April 1841, in two barques, the "Whitby" and "Will Watch," accompanied by the brig "Arrow," laden with stores, and the three vessels arrived at Wellington at the end of the following September. When Captain Wakefield took his departure, it was generally supposed in England that Port Cooper, and the country afterwards selected for the settlement of Canterbury, would be selected as the site for Nelson.

A French whaler had some time before visited Port Cooper, and the master, on returning home, gave such a favourable report of the adjacent country—which he described as capable of maintaining a Paris and a London—as to leave no doubt of its suitability for settlement. It was Captain Wakefield's intention, after consulting with his brother at Wellington, to have proceeded at once to Port Cooper, and planted the settlement of which he was the leader on the plains spoken of by the French whaling master. Captain Hobson, R.N., who had some time before come out as governor of the colony, was opposed to this. The territory which the New Zealand Company was supposed to have acquired and were free to settle, did not quite extend to Port Cooper, and it was only within some stated degrees of latitude that the British Government were supposed to have sanctioned the company's colonising proceedings. This restriction had been waived by Lord John Russell, Secretary of State, before Captain Wakefield left England; but Captain Hobson, who wanted the Nelson settlement to be planted a little north of Auckland, where he offered an insufficient site for it, obstinately opposed Captain Wakefield settling at the spot which that officer considered the most eligible for his purpose. The conduct of the governor compelled the leader of the expedition to look elsewhere than the broad grassy plains south of the Kaikoura Mountains for a site for Nelson; and finding in Wellington a Captain Moore (master of a small trading vessel), who reported that Blind Bay possessed all the requirements needed, Captain Wakefield engaged his services to pilot him to the spot, and the three vessels crossed Cook's Strait, and anchored in Astrolabe Road, on the western side of Blind Bay, about the middle of October. Here was a roadstead capable of affording complete shelter to a few ships, but no land suitable for settlement, nor even a site for a town. If land in sufficient quantity for the settlement, and of fair quality, could have been found in the neighbourhood of Motueka, it is not improbable that Captain Wakefield would have put up with the inconvenience of two harbours and a small township; but when the exploring parties which had been sent out to examine the country returned, and reported unfavourably of its extent and capabilities, he determined to proceed to Port Cooper, to plant the settlement there in defiance of the

governor, and justify himself by the necessity of the case. But before carrying this resolution into execution, he thought it prudent to thoroughly satisfy himself that Blind Bay afforded no spot where the Nelson settlement could advantageously be planted. A boat was placed in charge of Mr Cross, who was ordered to proceed to Pepin Island, on the east side of the bay, follow down the coast, and examine every opening that presented itself. A short distance below Pepin Island, Mr Cross observed the long low spit, now called the Boulder Bank, which forms the harbour, and as he sailed along was able, by standing up in the boat, to see water inside. Proceeding down its edge and crossing the bar, he at length reached the termination of the Boulder Bank, and found a splendid deep-water basin inside, capable of accommodating a large number of vessels. This discovery was made on the 5th of November, and Mr Cross returned immediately to Astrolabe. Captain Wakefield lost no time in crossing the bay, and after examining the harbour, decided on making it the Port of Nelson, and to abandon all idea of proceeding to Port Cooper. Adjoining the harbour was an admirable site for a town—a flat of about seven hundred acres of good dry land, and about the same quantity of low hills. It was well watered by two small streams, and was sheltered from the southward, but open to the north, facing the sea, and possessed an ample supply of timber for immediate requirements. It had the additional recommendation of easy communication with a considerable tract of land of fair quality. These were advantages which pre-eminently adapted the spot for settlement, and, together with its exceptionally fine climate, have rendered Nelson by common consent the most charming place of residence in New Zealand.

Like many other young colonial settlements, Nelson had its infantile troubles. The New Zealand Company, as an inducement to the working classes to go out to a country of which at that time little was known in England, except as being inhabited by a race of ferocious and warlike savages, promised to find well-paid employment for all labourers who would emigrate thither, without any restrictions as to duration. As a natural consequence, the company monopolised all the labour they imported; and as there was no stipulation of a fair day's work for a fair day's wages, the "company's stroke" became proverbial. Private capitalists found themselves unable to compete with the company in the labour market, and thus but little was done in the way of legitimate settlement. This was a state of things which could not last. The company endeavoured to get the labourers off their hands by giving liberal encouragement to them to settle on the land and become cottier farmers; and afterwards, by placing all their labourers on piece-work and paying them full wages for half work, sought to encourage them to cultivate their farms and become independent of employers. The crisis which all thinking persons had foreseen came at last. After this fostering treatment had been pursued for the greater part of a year, instructions were received by the company's agent to discharge the whole of the labourers at once, and this of necessity had to be done. Then ensued a time of real trial. The men who had been industrious and provident got over the difficulty of their new position without sustaining any very severe privations, but the indolent and improvident were

reduced to very severe straits, some families being compelled to dig up and eat their seed potatoes to escape actual starvation. A large re-enigration took place to other colonies, particularly to South Australia ; but severely as the pinch was felt at the time, it was afterwards universally admitted that the lesson of self-dependence it taught was highly salutary, and that it imparted healthy life to the settlement.

But long before the New Zealand Company ceased operations in Nelson, a calamity of another kind befell the settlement. It was soon discovered, when surveys were commenced, that the land required for the Nelson scheme could not be obtained within the limits of Blind Bay, and exploring parties were sent out in search of more country. Following up a series of valleys which have their drainage in Blind Bay, one party of explorers turned the mountain range on the east side, and found their way into the head of the Wairau valley, which they followed down for fifty miles to the sea. Here was a district capable of furnishing all the land required, and surveyors were at once engaged to lay it off in sections. Although Colonel Wakefield had purchased, as he believed, the district of Wairau twice over, Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, the two chiefs who claimed it in right of conquest, disputed the sale ; and when the surveyors were about to commence, those chiefs, with a strong body of followers, crossed Cook's Strait in canoes from the neighbourhood of Kapiti, a small island on the north-eastern side of the strait, where they resided, and warned the surveyors not to proceed with their work. They also burned the survey pegs and tent poles, but did no violence to the men or their property. When intelligence of this reached Nelson, the company's agent supported by Mr Thompson, police magistrate, swore in about seventy special constables, and the Government brig being in Nelson at the time, those gentlemen induced the captain to convey the whole party to the Wairau, nothing doubting but that before so imposing a force, armed with old flint firelocks, the Maoris would be cowed, and the chiefs submit to be taken on board the brig, and have their offence investigated by the magistrates. If the force had been under the sole command of Captain Wakefield, a man of singular tact and courage, it is probable that an amicable settlement would have been come to, for no outrage had been committed on the settlers up to that time, the natives holding the power of the white man in almost superstitious veneration. Unfortunately, the representative of the Government, Mr Thompson, was a man of excitable temperament, and when Rauparaha and his followers were found at the entrance of the Tua Marina valley, by his threats and demeanour, he so excited the natives that a collision ensued, and the Europeans—mostly labouring men, unaccustomed to the use of fire-arms, and without organisation—were no match for born warriors. It was always a disputed point which party commenced the fray, but according to the evidence afterwards taken by the magistrates in Nelson, the first shot came from the Maoris, and was immediately replied to by a shot from one of our men, which killed the wife of Rangihacata, who was also a daughter of Rauparaha. The firing then became general on both sides, although no order to fire was given by the leaders of the Europeans, and

Captain Wakefield ordered his men to cease as soon as he could make himself heard. The Europeans, who had kept together, retreated up the spur of the hill at the entrance to the Tua Marina valley, where they were overtaken by the natives, and, having thrown down their arms, the whole party were tomahawked. Added to the men who had been shot, the fray cost the infant settlement twenty-two lives, including several of its leading men; and this untoward occurrence utterly destroyed the prestige of the Europeans in New Zealand. Evidence was afterwards obtained, which showed that on the first discharge of the guns, the natives were so alarmed that they were on the point of seeking safety in flight, having taken up a position from which they could reach the head of Queen Charlotte Sound by an intricate native path, and, by the aid of canoes obtained from their countrymen, could have recrossed the strait to a place of refuge. But the untrained men, of which the English party was mainly composed, as soon as firing commenced (with a few exceptions), ran from the scene. This emboldened the natives, who thereupon abandoned their intended retreat to Waitohi, and pursued the Europeans. Had Captain Wakefield possessed a few men properly armed and disciplined, many valuable lives might have been saved, as it is not likely a man of his cool judgment would have surrendered to savages had he been properly supported. Had no collision taken place at Wairau, it is not likely bloodshed between the races would have been long averted. Some other cause of quarrel must sooner or later have arisen, and force been resorted to; but nothing more deplorable could have happened than what occurred at Massacre Hill, as the spot is still called, where the graves of the victims are marked by a small monument.

The intelligence of this sad calamity was received in Nelson with grief and consternation. The settlers were without arms or organisation, nor was there any force in the country to afford them protection. For several succeeding months there was constant apprehension of danger; and when disturbances broke out in the North Island, at the Bay of Islands, at the Hutt, at Wanganui, and elsewhere, the sense of insecurity increased. Happily, no serious disturbance arose, although the natives residing at a *pa* about fifteen miles from the town, were at one time troublesome; but the danger passed away, and the Wairau massacre, which occurred more than thirty years ago, was the first and last collision in the South Island of New Zealand between the natives and settlers.

The portion of the Middle Island of New Zealand known as the province of OTAGO was, previous to the arrival of the first immigrants, occupied by a few white men engaged in pastoral or whaling pursuits, and by a small number of natives. In 1840 a missionary from Sydney was located at Waikouaiti, where a small settlement had been established, and his charge extended to the south of the Clutha, a few individuals being sparsely settled there. Otago was originated as a special settlement, and a block of 400,000 acres having been purchased from the New Zealand Company, the carrying out of the experiment was entrusted to a committee of laymen belonging to or sympathising with the Free Church of Scotland. The association, as the scheme was named, despatched the ships

“Philip Laing” and “John Wickliff” with the first emigrants from Britain; both vessels arriving safely in March 1848. At that early period the navigation of the south portion of the colony was considered dangerous, as thoroughly reliable charts did not exist, and the coast was known only to the few whalers on the station. The prospects were not very cheering to those harbingers of the present community, and doubtless the hearts of many of them failed them, while sailing up the harbour, on seeing on both sides steep hills densely wooded to their summits, without a patch of open land except the barren sands at the Maori settlement. The discomfort of being conveyed in open boats, along with their household effects, from Port Chalmers, and landed on the shores of the town of Dunedin, its surface an entanglement of scrub and flax, without a roof to cover or protect them or a known face to welcome them, and the dread uncertainty as to how or where provisions could be obtained until they could grow their own, the time of their arrival being near the beginning of winter, must all have tended to damp their enthusiasm. Now, such doubts or discomforts cannot exist. Accurate charts and splendid lighthouses along the coast command the mariner’s confidence; and on arrival at the Heads, a powerful steamer is ready to tow the immigrant ship up the harbour, both sides of which are now, to the hill tops, studded with snug homes and luxuriant clearings. On the ship berthing at Port Chalmers or the Bluff, the train carries the passengers either to Dunedin or Invercargill, both handsome cities, replete with comfort, where anxiously-expectant friends, acquaintances, or employers anxious to employ labour, and to whom the news of the arrival of the ship has been flashed by the telegraph, are waiting to receive the strangers either with a hearty friendship’s welcome or a profitable business engagement.

The pioneers of the settlement were neither daunted nor discouraged by their difficulties. Bracing themselves to suffer hardships, to endure fatigues, to do their duty, they did it nobly and well, a fact attested by the solid foundation on which the institutions of the province rest, the character the settlers have gained, and the success which has attended their efforts. The preliminary labour of clearing the land and building houses—some of them as primitive as unskilled hands could make them—being so far effected, moral and intellectual requirements were at once attended to. On the first day of September 1848, the first public building, to be used as a church and school, was opened, the average attendance of scholars being forty, although on some days it reached seventy. This was under the auspices of the association and connected with the Free Church. A few months later, the first newspaper, the *Otago News*, was published, and in May 1849, a public library was opened. Following in close succession, building societies were started, and a Mechanics’ Institute, which has now grown into a flourishing Athenæum, with its library, reading, and class rooms.

Upon the retirement of the New Zealand Company in 1850, and the granting of a constitution to the colony, Otago was erected into a province, and its original boundaries were so extended as to include all the country south of the Waitaki.

The meeting of the first Provincial Council on 30th December 1853, marks

the first epoch in the history of Otago. Prior to this date, there was no responsibility for the conduct of public affairs. Now there was a responsible body possessing considerable powers, and a largely-extended estate to administer. In his opening address, the superintendent said, "A return mail from the seat of government (Auckland) is just in the same category as a return from England, business in the meanwhile being in a state of abeyance and confusion. Meanwhile, it is our duty to do all that we can for the public good." How was this done? Assembled in a small, unpretending wooden building, described at the time as "one of the most elegant buildings in Dunedin, capable of containing from eighty to a hundred people," and "an erection the like of which no other settlement in New Zealand could boast," the Council at once commenced business and proceeded to set their house in order. The monetary condition was, "Treasury grant closed, land fund reduced to *nil*, and the province left with two-thirds of the general revenue (£1480) to do all for themselves and as they best can." What they had to do was—provide for expense of government, form roads and build bridges, attract immigration, attend to education, and open up communication with other provinces and the outer world. To accomplish all these objects with an income of £2000 a year must have been a pleasing task! Yet a determined start was made, and the province began, and still continues, its onward march.

The advantage of opening up the southern portion of the province, in which there were large tracts of splendid land both clear and timbered, was early recognised, and sites for the towns of Campbelltown and Invercargill being fixed, the country was surveyed, and very soon a large number of sections were bought and settlers located thereon. Complaints were made by the inhabitants that this outlying district was not receiving its due share of attention from the authorities; and a memorial was, in terms of the New Provinces Act, 1858, presented to the Colonial Government, requesting that the district might be detached from Otago and created into a new province. This was granted, and in 1861 the province of Southland was created, with an area of 2,300,000 acres. Embarrassments, however, so accumulated on the little province, that in 1870 it was found advisable to reunite it to Otago, which was done, and it now partakes of the general prosperity.

The discovery of the goldfields in 1861 may be considered the next epoch in this history. Rumours of the existence of gold had before this date been freely circulated; but until the discovery, by Gabriel Read, of the gully which bears his name, no payable workings had been opened up. The extraordinary richness of this goldfield, together with the ease with which the gold was obtained, at first hardly obtained belief; but as specimens of the precious metal arrived in town day after day by trustworthy messengers, who were in hot haste to get back again, the fever became general, and every man, tradesman and store-keeper, left his occupation and was "off to the diggings." The report of this really rich goldfield soon reached the adjacent provinces and colonies, and a great "rush" was the consequence—thousands arriving in a single day. For a time, other occupations were forgotten; but the excitement gradually subsided; the

lucky digger having a good many pounds to his credit, and high prices ruling for every article that could be raised, soon induced many to return to their legitimate industries, and leave the more precarious trade of gold-finding to men who followed it as their profession. The discovery of the Tuapeka goldfield was followed, in 1862, by the Dunstan, the Lakes, Nokomai, and several others, which have proved to be very valuable and afford employment to a large number of men. The portion of the province in which the goldfields are situate had hitherto been an almost unknown country, and to the energy and enterprise of the gold-seeker the credit is due of opening it up much sooner than it would otherwise have been. The risk these hardy men undertook deserved reward, as the result of their efforts has been of incalculable advantage to Otago. The quantity of gold exported from the province up to 31st March 1874, was 3,257,864 oz., and its value, £12,762,892.

The foundation of the province of CANTERBURY dates from 1848, in which year a number of men of influence in England, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Lyttelton, and the present Duke of Manchester, formed themselves into what was called the "Canterbury Association for Founding a Settlement in New Zealand," which was incorporated by royal charter in 1849. The portion of the colony in which the association was to establish its members was for some time not fixed, as it was doubtful whether the plain adjacent to Banks' Peninsula, or a tract of land near Wairarapa, in the present province of Wellington, was the better adapted for their requirements. Captain (afterwards Sir George) Grey, the then Governor of New Zealand, in a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 6th December 1848, somewhat strongly advocated the choice of the latter district; but a great obstacle to the carrying out of this idea was found in the difficulty of acquiring the land on reasonable terms from the native owners. On the other hand, the whole of the enormous tract of country lying between the river Hurunui (the southern boundary of Nelson) and Port Chalmers, or Otago, and stretching from sea to sea, had already been ceded by the Maori owners to the Europeans. On 25th August 1848, Governor Grey forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies a copy of the agreement by which the chiefs and people of the Ngaitahu tribe formally made over to Colonel Wakefield, agent of the New Zealand Company, all the country comprising what are now known as the Canterbury Province, the province of Westland, the great part of Otago, for a comparatively small sum of money. This cession did not, however, include Banks' Peninsula itself, as the natives had already sold the whole of that block to a French company, whose settlers were actually residing on it. The New Zealand Company made no attempt to colonise the large area they thus acquired, further than by handing over to the new Canterbury Association an extent of 1,000,000 acres on the plains. This was afterwards increased to 2,400,000 acres. In 1849, Captain Thomas, agent for the association, wrote from Auckland to Governor Grey, stating that he had examined the harbour of Port Cooper and the surrounding country, and having found the land suitable for the purposes of the association, he formally requested his Excellency's sanction to Port Cooper as the site of the Canterbury settlement. This was granted; the

surveys of the harbour and plains were at once pushed on, and preparations made for receiving the settlers sent out by the association. In the meantime, negotiations were also being carried on between the New Zealand Company and the French association who held possession of Banks' Peninsula; and on 12th October 1849, the directors of the former company announced to the Colonial Office that they had taken over all the property and interests of the French, or Nanto-Bordelaise, Company in New Zealand, for the sum of £4500.

On 16th December 1850, the first emigrant ship from England arrived at Port Cooper, and the actual commencement of the settlement may be said to have then taken place. The design of the Canterbury Association, as put forward in the prospectus issued in 1848, was to establish in New Zealand a settlement complete in itself, having as little connection as possible with the other centres of population in the colony, and composed entirely of members of the United Church of Great Britain and Ireland. The committee of management proposed to reserve to themselves the right "of refusing to allow any person of whom they might disapprove to become an original purchaser of land." This is not the place to discuss the theory of the scheme of the founders, nor to detail the rapid steps by which the Church of England settlement, as proposed, became an ordinary community of mixed denominations. It will be sufficient to say that long before the establishment of representative government for the colony, by Act of the Imperial Parliament of 1852, grave doubts were expressed, even by some of the managers of the association themselves, of the success of this part of the scheme; and, in point of fact, Canterbury offered so many material and temporal advantages to immigrants of all kinds and classes, that the wall of exclusiveness was soon broken down, and the community became, like all other communities, an aggregation of settlers from various countries and of various denominations.

The affairs of the Canterbury Association were managed in England by a committee, and Mr John Robert Godley was sent out by them to conduct their public business in New Zealand. Mr Godley arrived in Canterbury in the year 1850, and remained as its resident official head until 1853; then the elevation of the settlement into one of the provinces of New Zealand, under the Constitution Act, 1852, and the annulling of all previous charters to the separate little colonies, rendered the further continuance of the association needless. During his term of office, Mr Godley's remarkable energy, activity, and earnestness of purpose contributed most powerfully to the success of the settlement, and he left New Zealand for England followed by the general regret of the colonists—regret which was increased by the knowledge that his unwearied attention to his work, and to the welfare of those under his charge, had entailed upon him a permanent loss of health and strength. The first superintendent of Canterbury under the new Act was Mr James Edward Fitzgerald, another original member of the association, who held office till 1857.

In the three years which elapsed between the arrival of the first settlers and the meeting of the first Provincial Council, the Canterbury settlement made remarkable progress, and actually became in that short time not only self-sup-

porting, but able to export largely to other colonies. This progress has been, almost without a check, continued to the present time. The revenues of the province, both from sales of Crown lands and from other sources, have been steadily and rapidly increasing. In 1858 Mr Godley was able to announce to the friends of the colony in England that the province of Canterbury alone, with a population at that time of 7000, raised a revenue of £96,000—seven times as much, per head, as the revenue of England, and nearly twice as much, per head, as the revenue of the colony of Victoria, “the richest community in the world up to this time.” This, of course, was exclusive of the revenue raised in the province for the general colonial purposes of New Zealand. For the year ending 30th September 1873, the revenues of the province of Canterbury, also exclusive of colonial revenue, amounted to almost £650,000, the estimated population being 53,700.

It is not possible to fix any date at which it can be said that the settlement of HAWKE'S BAY was founded. In the cases of the Canterbury, Otago, and Cook's Strait settlements, they have this date definitely fixed by the arrival of the ships bearing to their shores the first colonists. Hawke's Bay, however, was settled differently. Its natural advantages of soil and climate, as soon as they became known, drew settlers, in ever-increasing numbers, from the south. As early as 1848, blocks of native land were being taken up extensively as runs, in spite of the precariousness of a tenure dependent altogether on the goodwill of the natives. This description of irregular settlement had gone to such a length by the end of 1850, that it was felt by the then Government that the time had come for endeavouring to acquire a landed estate from the natives. In the December of that year, accordingly, Mr Donald M'Lean, went to the district as land purchase commissioner; and the purchase, from the chief Te Hapuku, of some blocks in the interior, including those which now form the extensive and very valuable Pourerere and Homewood estates, was effected simultaneously with the purchase of Scinde Island, now the site of the town of Napier, and the surrounding district, from the chief Tareha Te Moananui. From this date forward Hawke's Bay became daily better known, and every month brought new settlers into it. The Land Purchase Department at the same time extended its operations, and further large tracts of country were acquired.

On the 5th April 1855, the township of Napier, having been laid out in sections, was sold by auction. In 1858 Hawke's Bay was constituted a new province.

In 1857 a quarrel broke out between two sections of the Hawke's Bay natives. A skirmish took place, in which some half-dozen people (all, of course, Maoris) were killed. Some alarm being felt by the European settlers as to the possible ultimate results of the struggle, Moananui, the leading chief of the successful faction, wrote as follows to the local newspaper: “Hear us. You have nothing to fear from us. Do you suppose that we are so fond of fighting, that we are anxious to have two enemies, the Pakcha as well as Te Hapuku? No, our own quarrel is sufficient. Let the settlers remain in peace amongst us. We would not act treacherously towards the people of our country. Were we to turn on them, we should be shutting up the road by which we receive many

advantages." There is much more than idle profession here—there is close reasoning. Moananui deserves much credit for his sagacity in perceiving that he could best allay the suspicions of his European neighbours, by showing them that his tribe were perfectly alive to the personal advantages which they derived from the maintenance of friendly relations with them. Te Hapuku's faction were equally decisive in their professions of friendship towards the Pakeha. The struggle, we may remark, ended by the retirement of the latter to their hereditary lands at Poukawa, some thirty miles inland, leaving Moananui and his party in possession of the extensive and valuable Ahuriri plains.

The only other instance of hostilities within the settled districts of the province occurred in October 1866, when a band of about a hundred natives, belonging for the most part to the tribes inhabiting the south-eastern districts of Auckland, led on by one of their prophets, who told them that the town of Napier would be given over to them, came down and located themselves at Omaranui, about eight miles inland, with the view of making that their base of operations. No effort was spared to represent to them the madness of their proceedings. It was, however, found to be impossible to do so effectually. The matter ended by the Hawke's Bay natives joining with the European settlers in making an attack upon them, which resulted in the annihilation of the band, all who were not killed having been taken prisoners. Now that the European population has become three or four times as numerous as the natives, hostilities are never dreamt of. Hawke's Bay, in that respect, is as secure as Canterbury or Otago.

What is now the province of MARLBOROUGH formed, under the Constitution Act of 1852, a part of the province of Nelson, the northernmost of the three original divisions of the Southern Island, and continued so up to the time when the energy of the settlers in the Wairau and surrounding districts succeeded in severing the political connection of the north-eastern from the remaining portion of the province, and giving to the latter the advantages of local self-government. On the 1st of November 1859, availing themselves of the provisions of the New Provinces Act, 1858, the inhabitants of those districts separated from the parent stock, and forming a new division under the name of the province of Marlborough, entered upon a career of independence and self-government.

At the time of the dismemberment of the original province of Nelson, the population of the separated districts forming the new province of Marlborough was about 1000; at the census taken in 1871 it was somewhat over 5000; and at the census in March 1874, the population had increased to 6143. Small as were the resources of the new province at the time of separation, that movement was the commencement of an era of prosperity and progress. Roads were formed, population increased, absenteeism was gradually replaced by *bonâ fide* settlement, and communication between the various districts was opened up. Year by year its industrial capabilities have increased, until at the present time, in proportion to its size and population, it may be considered one of the largest exporting provinces of New Zealand. In wool, it rivals Canterbury; in timber, Auckland; in the development of the flax industry, it is second to none; while in agricultural and general produce it also holds a high position.

The province of TARANAKI takes its name from the lofty snow-clad mountain called by Europeans Egmont, but by the natives Taranaki. The first Europeans who beheld Taranaki were probably Tasman and his companions, in December 1642. On the evening of Wednesday the 10th January 1772, Captain Cook first sighted the mountain, which he named Egmont, in honour of the earl bearing that title. On the 10th February 1772, M. Marion, the French navigator, made the land here, and named the mountain Le Pic Mascarin, after his ship. From this time to 1839, Taranaki was occasionally visited by whalers, some of whom established a station at the Sugar Loaf Islands. In 1831, when the Waikatos, under their great chief Te Whero Whero, made their memorable descent on the district to punish the Ngatiawa for having assisted the fighting chief Rauparaha—and also because Kaeaea, one of their chiefs, had, in a preceding war, crucified the Waikato chief Taiporutu in the gateway of his *pa*, after taking the *pa* at Pukerangiora, and killing and devouring several hundreds of its occupants—they proceeded to attack Ngamotu Pa, near the Sugar Loaves. This was garrisoned by 350 Ngatiawa, under their chief Warepori, and six English whalers and traders, whose names have been preserved by the Maoris. These were Barrett, Love, Oliver, Wright, Akers, and Phillips. The besieged, armed with muskets and four small merchant-ship guns, made such a heroic defence that the Waikatos at last retreated with great loss; but after the victory, the Ngamotu defenders, with the other natives of the district, fled to the south, leaving the country almost entirely without inhabitants.

In the year 1839, a company was formed in England, called the Plymouth Company, the object of which was the establishment of a colony in New Zealand. It was a joint-stock association, which invested £10,000 in the purchase of 50,000 acres of land from the New Zealand Company. Colonel Wakefield, acting for the company, in 1839 found many fugitives from Taranaki on the shores of Cook's Strait, and from them he purchased the land of their fathers, from which they had been driven, and to which the dread of their victorious foes prevented their return. About the end of the same year the company's naturalist, Ernst Dieffenbach, proceeded to Taranaki. He found a handful of wretched natives there, living stealthily on obscure plantations hidden deep in the recesses of the forest, while the rest of the beautiful country was completely desolate. He travelled for miles without meeting a single person, and seeing no trace of man except some deserted plantations. While there he investigated the geology, botany, and natural history of the place, and succeeded in scaling the lofty mountain. He also, in conjunction with an agent of the company, succeeded in purchasing from the few natives in possession their rights in the soil.

In February 1841, Mr Carrington, the company's surveyor, having previously explored the coast for a site for the new settlement, and fixed on the Taranaki district, in January of the same year arrived, accompanied by his staff, and the survey of the district was commenced. On the 31st March of that year, the barque "William Bryon" arrived with the first batch of immigrants. This vessel was followed by the "Amelia Thompson," which arrived on the 3d September, and by her tender, a small vessel destined for coasting, called the "Regina,"

which was unfortunately wrecked on the Taranaki beach shortly after her arrival. The "Oriental" arrived on the 7th November 1841, and the "Timandara" on 2d February 1842, and these were followed at intervals by the "Blenheim" and "Essex." The immigrants were from the English western counties; they numbered nearly two thousand, and were selected so carefully with regard to character, that for many years crime was almost unknown in the province. The majority were agricultural labourers and miners, but there were some tradesmen and professional men. The first work performed was the erection of huts to live in; these were chiefly constructed of the broad rush of the country, after the fashion of the natives, and were thatched with sedge. Every able-bodied man was engaged in making roads, constructing bridges, and cutting lines through the fern and forest lands. When the immigrants landed, the few natives who greeted them were miserable and dejected. Many of them at times were absolutely naked. After a while, gaining confidence, they came out of their hiding-places in the forest, and from distant places on the coast, in order to see the white man, to marvel at his works, to trade with him in fish, firewood, and potatoes, and to share in the blankets and other things which had been promised in payment for the land. The first unpleasantness between the races arose through a quantity of goods which had been promised not being forthcoming. To rectify this, Mr Carrington wrote to Colonel Wakefield, and that gentleman despatched the schooner "Jewess," freighted with the promised articles. The vessel was unfortunately wrecked in the strait, and the natives never received the goods, but they accepted the intention for the deed.

After this affair had been thus amicably settled, the great chief of the Waikato tribe, who had conquered the tribes of Taranaki, sent a subordinate chief named Te Kaka (*Anglicè*, the Parrot) with two hundred men to claim the land by right of conquest. This claim was satisfied by the English governor, Hobson, paying the chief £150 in money, two horses, two saddles, two bridles, and a hundred red blankets. A part of the bargain made with the natives was, that one-tenth of the purchased land should be returned to them when it was surveyed; and in order to expedite their civilisation, it was judged prudent to give them their reserves in the midst of the lands selected by the Europeans.

As soon as the surveys were completed, the immigrants began to take up their allotments, to build and to cultivate. A village was soon formed on a beautiful and level tract of land, about six miles from the township of New Plymouth. Scarcely had this been done, when a number of slaves, the original owners of the district, were set at liberty through the entreaties of the Rev. John Whitely, a Wesleyan missionary, who has since fallen by the hands of those to whose welfare he devoted his life. These manumitted slaves, who, of course, had not received any part of the payment for the land, became insolent and tyrannical, and demanded that the land should be given up to them. At length, a commissioner, Mr Spain, was sent by the Home Government to investigate their claims. He decided against them, and made an award in favour of the New Zealand Company; but, discontent still prevailing—being, if anything, rather increased by this decision—Governor Fitzroy reversed the award of the imperial commis-

sioner, declared all the Europeans trespassers for the time being, and gave back all the country lands to the natives; with the understanding, however, that on the extinction of the native title, by purchase or otherwise, the dispossessed settlers should re-enter on their original selection. This was a great blow to the settlement; many settlers left, and further to reduce it, the governor induced many of the Cornish miners to go to the Government settlement at Auckland, to work a newly-discovered mine yielding copper and manganese. Some of the best settlers were compelled to go into the heavily-timbered lands and hew out for themselves farms with the axe, while thousands of acres of fine open land were left a barren and totally unproductive waste. The land was given back to the natives in 1844, and during the succeeding ten years a few small blocks were repurchased at great expense and in the face of much opposition. Then a land league was formed, the outcome of which was the great war of 1860.

There were, however, a few things that tended to cheer the pioneers of the settlement in the midst of their severe struggles. The country was very healthy—the year would pass without a single death occurring in the community. The earth also yielded abundantly—wheat just chipped in with a mattock returned rich harvests of golden grain. Mills were erected, and quantities of fine flour exported. Grass also flourished; Dutch white clover sprang up in all directions; and butter soon became an article of export. Poultry became plentiful, and the bee produced great quantities of honey. The settler found comfort, and if his farm brought little cash to his pocket, he was amply supplied by it with all the necessaries of life, and was cheered by seeing the daisy, primrose, and other British flowers, and all the fruits of his native land, flourish round his cottage.

CHAPTER V.

THE MAORI WARS.

EARLY CAREER OF HEKI—BRITISH FLAGSTAFF CUT DOWN—CONFERENCE WITH THE NATIVES—FLAGSTAFF AGAIN CUT DOWN—DESCRIPTION OF KORORAREKA—ATTACK ON THE TOWN—EXPEDITION DESPATCHED AGAINST HEKI—UNSUCCESSFUL ASSAULT ON OKAEHAU—SECOND EXPEDITION—ATTACK ON OHAIOWAI—FALL OF RUA-PEKA-PEKA—SURRENDER OF KAWITI AND DEATH OF HEKI—THE WAIRAU MASSACRE—ATTACK ON BOULCOTT'S FARM—CAPTURE OF TE RAUPARAHA—MASSACRE OF THE GILFILLANS.

THE following narrative of the Maori wars of 1845-46 is taken chiefly from Colonel Mundy's work, entitled "Our Antipodes."

It was on account of the growing ill-will between the English and the natives, that the first governor applied for a military force to be stationed in New Zealand. In consequence of this requisition, the Governor of New South Wales was directed to send a force from Sydney; and accordingly a party of the 80th Regiment, consisting of three officers and eighty-four men, with a commissariat officer and an ordnance storekeeper, were despatched from Sydney to the Bay of Islands, and reached that place—then the seat of government—early in April 1840. The detachment of the 80th had not long to wait for employment; for in less than two months after their arrival, a party was sent to quell a disturbance between some American seamen and the inhabitants of a native *pah* belonging to an influential chief. It was a drunken night-brawl, and no one was hurt on either side except a tipsy sailor and one native. Yet this first and trifling shock between the native and the English soldier was certainly not forgotten by the former.

An apt instrument in the hands of the enemies of order and the British Government, was found in the now famous Heki. This turbulent warrior, not a chief by descent, and, perhaps fortunately for the fate of the British settlements, never either liked or much respected by the majority of the real chieftains, lived as a boy in the capacity of servant at the Church of England missionary station at Pahia. Accompanying the worthy Mr Marsden to New South Wales, and residing in his service at Paramatta, he was continually found absent from his duties, and was as constantly discovered in the barrack-yard, looking on at the drill. His missionary education so far profited him that he had read as well as "heard of battles," and had longed, like the less ambitious Norval, not only "to follow to the field some warlike lord"—but to be himself that lord. The exterminator Hongi—Christian like himself by very loose profession—gave him his

first lessons in war and his daughter in marriage. At length his longings took the peculiar form of cutting down the British flagstaff, which designing persons had taught him to regard as the symbol of Maori subjugation and slavery. This desire seems to have amounted to a kind of monomania. Wound up for mischief, Honi Heki commenced operations by sundry depredations on the white settlers—carrying off horses, cattle, boats, etc.; and in July 1844, on a trivial plea of having been insulted by a native woman married to an Englishman of Kororareka, he made his appearance at that settlement with an armed party of wild young men, who remained there for two days bullying and plundering the men, and brutally insulting the women. These unworthy *élèves* of the missionaries, “after performing prayers with arms in their hands,” proceeded in a body to the Signal Hill, and cut down the flagstaff with great ceremony. The police magistrate on this occasion dissuaded the male inhabitants from armed resistance of this savage inroad, although there were, *it is said*, a hundred men ready and willing to turn out under his orders. It was evidently Heki’s main object to excite the whites to hostilities, as a pretext for the commission of every horror whereof the man-brute is capable. Yet it is difficult to believe that an English magistrate, with a hundred armed Englishmen at his back, would have counselled tame submission to a couple of hundred Maoris; or that, if such counsel had been given, a hundred Englishmen would have been found to follow it, and in so doing to see their wives and daughters insulted, and their property despoiled by the barbarians!

This first crusade against the standard of England by Heki was, in fact, a deliberate declaration of war; for it was undertaken by previous and open arrangement, and, in spite of the remonstrances of the missionaries, the protector of aborigines, and the police magistrate. “Is Te Rauparaha to have all the honour of killing the Pakehas?” exclaimed the pseudo-Christian chief, advertising to the massacre of the Wairau which occurred some ten months before—a tolerably plain avowal of his intentions, and furnishing a motive for the evidently premeditated insults inflicted on these placid settlers of Kororareka; for, placid to a Quakerish extent they must have been as a body, however individually intrepid, to have “turned the other cheek,” not only on this comparatively trivial occasion, but on that of the subsequent destruction of the place.

The unlucky flagstaff of Russell, on which the Government chose to hoist the red cross of England, was situated on the top of a high and rugged hill, surrounded by tangled ravines, half-a-mile from the town; and was, in fact, so placed as a signal-mast for telegraphing shipping outside the bay. The proper place for the standard would have been within the town stockade; and, surely, on the first occupation of a country where our welcome was so doubtful and partial obstruction absolutely certain, no settlement ought to have been made or left without such a place of refuge for the inhabitants in case of need, and where a few sturdy soldiers might have defied any Maori attempt. But the fable of “the flagstaff” was like that of the “wolf and the lamb;” and Heki, in the character of the former ravenous animal, would have found other bone of contention to pick, if flagstaff there had been none.

At the time of the first fall of the flag at Kororareka (which might be considered, and was, indeed, regarded by the Government and the settlers as a most significant declaration of hostility on the part of Hoki Hoki's faction), the military force at Auckland, the new seat of Government, amounted to about 180 soldiers of all ranks, belonging to the 80th and 96th Regiments. Lieut.-Governor Fitz Roy, on hearing of Hoki's outrages, immediately detached a small party—one officer and thirty men—to the scene of riot, and wrote a pressing requisition for a strong reinforcement to the Governor of New South Wales, who so promptly acted upon it, that on the 14th of the following month a detachment of 150 men of the 99th Regiment, with two light guns, field equipages, stores and provisions, were disembarked at Kororareka, and encamped there. The lieutenant-governor himself soon afterwards arrived at the Bay of Islands in H.M.S. "Hazard," and instantly caused to be put on board this ship and some other vessels a party of 210 soldiers, with which force, together with a body of armed seamen, he crossed the harbour to Hoki's country. This sudden demonstration of force, its encampment at Kororareka, and its rapid descent upon the enemy's coast, had, doubtless, a good effect upon the wiser and less warlike native leaders, whose consequent mediation between the governor and Hoki prevented a collision which, considering the weakness of the English force, and the determined character of the natives—not then fully appreciated—with the strong and difficult country through which the invasion was to be carried, might have proved disastrous to the British.

Prior to sending back the troops to New South Wales (pursuant to the desire of the governor of that colony), the lieutenant-governor called a convocation of the neighbouring chiefs, and he met them at Waimate, the Church Missionary settlement in the Bay. The conference between the English governor and his officials, civil and military, the missionary clergy, the Maori leaders and their adherents, must have been a singular and interesting spectacle. His Excellency addressed the assembly in a speech full of indignation. He reminded them of the benefits wrought among them by the missionaries, and explained to them that the Queen of England assumed the government of their islands for their own good, and to protect them from aggression by other nations; that the flag was the sacred symbol of that protection. His Excellency closed his speech by a demand for a number of fire-arms to be given up by the assembled natives as an atonement of Hoki's misconduct. Thereupon several chiefs sprang up, and bringing about twenty guns laid them at the governor's feet. These he accepted in acknowledgment of Hoki's errors, and immediately restored them to the Maoris. In return, his Excellency had to listen, through his interpreter, to some very long-winded speeches (not, however, devoid of wild eloquence, and even of good feeling) from the native chiefs, among whom the passion for oratory is very strong. No fewer than twenty-four men of note got upon their legs on this occasion. Subjoined are a few specimens of these orations, or rather their pith:

Moses Tawhai (a brave warrior, and staunch ally of the British afterwards), said: "Welcome, governor! your kindness is great. My heart has been roasted and cooked on account of this circumstance of Hoki's. . . . Don't imagine that

evil will entirely cease. It will not. You must expect more troubles from us ; but when they come, settle them in this way ; and not with guns and soldiers. Governor, I give you my first welcome, fully acknowledging you as governor of this country."

Anaru said : " My people are a troublesome people. Do not be discouraged. Many Europeans have had troubles with the Maoris ; but nothing very serious has ever taken place. Do not be discouraged. Governor, welcome ! Remember, Heki is a child of Hongi, and has always been troublesome. Do not be discouraged."

Tomati Waka Nene (our firmest native friend) : " Governor, if that flagstaff is cut down again, we will fight for it : we will fight for it all of us. We are of one tribe, and we will fight for the staff and for our governor. I am sorry that it has occurred ; but you may return the soldiers. Return, governor ; we will take care of the flag ; we, the old folks, are well-disposed, and will make the young folks so also."

Hihiatoto (the would-be Quintius Curtius of the Maori race) then sprang up and said : " I am the man who cut the staff down. Do not look after that man, Heki. Take me as payment. Who is Heki ?—who is Heki ? Take me !"

The self-sacrifice does not appear to have been accepted. Before leaving Waimate, his Excellency received a characteristic letter from Heki, couched in these terms :

" FRIEND GOVERNOR,—This is my speech to you. My disobedience and my rudeness is no new thing. I inherit it from my parents, from my ancestors. Do not imagine that it is a new feature in my character. But I am thinking of leaving off my rude conduct towards the Europeans. Now, I say that I will prepare a new pole, inland at Waimate, and I will erect it in its proper place at Kororareka, in order to put an end to our present quarrel. Let your soldiers remain beyond sea and at Auckland. Do not send them here. The pole that was cut down belonged to me. I made it for the Maori flag, and it was never paid for by the English.—From your friend,

"(Signed) HONI HEKI POKAI."

The hollow truce effected by the *koriro* above noticed was of short duration. Enemies of England and order, national and denominational adversaries, were active in perverting the minds of the Maoris by every means—among which the practice of translating according to their views, and garbling passages from the local and English newspapers, was very effective. In January 1845, accordingly, Johnny Hicky (as the soldiers called him) made another gathering of the wild youngsters at his beck for any deed of mischief, and with them paid a nocturnal visit to the old object of his antipathy, the flagstaff, which had been duly re-erected, and was guarded by friendly natives. These recreant guardians, being connected with Honi's tribe, and unwilling, as they afterwards said, to shed blood for a bit of wood, made but a faint resistance ; the axe was once more laid to the root of the staff ; the red cross kissed the dust ; and the rebel chief sent his compliments to the resident magistrate, to say that he would return in a couple of months to burn the Government buildings, and eject the Government officers from the settlement. His Excellency, now convinced that the disaffected party had gained strength, and were bent on coming into actual

collision with the authorities, again applied to New South Wales for an accession of force—which, however, owing to the difficulty of obtaining tonnage for its transport and stress of weather, did not leave Sydney until the 11th March, the very day on which the third and crowning visitation of the Waimate missionary pet to the doomed settlement of Kororareka occurred, when it was effectually surprised, taken, sacked, and burned!

In the previous month H.M.S. “Hazard” had conveyed to that place from Auckland, a detachment of fifty men with two subaltern officers—all that could be spared from the weak garrison of the capital; and they carried with them the materials for a musket-proof blockhouse to protect the already twice dishonoured flagstaff. “The settlers,” relates Captain Fitz Roy, “were armed and drilled, although very reluctantly on their part. A strong stockade was erected as a place of safety for the women and children, and some light guns were mounted. No anxiety as to the result of any attack was entertained, but on the contrary there was rather over-confidence, and far too low an opinion of the native enterprise and valour.” During the first days of March armed parties of natives collected in the neighbourhood of Russell, carrying off horses and destroying property. Other forays followed, which prepared the English—or ought to have prepared them—for further troubles; but no one expected, no Englishman had a right to expect, the disastrous and disgraceful results of the 11th March 1845.

Having brought the reader up to that period which may be looked upon as the opening of the Anglo-Maori war, we will look forth over the scene of operations. We are about three or four hundred feet above the sea, on a narrow platform of tolerably level ground, where a company of infantry could scarcely be paraded. It is as though we stood on the crest of a huge wave, surrounded by hundreds of similar billows with deep dark hollows between them. The flanks of these surging elevations and the gorges dividing them are thickly clad with fern nearly man’s height, and with stunted storm-worn shrubs. The cluster of hills forms a rugged peninsula, whereof three sides are embraced by the devious waters of the Bay of Islands. The view across this fine estuary is remarkable for picturesque beauty—various pretty islands gemming its glossy bosom. On its opposite shore, some four or five miles distant, you descry the level plains of Victoria, where the first Government officer ever employed in New Zealand first pitched his tent; and, farther on, the green, sheltered, and peaceful nook of the Waimate station, eloquent of missionary thrift and emulative of ancient monastic acumen in choice of site. Beyond these the swelling ferny hills, rising gradually into mountains of wilder and grander form, lose themselves in the showery clouds common to this climate.

Rounding the head of the bay we pass over the snug-looking but ill-chosen military cantonment of Wahapu—not more than three miles from Kororareka by water, but separated by seven miles of rough hill and gully from this place, which it is intended to support. Approaching Kororareka from that direction, our eyes fall upon a mass of heights somewhat similar to that on which we stand, but of smaller extent and elevation, and between them, under our feet,

the yellow crescent of Kororareka Cove, about three-quarters of a mile in length. Accommodating itself to the curve of the beach, runs a double line of white-washed wooden houses, constituting the present town, arisen, though much reduced in size, from its ashes. At the farthest extremity thereof, close under the opposite buttress of the little cove, is seen a group of buildings, showing more of age and greater evidence of care and prosperity than its neighbours. This is the French Roman Catholic missionary station, then presided over by Bishop Pompalier—the only portion of the town spared by the invaders. Immediately behind the town extends a somewhat swampy plain or common, backed by a ridge of shrubby hills, which completes the semicircular enclosure of the settlement by high ground within musket range.

With its quiet anchorage, land-locked from prevailing winds, and its level site favourable for building, it is difficult to conceive a more convenient spot as a resort for whaling or other vessels seeking refreshment, repair, or recreation such as Jack ashore loveth; and niched within a cluster of hills, with somewhat similar coves favourable for the landing of canoes in rear of them, it is equally difficult to conceive a settlement, founded in the midst of a country of warlike savages, more vulnerable to attack and surprise; except indeed its neighbour Wahapu. Half-way up the ridge behind the village stand the Episcopal and Catholic places of worship—modest weather-board edifices. With the glass we can perceive several gun-shot holes in the front wall of the former, for which it was indebted to the broadside of the “Hazard.” Near the base of the heights on which we stand some blackened ruins and dismantled gardens, with two or three rusting carronades lying amongst them, denote the site of the stockaded house blown up during the attack. Thence, the ascent to the Signal Hill is extremely steep—so steep as to be cut into steps of earth fronted with plank. The last object the eye rests on in completing the circle within its range, is the fallen flagstaff rotting where it fell, whilst the native-cut kauri spar intended to replace it lies helplessly on the beach below, as if waiting for a centipede’s power to crawl up to its appointed station! There are traces also of two blockhouses—one protecting the flagstaff, the other below the dip of the hill, well posted to cross a fire with the town stockade and barrack, but affording no support to the upper blockhouse.

On the night of the 10th of March, Heki and his veteran associate in arms and mischief, Kawiti, with a force variously computed at from twelve hundred to five hundred men (the former chief afterwards declared that not more than two hundred were in the attack, although ten hundred joined in the sacking), landed their respective parties in the two coves of Onoroa and Matavia. The former disposed his men in close ambush among the ferny ravines in rear of the Signal Hill; and so favourable is the ground for such an operation that the chief and his foremost men lay undiscovered and unsuspected within a few yards of the blockhouse, biding their time with all the patience and motionless silence of the savage. So well matured were their plans to make the surprise complete, that they were not tempted to deviate from them by killing or capturing the junior of the two officers, who late that night passed close to one

of their bands, little thinking of the fierce eyes that were glaring on him through the underwood skirting his path. Kawiti placed his followers in concealment close to the opposite flank of the settlement. Although Heki, in accordance with Maori custom, had given the authorities of Kororareka a blustering promise of attack, and various and, if report be veracious, equally blustering preparations to meet it had been made, on the night in question no person, civil, naval, or military, dreamed of the cordon of lurking savages by which they were compassed round. Instead of lynx-eyed vigilance, careless carousing was the order of the day in many of the houses of the town. The professional belligerents, it appears, were perfectly on the alert—the little detachment of soldiers, disposed in the upper blockhouse and the barrack, sleeping with their loaded arms by their sides, and an armed body of seamen and marines, under the command of the acting commander of the “Hazard,” being stationed on shore for the night. The lower blockhouse was occupied by some twenty of the townsfolk, with three small guns mounted on a platform in front of it.

The weather favoured the assailants, for the morning of the 11th March broke over the earth in clouds and haze. At the first gleam of day the young ensign in charge of the blockhouse started with a few men, and with more zeal than prudence, to finish a breastwork on a height looking into Onoroo Bay, where a picquet had been posted during the day, at a distance and separated by rugged ground from his post. This working party carried with them their entrenching tools and arms. Fifteen men were left under a corporal in the signal blockhouse. The lieutenant in command had repaired to the barrack to turn out his detachment, and the commander of the “Hazard” had proceeded with an armed party to complete a little fieldwork for a gun on the spur of a hill commanding the road to Matavia Bay. The ensign had just broken ground when several shots from the side of Matavia attracted his notice, and he immediately fell back towards the blockhouse. Under the impression that his officer had been attacked, the corporal got his men under arms, and, with as little forethought as his superior had shown, advanced towards the brow of the hill, leaving only three or four men at the post. But finding that the firing was from the farther side of the town, the gallant but outwitted non-commissioned officer was in the act of returning to his little fortress, when suddenly, and as if from the bowels of the earth, a strong body of well-armed Maoris sprang with loud yells out of the gullies on its flanks and rear, one party of them rushing into the blockhouse and instantly destroying its few defenders, another opening on the soldiers a heavy fire, which, as reports the gallant corporal, “repelled us back.” “Firing and retiring,” he retreated upon the officer’s party, who, reforming the whole of his men, attempted to retake the lost blockhouse. In this he was frustrated by the fire of a cloud of native sharpshooters spread unseen among the brushwood, as well as from the captors of the post, when finding that these soldiers of nature were striving to throw a force between him and the lower blockhouse, his only rallying-point, he retreated upon and took possession and command of it.

Meanwhile the lieutenant of the 96th and the naval commander had barely

reached their posts, when the latter was attacked, as is said, by about two hundred men, who, taking advantage of the darkness, their knowledge of the ground, and the cover afforded by the brushwood and flax tussocks, outflanking and outnumbering the English, gradually drove them, fighting hand to hand, back upon the town, killing and wounding several, but suffering severely themselves. Near an angle of the churchyard-fence was the spot where the gallant Captain Robertson cut down a stalwart chief, and received five desperate wounds while dealing sturdy blows right and left among the swarthy foes by whom he was encompassed. Lieutenant Barclay, with his detachment, was so briskly attacked in front and flank as to bring him to a check, and finally to compel him to retire with the naval party, whose ammunition had failed them, to the lower blockhouse, into which he threw his people just as its beleaguers, becoming more audacious, had pressed close up to its walls.

A considerable reinforcement of Maoris now came pouring over the hills, and a large party, rushing down a gully, seized the barrack, of which, always indefensible and now deserted, they took possession. A gun on the platform opened upon the barrack to dislodge them, while the two others blazed away among the thickets in front, filled with skirmishing natives. The gallant Philpotts, an officer of the "*Hazard*," who fell afterwards at Ohaïowai, proposed "to rush the hills" if supported by the soldiers, and drive off these daring savages; and although this measure was not acceded to by the lieutenant in command, a few soldiers and sailors dashed out, without orders, and cleared the front of the blockhouse. An attempt to retake the upper blockhouse was also proposed by a bold civilian, but his proposal was not seconded; nor could it possibly have succeeded, the fern being filled with outlying savages close upon the work, and ready to cross their fire with their friends within it. What has been lost by an act of gross neglect can rarely be redeemed by one of gross temerity, although, perhaps, the commission of the former fault might account for and excuse the latter.

It was now mid-day. The women and children had been removed from the crowded rooms and cellars of the stockade to the shipping; and this fortunate migration had barely been completed, when, to put a climax to the confusion, the magazine within the building exploded, wounding several persons and entirely destroying the place, the last refuge of the non-combatants. In consequence of this mishap, whereby the greater part of the spare ammunition was lost, a council of war was held on board the "*Hazard*," and the resolution to evacuate and abandon at sundown the settlement of Kororareka was passed and adopted. Accordingly, during a truce which had been demanded by the chiefs to carry off their killed and wounded, the military and civilians were embarked on board H.M.S. "*Hazard*," the United States corvette "*St Louis*" (which was present during the conflict, but remained neutral), the whale-ship "*Matilda*," and the "*Dolphin*" schooner. The party of military in the blockhouse were the last to embark. During the evening a few of the townspeople who were most popular with the natives were employed in bringing off portions of their property. Astonished at their own success, the Maoris deliberately performed

the usual rites over the dead, danced the usual *quantum* of war-dances, indulged in long-winded *kororos* or boasting speeches over their pipes, and then coming down from the hills in a body, plundered the stores and dwelling-houses so obligingly ceded to them. On the afternoon of the following day they burned the town to the ground, "and a settlement of very early days, but of great iniquity," reports Colonel Hulme, "is now a mass of ruins."

The 96th's loss was four men killed and five wounded. The "Hazard" lost six men killed and eight wounded; and Captain Robertson's hurts were so severe, that his life was for some time despaired of. The loss of the natives was put down at about eighty killed and wounded, but they acknowledged to no such amount. The officers lost the greater part of their baggage, and about £40 of public money; and the soldiers the whole of their greatcoats and kits, barrack-bedding and utensils—fine plunder for the Maoris, in whose eyes an English blanket was as great a treasure and an article of costume as absolutely *de rigueur* as a Cashmere shawl in those of a French lady. On the 13th the shipping got under way from the cove on its way to Auckland, and Kororareka ceased to exist as a British settlement.

Such is the singular, the almost incredible, story of the fall of Kororareka. The word *panic* affords probably its only solution. The townspeople, the garrison, the marine force, were duly forewarned of an intended attack; there was a detachment of fifty British soldiers—composed, indeed, as the colonel reports, of very young men, "scarcely dismissed drill"—with two bullet-proof blockhouses and a stockaded building; a British sloop-of-war, carrying fourteen guns, moored within a quarter of a mile of the shore, with pinnace, or other heavy boat, capable of placing a gun or two in closer action if necessary. A strong party of seamen and marines, well armed and officered, were stationed ashore; there were some police, two or three old soldiers capable of managing the guns in battery; there were arms and ammunition for all hands, and more than one full-of-fight-ful townsmen ready to lead to battle the armed civilians, of whom a few months before, as reported by one of their number, "there were not less than a hundred men ready to stand up in defence of their families and property." These seem admirable materials for defence against a desultory foray of undisciplined barbarians; but there was no head, or too many, to direct them! Civilians were permitted to interfere with the military, instead of being compelled to act as subordinates, or to manage their own amateur soldiering independently of the regular forces. The round shot of the sloop and the blockhouse did but little execution amongst a wily enemy dispersed over broken and scrubby ground; and for the same reason the musketry was nearly as innocuous; the glacis of the signal blockhouse was obstructed by the hut of the signalman and by rough gullies running up close to the ditch; the two works were not provisioned; they did not enfilade each other. The loss was irretrievable, the error inexplicable; because it opened the eyes of the natives to their own power, and broke down the prestige of British superiority and the previous infallibility of the British soldier. Nothing could have been more foreign to Heki's intention, or more utterly beyond his hopes, than the idea of taking, sacking, and destroying

an English garrison town! His visit was to the *kara*—the colour—type as he thought of Maori subjugation. He had outwitted and outmanœuvred its incautious defenders, and having cut it down his object was effected. His quarrel was not with the inhabitants, but with the Government, with the flag, and its guard. The evacuation of the settlement by the townsfolk was an absurdity. The land and marine forces would, of course, have stood by them had they remained, and the town could scarcely have been plundered under the guns of the "Hazard."

Two Christian bishops, Dr Selwyn and M. Pompalier, head of the Jesuit mission, were present at this unblest conflict. The former, who had arrived in his little yacht, employed himself with the greatest assiduity in assisting the wounded and helpless in embarking. "Was it not a terrible scene?" said Captain Mundy to the good prelate one day, striving to elicit his opinion of the affair. "It was a painful, a very *painful* sight!" was the grave reply. He added that the plundering was conducted with the utmost moderation—the savages pillaging from one door of a house, whilst the owners were removing goods by the other. There were not wanting those who read in the destruction of Kororareka a judgment upon its crimes.

On the arrival of the ships in Auckland, great was the tumult and panic, for Honi had boasted that he would attack the capital next. The late inhabitants of Kororareka, who had lost all their property, and perhaps no little of their self-respect, were loud in their reproaches against the military and the Government officials, making such gross imputations against the two young officers as compelled the lieutenant-colonel commanding in New Zealand to convene a court-martial for the investigation of the charges. The lieutenant was "most fully and most honourably acquitted" by the court. The ensign was arraigned "for that he did heedlessly and carelessly guard the blockhouse committed to his charge, and evacuate the same without sufficient cause and without orders from his superior officer." He was found guilty, with the exception of the word "evacuating," and sentenced to be severely reprimanded. His were merely the errors of inexperience.

A sentence of outlawry was passed against Heki and his ally, Kawiti—which, it is likely, did not seriously affect the spirits, appetite, and health of these warriors; but what was much more important, the governor was assailed by writers in the papers and "other thoughtless persons," burning for vengeance, and blind to all risk from its hasty indulgence, who urged him to fit out a retributive expedition against the rebel chiefs. Sorely against his own judgment and expressed opinion, he therefore gave directions for the ill-fated expedition under Lieut.-Colonel Hulme.

A rumour was rife in Auckland that Heki, the missionary Christian—the great quoter of Scripture, and, therefore, perverter thereof—elated with his success, intended to attack the Christian capital with two thousand men at the next full moon. Fortunately, however, a considerable accession of force reached that station towards the end of March, in H.M.S. "North Star," which, together with a small transport, brought six officers and two hundred men of the 58th

Regiment to restore confidence to the desponding colonists, many of whom, under the influence of the better part of valour, were leaving New Zealand for more tranquil quarters. Civil warfare, moreover, operated pretty strenuously to divert Johnny's attention from his object ; for the brave and loyal chief of Hokianga, Tomati Waka, with his brother, raised their tribe, and, true to his promise at the Waimate convention, attacked the conqueror of Kororareka and the enemy of the British flag, on his own territory. Finding himself, however, unable to cope with superior numbers, or tired of fighting—for the Maori, though fond of war, is incapable of long-sustained operations—Waka urged the governor to hasten to his assistance ; and accordingly his Excellency, conceiving that the case admitted of no delay, despatched all the force he could muster to the Bay of Islands with discretionary orders to its leaders, Lieut.-Colonel Hulme and Captain Sir E. Home, to attack Heki in conjunction with Waka whenever fit occasion might occur.

The expedition, embarking at Auckland, reached Kororareka on the 28th of April, and found the "North Star" in the bay. The gallant captain and colonel, in order to re-establish the authority of the Queen at that place, landed immediately with a guard of honour, and once more, with every ceremony, hoisted the British flag. After seizing the person and the *pah* of a disaffected chief named Pomare, a few miles up the harbour, the expedition sailed for, and anchored off the missionary station of Pahia, across the bay, where Tomati Waka came on board, and held a conference with the British commanders, urging instant action against Heki, whose force he rated at twelve hundred men. This sagacious and loyal chief indicated the best route for the march, and promised to co-operate with eight hundred of his tribe. H.M.S. "Hazard" having meanwhile joined the expedition, at daylight on the 3d of May the force, consisting of the small-armed seamen, the marines, and the military—in all about four hundred men—disembarked at a point about thirty miles distant from Waka's *pah*, which they hoped to reach in two days, carrying five days' biscuit and two days' cooked meat. There were no means of transport for spare ammunition, camp equipage, cooking utensils, or the spirit ration. So tremendous was the weather and the state of the roads, that the colonel did not reach his destination until the 5th, and he found there but wretched shelter from the continual rain.

The following morning the colonel, as he reports, "had a *koriro* with Waka ; and when he found that I intended to assault Heki's *pah*, and force an entrance by pulling down the palisades, he smiled, and said we were all madmen, and that every man would be sacrificed in the attempt ; and to impress his opinions more forcibly he declared that we could not easily take his *pah*, which was not half so strong as Heki's." White persons who had been there informed him, "that it had three rows of palisades all round it ; that there was a deep ditch inside ; that large stones had been piled up against the inner palisades ; and that traverses had been cut from side to side, and deep holes dug, in which the rebels would shelter themselves from our fire and destroy the troops as they advanced." He had no artillery, but he possessed a few rockets, the effect of which he was resolved to try ; and feeling, as he says, "that the chances of war are many,"

the gallant officer placed his force in position near that of the enemy, formed in three parties of assault and a reserve, prepared to seize an opportunity for storming it should accident offer one.

On the morning of the 8th of May, the English force, accompanied by about three hundred of Waka's tribe, marched from that chief's stockade towards Heki's camp—the friendly natives wearing a white head-band to distinguish them from the foe. The reserve halted in rear of a ridge about three hundred paces from the rebel *pah*; while the three assaulting parties—one composed of armed seamen, another of the 58th Light Company, and the third of detachments of the marines and 96th Regiment—advanced and occupied under a heavy fire the positions previously arranged, within two hundred yards of the work, driving some natives from a small breastwork. “And now,” observes the colonel in his despatch, “more closely examining Heki's *pah*, I was convinced that it was impossible to take it by assault, until it was first breached, without a great sacrifice of life and with uncertain success, for the *pah* had been unusually strengthened, the flax leaf having been forced into the interstices of the outer palisades to turn the musket balls. The rocket party, under command of Lieutenant Egerton, of H.M.S. ‘North Star,’ took up a position, and fired several rockets, but in consequence of Heki having covered the roofs of the huts with flax leaf, they did not set them on fire. A few of the rebels left the *pah* on the first rockets exploding, but they afterwards returned to it—the affair of Koror-areka having accustomed Heki and his main body to the operation of shells.”

Meanwhile the besieged were not idle, nor did they show themselves ignorant of that very effective method of protracting defence—the sortie; for a strong body under Kawiti, stealing through the bush, were in the act of falling upon the unprotected flank of the advanced posts—when the ambush was detected by the sharp and practised eye of a friendly native. Warned of the impending danger, these parties, directing a heavy fire upon the spot, made a spirited charge, driving the enemy in confusion before them, and killing many at close quarters; the British bayonet doing its work in its usual style when fairly brought to bear on its object. Soon afterwards some signalling, by means of flags, took place between Heki within the fortress and Kawiti without. The result was a combined attack by these leaders on the advanced position, in which many of the boldest reached the entrenchment previously taken, and were there killed. Kawiti was again repulsed by the bayonet with some loss. Yet was this not the last effort of the hoary warrior, who was much more liberal of his person than his younger and stronger associate (a tall and athletic man, while Kawiti was small and decrepit)—for when the advanced posts were ordered to retire on the reserve, and were bringing off their wounded, unsupported by Heki he made a third and fierce attack upon our people, which was checked and finally repulsed by the skirmishers. It was said that the old chieftain here narrowly escaped the bayonets of a party under the adjutant of the 58th, himself a formidable antagonist—making up for his want of activity by his skill in concealing his person in the scrub, he was fairly run over more than once. The British loss was fourteen soldiers, seamen, and marines, killed; two officers, four sergeants,

thirty-two soldiers, seamen, and marines, and one private servant wounded. The loss of the rebels could not be correctly ascertained. Several chiefs were slain; old Kawiti was rendered childless, two of his sons being killed; besides which several near relatives, and nearly the whole of his tribe who were present, fell in the skirmishes. Having collected his wounded, the English leader commenced a retrograde movement, and reached on the evening of the 8th Waka's stockade. Harassed by heavy rain, and encumbered with his wounded, he arrived on the 12th at Pahia, the missionary settlement, where he awaited further orders from the governor.

Thus ended the first series of operations undertaken against Honi Heki, the missionary lad, in his fortress of Okaehau. The unsuccessful issue of this expedition is attributable to one radical want—the want of battering artillery. The troops, indeed, suffered under a multitude of minor difficulties, such as are enumerated in the official letter of Colonel Hulme—most of them rendered unavoidable by the public indigence; among which were the absence of carriages or beasts of burthen, of camp equipment, and of hospital, commissariat, and store departments. But soldiers belonging to an army whose energies the flaming sun of Hindostan and the icy hurricanes of America have alike failed to daunt, would have derided hardships such as befell them here, however severe, if the war munitions absolutely necessary to place their enemy within their reach had been afforded them. The colonel states his unquestionably correct opinion, that in New Zealand “the troops should be actively employed only when the season of the year is favourable for military movements;” and that “whenever it may be necessary to assemble a force to crush a rebellion of the natives, the troops should not be employed on that duty without a proper equipment, in order to be able to act with vigour and alacrity; and every aid which modern warfare affords.”

A few days after the affair of Okaehau, Archdeacon Williams had an interview with Heki—once his mission servant, now a great rebel chieftain successful in two battles, in both attack and defence, against English disciplined forces; and the reverend missionary proposed terms of peace to him. Certain places were to be vacated by the natives, and ceded to the English; horses, boats, and other property belonging to Europeans to be restored; the flagstaff to be paid “staff for staff;” the rebel leader himself to retire to Wangaroa for two years; “after which, if he remained quiet, the governor would receive him.”

Upon the subject of this proposal, Honi addressed a letter to the governor, of which the following are a few characteristic passages:

“May 21st, 1845.

“FRIEND THE GOVERNOR,—I have no opinion to offer in this affair, because a death's door has been opened. . . . Where is the correctness of the protection offered in the treaty? Where is the correctness of the goodwill of England? Is it in her great guns? Is it in her Congreve rockets? Is the goodwill of England shown in the curses of Englishmen and in their adulteries? Is it shown in their calling us slaves? or is it shown in their regard for our sacred places?

“. . . The Europeans taunt us. They say, ‘Look at Port Jackson, look at China, and all the islands; they are but a precedent for this country. That flag of England which takes your country is the commencement.’ After this the French, and after them the Americans, told us the same.

“Well, I assented to these speeches, . . . and in the fifth year (of these speeches) we interfered with the flagstaff for the first time. We cut it down, and it fell. It was re-erected; and then we said, ‘All this we have heard is true, because they persist in having the flagstaff up.’ And we said, ‘We will die for our country which God has given us.’ . . .

“If you demand our land, where are we to go to? To Port Jackson? to England? If you will consider about giving us a vessel it will be very good. Many people—(here he enumerates tribes)—took a part in the plunder of Kororareka. There were but two hundred at the fight, but there were ten hundred at the plundering of the town. Waka’s fighting is nothing at all. He is coaxing you, his friend, for property, that you may say he is faithful. I shall not act so. He did not consider that some of his people were at the plunder of the town. . . . It was through me alone that the missionaries and other Europeans were not molested. Were anything to happen to me all would be confusion. The natives would not consider them harmless Europeans, but would kill in all directions. It is I alone who restrain them. . . . If you say we are to fight, I am quite agreeable; if you say you will make peace with your enemy, I am equally agreeable. . . . I now say to you, leave Waka and myself to fight. We are both Maoris. You turn and fight with your own colour. It was Waka who called the soldiers to Okaehau, and therefore they were killed; that is all. Peace must be determined by you, the governor.—From me,

JOHN WILLIAM POKAI (HEKI).”

In this original letter there is too much of truth to be pleasant to the reader possessing a conscience and a recollection of some passages in our colonisation of countries peopled by races wearing skins of any shade darker than our own. The “little learning” the savage mission-boy had picked up at the station of Waimate had taught him to distrust the disinterestedness of our conquests and the purity of our rule. The barbarian chief argues from analogy, judges of the future by precedents in past history, and arrives at the logical conclusion, that whether he fights or truckles, he will eventually be swallowed up by King Stork! A few days after writing the above letter, Heki, in making an attack upon the *pah* of his pertinacious old foe Waka, who, nothing daunted by the retreat of the British, held his ground, received a bad wound by a musket shot in the thigh, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered, and which partly caused his death in the year 1850. Heki was more of a diplomatist than a *sabreur*—not possessing much physical courage; his person and features were fine, with a small cunning eye, and a massive obstinate chin.

The expedition under Colonel Hulme—a most intrepid and experienced soldier—although in the main unsuccessful, caused the dispersion of the rebels for a time at least, as well as the loss of some of their bravest men. But scarcely had the ships and troops returned to Auckland when information was received that Heki was again collecting forces, and was actively engaged in building a new *pah* which would be stronger than any yet constructed in New Zealand. Reinforcements continued to arrive from Sydney, where Sir George Gipps and the commander of the forces were making every exertion in their power to assist the local government of New Zealand. It was of the utmost importance to prevent the rebels from making head, and collecting the disaffected from other parts of the island: therefore, without delay, another expedition was prepared on a larger scale; and the command of it was confided to Colonel Despard of the 99th Regiment. The first expedition had expected to carry all before them, and failed. The second expedition, organised with greater foresight, and with the experience afforded by past disaster, was still more sanguine,

and had better cause to be so ; yet the attempt to storm Heki's new stronghold was frustrated with a deplorable loss of life on our side.

Colonel Despard having heard on the 13th June, from an Englishman who had seen Heki, that his wound was very severe and that the ball had only been cut out the day before, resolved to hasten his movements. The vessels accordingly got under way, from Kororareka at daylight on the 16th ; crossed the Bay of Islands quickly ; and the troops being landed, reached the station at Waimate the following morning early. By a return, dated 15th June, the force (not including the armed seamen and marines, who are not mentioned) appears to have consisted, in round numbers, as follows : Twenty-four officers and 510 men of all ranks of the 58th, 96th, and 99th Regiments ; one officer of engineers, one of artillery, two of the commissariat ; volunteers from the Auckland Militia for the services of the Royal Artillery and Engineers, two officers and seventy-five men ; ordnance—two 12-lb. howitzers, two six-pounders. Nearly the same difficulties which harassed the former, beset the present expedition—rainy weather and almost impassable roads ; paucity of means of transport, and consequent short supply of military and commissariat stores ; a difficult country, covered in some parts with brushwood seven or eight feet high and only a foot-path traversing it, and intersected with high-banked and swampy streams ; guns without tumbrels or limbers, having ship-carriages with wheels fifteen inches high, little suited to New Zealand mud, famous for depth and tenacity—such were a few of the impediments in the way of the troops on the road to Waimate.

It was not until the 23d that the force was encamped in front of Ohaiowai—about 350 yards from the face of the stockade, covered by an eminence. From Waka's position the colonel, as he writes, "obtained a bird's-eye view of the *pah*. It is situated in a hollow plain, in form a parallelogram, about 150 to 200 yards long, by 100 broad each face. On two angles there are projecting out-works, but the others have none. There is an outer barricade of timber, about ten feet high, and, as well as I could judge with a good glass, each upright piece from six to eight inches in thickness, and fixed in the ground close to each other. On the outside of this barricade a quantity of the native flax is tied, so as to make it more ball-proof. Within this barricade there is a ditch, from four to five feet deep, and about the same broad. Within the ditch there is a second barricade, similar to the outer one ; and the whole place is divided into three parts by two other barricades crossing it, of similar height and strength to the outer one. During the night of Monday, a battery of four guns was erected for the purpose of breaching the face opposite where the troops were encamped, which opened at seven o'clock A.M. on Tuesday, but not with the effect I anticipated, as the shot frequently passed between the timbers, without displacing any of them. After firing a short time it was discontinued, and during the night the battery was removed to a better position, not more than 250 yards distant."

The shells plumped right into the midst of the stockade, the six-pounders whistled through its wooden walls from one side to the other ; yet the tattooed rogues made no sign. They slipped into their burrows underground when a match was laid to a touch-hole, and kept up a brisk fusillade from their danger-

ous and well-contrived loopholes *d fleur de terre*. After some time, "the small brass pops" (as a former writer designates the breaching guns brought from Hobart Town), tumbled off their platforms into the soft mud, as if astonished at their own efforts. A battery at closer quarters was next tried, but with no better success, for the breastwork being shaken down, it was soon silenced by musketry, and the guns were withdrawn after the enemy had made an unsuccessful attempt to take them by a rush.

On the 30th June, with infinite labour and difficulty, a 32-lb. gun was brought up to the camp from the "Hazard"—a distance of fifteen miles, and was posted on the hill occupied by Waka's tribe—where a light gun had already been posted under a guard, to enfilade the defences. At ten A.M., on the 1st July, the great gun opened with a diapason that astonished the natives, and the six-pounder yapped like a small cur by its side. Great were the expectations raised by this formidable acquisition; and whilst the attention of every one was occupied in observing its effects, old Kawiti once more tried his favourite trick of a flank attack. Rushing from a thick wood close in rear of the battery, he drove Tomati's "Irregulars" in confusion from the hill, and would undoubtedly have overpowered the guard and taken the two guns, but for a timely and spirited charge of a party of the 58th, who recovered the position and drove away the enemy with loss. Yet they succeeded in carrying off a small union-jack, which shortly afterwards was seen flying below the rebel standard in the stockade. This impudent sortie "put the colonel's dander up considerable" (as Sam Slick has it); and by three o'clock, not having a heavy shot in his locker—for the 32-lb. shot, twenty-six in number, brought from the "Hazard," were by this time expended—he resolved on assaulting the place by escalade. Indeed he had been prepared since the morning for this bold measure; and the orders issued for the distribution and direction of the storming parties were so detailed and so suitable to circumstances, and the troops under his command so admirable in every way, that had the breaching battery been tolerably effective no reasonable doubt can be entertained of his perfect success. The sequence demands but few words of narrative.

Soon after three o'clock all was prepared; the Englishmen ready to rush on their savage enemy; the Maoris awaiting in grim silence their onset. Not a shot was fired, not a sound heard; when suddenly a bugle-blast, the signal for advance, rang through the forest. Its notes were instantly drowned by a deafening cheer from the British; and the wild yells of the savages joined in the fierce concert, with the shouts of the officers and the rattling of musketry. In ten minutes all was over! one-third of the English force had bitten the dust. The remainder recoiled, baffled, from the absolutely impregnable stockade.

The following is the list of the British loss before the fortified den of the savage at Ohaiowai:—Killed: officers, 2; sergeants, 4; rank and file, 29; seamen, 2. Wounded: officers, 5; sergeants, 3; rank and file, 75; seamen, 3. Names of officers killed: Lieutenant Philpotts, H.M.S. "Hazard;" Captain Grant, 58th Regiment. Names of officers wounded—99th Regiment: Brevet-Major Macpherson, severely; Lieutenant Beattie, severely; Lieutenant John-

stone, slightly ; Ensign O'Reilly, severely ; Mr W. Clarke, interpreter, severely. Since dead of their wounds : Lieutenant Beattie and four privates.

During the night after the assault, the shrieks of a tortured prisoner of the 99th, mingling with the yells and roars of the war-dance within the *pah*, harrowed the souls of his comrades. This unfortunate was never again heard of.

All the shot and shells being expended, and no transport for further supplies being available, the colonel contented himself with holding his position, directing his chief attention to the conveyance of the wounded to Waimate. Meanwhile the rain fell in torrents, night and day ; the men were harassed by rumours of night attacks : the native allies rendered no assistance ; for, although they admired the determined hardihood of the attempt upon that impregnable stockade, they condemned, even ridiculed it as the act of mere madmen ; and appeared to have lost all interest in the business so soon as the British took the lead and the operations lost that stealthy and desultory character which suited their tactics. Preparations were accordingly in progress for a general retreat to Waimate, there to await fresh supplies and reinforcements ; when, early on the morning of the 10th July, it was discovered that the enemy had evacuated the *pah*, leaving behind them four iron guns on ship-carriages, which do not appear to have been used during the siege, immense quantities of provisions above and under ground, and many Maori valuables, such as muskets, axes, saws, and the like—intended probably to engage the cupidity, and to prevent the pursuit of their countrymen under Waka. They had no fear—could have none—of the red-coat in the bush ; for they had already seen enough of him to know that it was only on open ground he was their superior, and they took very good care not to meet him there.

Upon taking possession of the *pah*, active search was made for the body of the gallant Grant, grenadier captain of the 58th, and after disturbing several Maori graves, it was found. On stripping in order to wash the corpse, what was the horror of the officers, his comrades, to find that it had been brutally mutilated : after cutting off the flesh, which the monsters had probably devoured, they had carefully re-fastened the dress over the denuded bones ! There is some consolation in knowing that no tortures could have been inflicted upon his living body, for the death-shot had passed through his gallant heart. The deceased, it is said, had the strongest presentiments of death. In the old church at Paramatta, in New South Wales, is a tablet raised by his brother officers to commemorate the loss “ of a good soldier and a warm friend.” Poor Philpotts was shot dead whilst bravely but vainly striving to force his way through the palisades, and was scalped by the barbarian enemy. Beattie, a fine young officer, and much beloved by his brethren in arms, died of his wound ; and these two lamented officers of the sister professions, buried with military honours, lie side by side in the Mission churchyard at Waimate.*

On the 11th and 12th the *pah* of Ohaiowai was burnt. The strength of the place struck every one with astonishment. The enemy was now dispersed in different directions ; the winter was fairly set in ; there were not seventy effective

* Waimate, “The River of Tears.”

soldiers at Auckland. No choice therefore remained but to wait for better weather and reinforcements from Sydney, before operations could be recommenced. The gallant colonel, in a letter to the lieutenant-governor, concludes with the remark, that, "whatever has been the real cause of our want of success, it is not to be attributed to the officers or men under my command, for a braver or more intrepid body never wore the British uniform"—an indisputable truth, for there were present at this disastrous combat portions of three splendid regiments, and a small but picked body of man-o'-war's men, all eager for distinction, working well together, and led by zealous, able, and dashing officers. They did all that could be done by human strength and courage, unassisted by those appliances and inventions of war which alone give advantage to the civilised over the savage combatant.

The direct and material causes of Colonel Despard's failure in his dashing assault on the *pah* of Ohaiowai were general poverty of means, of munitions, of information, badness of weather and roads, owing to the expedition having been undertaken at a season when the troops ought to have been in winter quarters—the inefficiency and bad practice of the guns—and the scarcity of heavy shot, which precluded a sustained fire on the defences, and permitted repairs by the besieged—the subterranean safety cells of the defenders—flint locks in combination with floods of rain—and finally, the disobedience of orders, which, as at the fatal affair of New Orleans, caused the ladders, ropes, and axes to be thrown away by those told off to carry them. It was therefore an attempt at escalade *sans échelles!* a practical abuse of terms, a "bull," in short, on whose horns our chance of success was tossed to the winds!

When the troops were withdrawn shortly afterwards to Kororareka, some uneasiness was felt on the score of Waimate, the missionary station; but the Maoris respected the place for the sake of the "just men" it contained; they warred, as they said, against the soldiers and the flag, not against the missionary and the settler. It is impossible to deny to the Maoris the possession of great instinctive magnanimity. Their foulest crimes, their most atrocious acts of ferocity, are seldom committed on impulse, but are dictated by custom and sanctioned by long tradition. To forgive an injury is not a tenet of the Maori creed; nor have we Europeans to exert a very distant retrospect into our own history to find hereditary feuds inexorably followed up for successive generations—it will take a shorter time to teach the New Zealander to love his enemy than was consumed ere the Scottish chieftain of former days forgot and forgave his wrongs, or the wrongs of his forefathers.

In the middle of November Governor Grey reached Kororareka, and gave the rebels a few days to consider the terms of peace dictated by his predecessor. Honi Heki, still smarting under his wound and from an attack on the lungs, sued for peace in tolerably humble terms. "Give me a ship, and I will leave the country altogether," cried Honi sick; but Honi convalescent sung by no means so small. However, he held aloof from his old ally, Kawiti, whose overture to the governor, couched as follows, evinced no great humility. A translation is appended:

"RUA-PEKA-PEKA, September 24, 1845.

"SIR, THE GOVERNOR,—How do you do? I am willing to make peace—that peace should be made. Many Europeans have been killed, and many natives also have been killed. You have said that I must be the first to begin peace-making. Now this is it. Now I agree to it. This is all I have to say. It ends here.—From me,

KAWITI."

The old warrior was only gaining time to strengthen his new fortress, Rua-peka-peka, or the Bat's Nest. The governor, however, quickly put an end to his evasions, and to the possibly not very single-minded negotiations of the missionaries, by giving orders for the recommencement of hostilities; and no time was lost in carrying them into effect. Churchmen were hardly the best heralds to employ in treating for peace or war between the British Government and the Maori in arms; an honest interpreter, to deliver a plain message and bring back a plain answer, would have been a better medium. To be sure, an honest interpreter is not an everyday article, and a plain answer from a savage is as rare. As it was, much delay, and some loss of character for prompt action on our part, were incurred by these negotiations; and rumour did not scruple to charge the reverend gentlemen of Waimate with a desire, from motives of personal and worldly gain, to protract rather than to terminate the war. It is quite true that the relatives of the Church missionaries contracted for the supply of provisions to the troops in the Bay of Islands, and that they raised so high the price of meat that it became necessary to meet the increased expense by issuing salt provisions five days out of seven to the soldiers; and as for luxuries of a higher nature, there were some stories of butter being sold to the officers at the moderate rate of 10s. and 15s. a pound! It is impossible to believe that the self-denying missionary himself would, by fostering the war, imperil, for private profit, the bodies of those whose souls he came so far to save; but that their sons, being farmers and graziers, should take advantage of the exigencies of the public market, is by no means incredible; and indeed these gentlemen did undoubtedly reap a rich harvest at this juncture, from the wants of the troops and seamen.

It was towards the middle of December that the commandant, with a force and with means infinitely more commensurate with his undertaking than had hitherto been employed in New Zealand, advanced from Kororareka towards the rebel stronghold. His route lay about ten miles by water up the bay and the Kawa-Kawa River, to a point on the latter where stood the *pah* of a friendly chief named Puku-Tutu, beyond which some twelve or thirteen miles of difficult country lay between him and the Bat's Nest.

On the 22d the colonel pushed on with the greater part of his little army, and, overcoming a thousand difficulties by dint of extraordinary exertion, was soon enabled to take up a fine position about twelve hundred yards from his enemy, where the rest of the force quickly joined him, and where they had to halt in their bivouacs under heavy rain on the 24th and 25th. On the 29th December the force before Kawiti's *pah* was, in rough numbers, as follows: Staff—1 acting colonel and 1 acting major of brigade; artillery and engineers—1 captain and 1 subaltern; small-armed seamen—10 officers and 211 seamen; Royal Marines—3 officers, 79 men of all ranks; detachments of the 58th and 99th

Regiments—27 officers, 750 men; Hon. East India Company's Artillery—3 officers, 21 men; volunteers as pioneers—1 officer and 48 men; artillery—two medium 32-pounders, one 18-pounder, two 12-pounder brass howitzers, two 6-pounders, and four $5\frac{1}{2}$ -inch mortars, with shot, shell, and rockets.

The veteran chief must have felt flattered, if not frightened, by the very respectable armament assembled for his subjugation. Kawiti himself had shown no little shrewdness in the choice of his new position. The general aspect of the country between Puku-Tutu's village and the Rua-peka-peka is that of bare and steep downs, intersected by occasional strips of bush, through several of which the troops had to pioneer their way by axe-work. The *pah* itself was erected on a rising spur of land, about a quarter of a mile within the margin of an extensive tract of the heaviest timber and brushwood, which screened its front and flanks, and stretched away interminably in its rear. About two hundred yards of cleared glaciis surrounded it. The chief strength of the place lay in its difficulty of approach and the massiveness of its palisading. The commander of the incursion, warned by foregone events, resolved to proceed against the work by regular trench—a method which, if ever contemplated in the affair of Ohaiowai, would probably have failed, owing to the excessive wetness of the ground.

Following the colonel's trail, the military road leads for the most part over open downs, occasionally skirting, at respectful and prudential distance, patches of dark and tangled bush—fit lair for ambushed foe. Here it zigzagged down the slope of a tremendous hill, at the foot of which yawned a swampy gully, ready to swallow guns, tumbrils, and the many *impedimenta* of an army. There it plunged headlong into an unavoidable strip of forest, festooned and matted with huge creepers and supplejacks, through which the pioneers, protected by skirmishers, had to hew a path. The march of the troops was both tedious and harassing, and they were continually annoyed by heavy rain. However, blue and red jackets combined have dragged guns through rougher ground and rougher circumstances than those now noticed; and although their progress was slow, it was not the less sure—for all obstacles and hardships being cheerfully and vigorously encountered, were successfully overcome.

In front a profound, rocky, and thickly-wooded gully presented an impassable barrier to artillery, and beyond it a small plain opening to the sight was terminated by the dense bush, within whose verge lay the Bat's Nest, almost entirely masked by high trees. The troops were compelled to turn the head of the ravine by carving their way through a thick wood, absolutely laced together with a net-work of creepers. The old rebel was as hard to get at as the "Sleeping Beauty" in the fairy tale. Like the knight of old, the English commander had to cut a path through an almost impervious forest to reach the object of his enterprise. Following his track for about a quarter of a mile through a kind of cloister of foliage—result of the pioneers' labours—you emerge upon the small plain above mentioned, in the centre of which stand the remains of a temporary stockade—the handiwork of our native ally and excellent skirmisher, Moses Tawhai, who, just before daylight on the 29th December, pushed silently through the bush with some picked men of his tribe,

and seizing this forward position, quickly and cleverly ran up some palisades and breastwork, sufficient to cover his party from musketry and from a sudden rush of the enemy. The colonel promptly joined the enterprising Moses with two hundred men and a couple of guns; and the position, six hundred yards from the *pah*, was secured before the enemy were aware of the movement. Not far from this spot are the graves of twelve British seamen and soldiers who fell in the assault, which, to the honour of the Maoris, have to this day never been disturbed.

Thus pursuing the line of advance, we are quickly drawn by it into the forest where the *pah* stood, and, struggling through fern higher than the tallest grenadier, find ourselves on the site of the breaching batteries, some 350 yards distant from the front face of the fortress, where remnants of platforms, breastworks, broken entrenching tools, and the ruins of burnt bivouacs, brought the whole scene vividly before the mind's eye. A narrow path through a labyrinth of coiled and matted creepers mixed with fallen timber and enclosed by tall trees, many of them dimpled or splintered by gun-shot wounds, guide to the glacis of Rua-peka-peka. The glacis had been easily and naturally formed, by cutting down the trees necessary for making the picquets of so extensive a stockade. Although the interior of the *pah* is now entirely overgrown by gigantic fern and other underwood, it is not difficult to trace its figure, which, in the several flanking angles and in the stockaded divisions of the *enceinte*, evinced considerable practical knowledge of the science of defence. And, indeed, it would be strange if the Maoris, like the Sikhs and Afghans, were not in some sort skilled in warfare, since they are habituated from childhood to all its stratagems, and their history, as far back as tradition can reach, is an almost uninterrupted series of hostile incursions, battles, and massacres. The height and solidity of the picquets composing the curtains—whereof there were two, distant some six feet apart—fill one with astonishment; nor was the ingenuity displayed in the formation of the trenches and covered ways less remarkable, from whence the defenders could take deadly aim along the glacis at the exposed stormers. Most of the loopholes for musketry were on the ground level; and, across the trenches in which the musketeers stood or crouched were erected regular traverses, with narrow passages for one person, to guard against the *ricochet* of the British shot. The interior was, as has been said, subdivided into many compartments, so that the loss of one of them would not necessarily prevent the next from holding out.

How these rude savages had contrived in a few weeks, and without mechanical appliances, to prepare the massive materials of their stockade and to place them in their proper positions, deeply sunk in the earth and firmly bound together, is inconceivable. To be sure, the timber and flax grew on the spot, and the labourers engaged in the work were working and preparing to fight for their native land and for liberty—what more need be said?

The *pah* was studded with subterranean cells, into which the more timid or prudent ran—like rabbits at the bark of a dog—when they heard the whizz of a shell or a rocket, or had reason to expect a salvo from the guns. Descending by the notched pole, forming the usual staircase, into more than one of these

Maori war-crypts, we find them about eight or nine feet deep, and large enough to contain an Auckland whist party. The mouth was defended by a bomb-proof roof and breastwork of logs and earth. The ground was thickly strewn with English round shot, and fragments of bombs and rocket-cases; and amongst the weeds was found a couple of the enemy's guns—one of which, a good-sized howitzer, had been dismounted and split to atoms by a still larger shot from the batteries, which had made an unconscionable attempt to enter its mouth—to the infinite amazement, one may suppose, of the Maori gunner, who, in the act of taking aim, was “hoist by his own petard.” There lay, also, the flagstaff of revolt, cut in two like a carrot by the initiative shot of Lieutenant Bland of the “Racehorse”—some offset for the oft-demolished staff of Kororareka. The resolution of the British leader to approach by regular trench and to effect a practicable breach before storming, leaves no doubt as to what would have been the result had the affair proceeded to the length of a regular assault, which it can scarcely be said to have done.

It was quite apparent that the stout wooden walls had been no match for the heavy guns. Many of the huge picquets, eighteen or twenty feet high by two feet thick, lay in a heap knocked into splinters, and more than one of them had been regularly bowled out of the ground by the 32-pounders. A concentrated fire would therefore have soon made a good breach. The actual capture of the Rua-peka-peka occurred somewhat fortuitously. The “Mihonari,” or Christian portion of the garrison, had assembled for their *karakia*, or church service, on the outside of the rear face of the fortress, under cover of some rising ground. A party of loyal natives, wide awake to the customs of their countrymen, approached under command of Wiremu Waka, brother of Tomati, and reconnoitred the breaches. Discovering the employment of the defenders, a message was sent back to the English, reporting this most righteous and laudable act of religion, but most unpardonable breach of military tactics, on the part of their hostile compatriots. And who shall say that this neglect of man's ordinances and observance of God's in the time of their trouble did not bring with them a providential and merciful result? It led doubtless to their almost instantaneous defeat; but it saved them and the English from the tenfold carnage which a more vigilant and disciplined resistance, from within their walls, would have infallibly caused. An officer or two with a small party of soldiers and seamen stole quietly into the almost deserted *pah*, and further reinforcements followed quickly from the trenches. The Maoris, too lately discovering their error and the movements of their foes, rushed tumultuously back into the work, and made a fierce but futile attempt to retake it. Hand to hand and unfavoured by position they had no chance against the British bayonet and cutlass. Baffled and overpowered, they fled by the rear of the stockade, and the Bat's Nest was ours.

Thus fell, on the 11th January 1846, Kawiti's *pah* of Rua-peka-peka; and with its fall ended the active resistance of that chief and Heki and our military operations in the northern district. The brave and cunning Maori was not only fairly defeated but fairly outwitted. The lesson was salutary; for this people are sagacious enough to “know when they are beaten”—a branch of knowledge

which that great preceptor in the art of war, Napoleon, was disgusted to find he could never instil into the English armies. The rebel chieftain must have had a bold heart to hold out against a force of nearly a thousand British seamen and soldiers arrayed against him, while H.M. ships "Castor," "Calliope," "North Star," and "Racchore," with the East India Company's sloop "Elphinstone," lay at the mouth of the Kawa-Kawa River, within fifteen miles of his wooden fortress.

Our loss during the assault was: Seamen and marines—killed, 9; wounded, 1 midshipman and 17. Soldiers—killed, 3; wounded, 11; and 2 volunteers wounded.

The *pah* was dismantled by the troops; and the aborigines have since deserted and avoided the place as a spot accursed. The paths leading to it are grown up and nearly obliterated; and the Genius of the Wilderness, true to her children, is fast erasing every trace of the Maoris' defeat at the Rua-peka-peka!

Kawiti, who had made his escape on the capture of his fortress, was, in the May following, received by the governor on board H.M.S. "Driver," in the Bay of Islands, and there and then gave in his allegiance to the British Government, expressing regret for "the trouble he had given," and gratitude for the treatment he had received. The old warrior, it is said, appeared deeply humiliated in making such concessions in the presence of other chiefs, who had fought on the English side, and had eventually triumphed over him after a long and stout resistance. His letter, written a week after his defeat, and expressing a desire for peace, is a rich specimen of Maori epistolisation. There is a vein of ironical fun peeping out of it, quite in keeping with the Maori character:

"January 19th, 1846.

"FRIEND,—Oh my esteemed friend, the governor, I salute you. Great is my regard for you. . . . Friend governor, I say, let us have peace between you and me—because I am filled (satisfied, have had enough) of your riches (cannon balls). Therefore I say, let you and I make peace. Will you not? Yes! This is the termination of my war against you, friend governor. . . . This is the end of mine to you. It is finished.

"To my esteemed friend,

"To the governor,

"(Signed) KAWITI."

Honi Heki died on the 6th of August 1850, the cause of his death being said to be a blow from his wife.

THE WAIRAU MASSACRE.

The massacre of the Wairau occurred in the same year as the battle above cited.

Certain purchasers of land from the New Zealand Company having been put in possession of their town and suburban sections at Nelson (the chief settlement on the southern shore of Cook's Straits), it was found necessary, in order to obtain land for the country lots, to resort to the Wairau, an extensive valley abutting upon Cloudy Bay—about seventy miles from the township. The

company's surveyors, who were despatched to this district to prepare it for delivery to the settlers, were immediately warned off by the natives, who did all in their power to obstruct the survey. Meanwhile, Te Rauparaha and his friend Rangihacata, the original owners of the land in question—owners by conquest—arrived from the other side of the straits, where they had been attending the court of the Commissioner of Land Claims, whom they had settled to meet at Cloudy Bay towards the end of the current month, for the purpose of adjudicating the dispute regarding the purchase of this very district. These chiefs finding the surveyors at the Wairau, informed them that if they persisted in the survey, they would turn them off. They then proceeded to burn down the hut of the chief surveyor—first, however, removing his property to prevent its destruction. They pulled up and burned the ranging rods, flags, etc., and drove away the men. The surveyor's assistant upon this proceeded to Nelson, where, on the 12th June 1843, he laid an information before the police-magistrate, the result whereof was the issue of a warrant against Rauparaha and Rangihacata for burning the hut; and the magistrate resolved to attend in person its execution.

Mr Thompson, the police-magistrate, was accompanied on this ill-fated expedition by the following gentlemen: Captain Wakefield, R.N., the company's agent at Nelson; Captain England, J.P., late of H.M. 12th Regiment; Mr Richardson, the Crown Prosecutor; Mr Howard, company's storekeeper; Mr Cotterell, assistant surveyor, with several others; also an interpreter, four constables, and twelve special constables, the whole amounting to forty-nine persons, among whom were distributed thirty-three muskets and one or two fowling-pieces. On Friday, the 16th, the expedition proceeded in boats a few miles up the Wairau River, and camped for the night—having been watched all day by Maori scouts. On Saturday morning, pursuing their course, they came upon the Maori party, squatting in groups on the opposite side of a narrow, deep brook called the Tua Marina, with a dense scrub covering their rear. The white men halted on the left bank; the armed escort were formed in two subdivisions under Messrs England and Howard, with strict directions not to fire without orders; while the police-magistrate and Captain Wakefield, with some others, crossed the stream on a large canoe which the natives permitted them to use as a bridge. Approaching the Maoris, Mr Thompson produced his warrant and commanded Rauparaha to accompany him, with any followers he chose, on board the brig—to be brought to trial at Nelson for burning the hut of the surveyor. The chief replied, "I will not go—I will stay where I am!" The other then threatened to compel him, and pointed to the armed escort; when Rangihacata arose from among the bushes, came forward, and in vehement tones defied the magistrate. Mr Thompson, under great excitement, now called upon Captain England to "bring down the men," whereupon the Maoris arose with a shout, and fell back under cover of the wood. The Englishmen, who had crossed over the brook, retreated immediately towards the armed escort, and began in great confusion to recross the stream by the canoe; when, as the escort rushed forward to support them, a shot was fired—probably by accident—and instantly a general fusillade commenced on both sides. Several of the English leaders soon falling, a sudden

and shameful panic seized their followers, and the greater part of them, turning their backs, fled in disorder. Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata with their myrmidons, in number about forty, rushed across the creek in pursuit. The English gentlemen, deserted by their escort, gave up their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners; and Mr Thompson and Te Rauparaha had reciprocated the word "*Kati*" ("Peace"), when Rangihaeata coming up exclaimed, "Rauparaha, remember your daughter!" (one of the former's wives, killed by a chance shot during the affray), and instantly struck down Captain England, when a general massacre followed.

A Maori woman, who, on the subsequent investigation, gave her evidence with a fearful simplicity, said, "Rangihaeata killed them all with his own hand, with a tomahawk; I saw him do it. I saw him kill Captain Wakefield, Mr Thompson, and Mr Richardson. I saw him kill John Brooks, near the bunch of trees up the hill. I saw him kill Mr Cotterell. I saw Rangihaeata snatch away Captain Wakefield's watch after he had knocked him down. He afterwards offered it to the missionary natives who were present, but they refused to take it, saying, 'Let it lie with the dead, and all that belongs to them.'"

Seventeen dead bodies of Englishmen were afterwards found, and buried by a Wesleyan clergyman who went there with two boats' crews of whalers. The skulls of all had been cleft with tomahawks and generally disfigured by repeated blows, struck with such ferocity that any one of them must have been instantly fatal. The killed amounted to twenty-two, the wounded to five; twenty effected their escape. Such are some of the terrible details of the massacre of the Wairau. In reporting its occurrence to the Home authorities, the acting governor stated that the measures of the police-magistrate were undertaken not only without his sanction, but in direct opposition to previous instructions; and that, as far as his information went, they were in the highest degree unjustifiable, inasmuch as the question of the ownership of the land on which the hut was burned by the natives was yet unsettled, and was on the point of coming under the consideration of the commissioners.

It was the affair of the Wairau first broke down the prestige of the superiority of the white man, especially of the white gentleman, over the semi-civilised Maori. Heki's well-known taunt on his foray to Kororareka—"Is Rauparaha to have all the credit of killing the Pakehas?"—and its corollary, his attack and sacking of that place, are practical proofs of this. The series of operations in the north against that chief and Kawiti, those against Rangihaeata and Maketu in the south—in a word, the New Zealand war, with its sacrifice of valuable lives and its expenditure of half a million, together with the consequent stagnation in the progress of the colony—were the lineal and legitimate descendants of the unwisely undertaken, miserably conducted, and fearfully consummated affair of the Wairau. Yet, however unwarrantable the persistence of the English claimants in surveying lands still under dispute; however lamentable the loss of life inflicted on the natives by the English fire; the amount of obloquy heaped upon the vanquished party, dead and survivors, by certain public officials at home and abroad, was certainly unmerited.

THE ATTACK ON BOULCOTT'S FARM IN THE HUTT VALLEY.

Besides more than one cruel murder of settlers, several British soldiers fell under the musket and tomahawk of the Maoris at Boulcott's Farm and in its neighbourhood. The farm consisted of a weak wooden cottage and offices, with a barn hard by, which had been partially stockaded by the officer in command, thereby making it bullet-proof, which was by no means the case with the other tenements. The premises were surrounded by a rough clearing of no great extent; which, in its turn, was shut in by the primeval forest. The river Hutt, fordable in ordinary seasons, but impassable except by boats or canoes during flood, runs at half-musket shot distance from the post; and at the time of the attack the opposite shore, covered with thick scrub, was in the hands of the enemy. The garrison consisted of a single officer and fifty men of the 58th—one-half of them occupying the barn.

Just before dawn of day on the 16th May 1846, the sentry in front of the inlying picquet observed a dark object crawling towards him. He fired, and in an instant the air was rent with a chorus of yells, as fifty naked savages, springing up from the herbage, rushed upon him and overpowered and slew both the men of the picquet and himself, before any effectual resistance could be offered; while a general onslaught was made upon the post from all parts of the surrounding bush, and a heavy fire was poured upon the fragile building in which the officer and a section of his people were housed. The gallant lieutenant hurried from his quarters with two men, intent on joining the party in the stockade, but was immediately driven back by a rush from the Maoris. The sergeant got a few men together and checked the furious assailants, and in a second attempt—with only six men carrying three others wounded—the officer succeeded in reaching the barn—whence, leaving a sufficient force to protect it, he sallied against the enemy with the rest, and, advancing and firing in extended order, soon drove them across the river. There they danced a spirited war-dance, showing their numbers to be about two hundred, within view of the British post. "But for the alertness of all in turning out," says the officer in his report, "and the determination of the men, we should all have fallen." The British loss was six killed and four severely wounded. The bugler, quite a lad, was struck by a tomahawk on the right arm, while in the act of sounding the "alarm;" the brave boy changed the bugle to the other hand and continued to blow, when the savage split his skull with a second stroke of his weapon. The Maoris had good right to be satisfied with the havoc they had committed, without pushing their audacity further. As to the loss on their side, if there was any, both killed and wounded were carried off as usual. The affair of Boulcott's Farm was a successful surprise of a British picquet on the part of the natives; a gallant repulse of a superior force in a night attack on that of the British. The Maoris did not want the post—they wanted blood as they afterwards boasted, and they got it. The force in the valley was immediately augmented by the officer commanding in the southern district, who drove the still hovering rebels from their woodland position on the right bank of the river, with some loss.

About a month after the combat at the farm, which had subsequently been reinforced and placed under charge of a captain, that officer, with a view to acquaint himself with the roads in the vicinity of his post, the fords of the river, and the position of the enemy, who were reported to be encamped not far distant, and, perhaps, with a desire to avenge the loss inflicted by them on the 16th May, marched out to his front with forty soldiers, a small party of loyal natives under the chief Waiderapa, and a few militiamen; accompanied also by a young officer of the 58th, a volunteer on the occasion.

The main road along which they proceeded was at that time extremely narrow, full of deep holes, and in some places up to the knees in mud, the bush so thick that the view of the advancing party hardly extended beyond a few paces to their front and flanks. On reaching a piece of cleared land, or rather land with felled timber lying upon it, a smart volley delivered at fifteen paces from among the logs on the left of the road informed the captain that he had fallen into an ambuscade. The loyal natives threw themselves into cover, and returned fire from the same side of the road as the enemy. The English, in skirmishing order, answered it briskly from among the trees on the opposite side of it. In about ten minutes some of the Maoris were seen crossing the road so as to obtain a flanking fire on the right of the soldiers, while a strong party were observed to move swiftly towards the road in their rear so as to cut them off from the stockade. This display of tactics on the part of the barbarians induced the officer to sound the retreat, which movement was accordingly effected without further loss of time or blood. Indeed, the casualties had already been pretty severe; four soldiers being severely wounded, of whom one died, and two missing; while the officer of the 58th was severely hurt, maimed perhaps for life, by a shot through the arm. Meanwhile, the subaltern of the stockade, hearing the firing, promptly armed his men, who were working on the defences, and, inviting the co-operation of a friendly tribe encamped hard by, advanced with forty soldiers, and no less than a hundred aborigines under their veteran chief, E Puni, to the support of his superior. Meeting him half-way on his retreat, he was, after a short consultation, directed to form an advanced guard in the direction of the camp, to which the entire British party accordingly retired. The two native chiefs, on meeting, held a brief *korōro*, or talk, when Waiderapa and E Puni, joining their forces, determined to return to the scene of action; which they accordingly did, reaching it just in time to see some of the rebels retreating to the river across the clearing, and dropping blankets, cartridges, and potatoes in their track.

The account of the action given by Waiderapa affords an amusing specimen of the vain-glorious bombast of the Maori warrior. "The reason why we retreated," said the gallant and self-satisfied chief, in his evidence before a court of inquiry, "was, because we were partly composed of soldiers and partly of natives; had we been all natives, we would have driven away Rangihaeata's people." "The soldiers," he added, "retreated because they thought the enemy were dividing into two parties to cut them off. I did not think so, because they, the enemy, had seen the position that *I* had taken up!"

Here was indeed an unfortunate affair from beginning to end. The leader of

the reconnaissance having fallen into the snare deliberately laid for him, had the choice of two alternatives—to fight his way through it, or extricate himself by retreat. All the evidence collected by the inquiry held to investigate the details, agree that the commander was justified in retiring when he was satisfied that the enemy, whom he supposed to be the whole of Rangihaeata's disposable force, had turned one of his flanks and were menacing to cut him off from his reserve; that the retreat was conducted slowly and with regularity; and that the captain was the last man to retire—himself taking charge of the rear-guard.

THE CAPTURE OF TE RAUPARAHA.

Te Rauparaha, a wily old chief, pretending friendship to the English during the rebellion, was found to be secretly supplying his old ally, Rangihaeata, then in hostility against them, with provisions and intelligence; and suspicions existing that he and other disaffected chiefs were conniving at the movement of a hostile body from the Wanganui tribes down the coast, to form a junction with the latter rebel leader, his arrest was resolved on.

On the 23d July 1846, accordingly, Major Last of the 99th, with Captain Stanley of the “*Calliope*,” and a party of about 130, landed before daylight with such perfect silence and order, that the stockade of Taupo was surrounded and entered before the inmates caught the alarm. Te Rauparaha was seized in his bed by a band of seamen, and struggling, biting, and shouting, “*Ngatitoa—ngatitoa!*” (“To the rescue!”) he was safely carried off to the ship without any casualty. A considerable quantity of muskets and ammunition and a small iron gun were also taken in the stockade.

The attention of “the fighting governor”—thus was Captain Grey styled by the Maoris—was then turned to Rangihaeata; and a combined movement from Wellington, Porirua, and from the Hutt Valley across the hills, was planned. The arch-rebel's courage failing him, he fled from Pahatanui with his followers before the force had assembled; and a party of militia, guided by friendly Maoris along a native path from the Hutt, cleverly slipped in and secured the evacuated fortress. Had he remained and fought well, there would unquestionably have been “wigs on the green,” for the position and construction of the *pah* are remarkably strong. Rangihaeata, however, was aware that there were cannon at Porirua that would soon have levelled his wooden walls. Perhaps, too, his conscience made a coward of the once bold and bloody warrior—perhaps his thousand murders, like those of King Richard, sat on his right arm and unmanned him for the field.

About midway between Pahatanui and Porirua stands the entrance of the Horokiwi Valley. Up the forest defiles of this rugged pass, and through regions almost impracticable to man or beast, Major Last, with a strong force of troops, militia, and native allies, pursued the flying Rangihaeata. Hotly pressed, the rebel chief soon turned to bay on a spot which had been previously prepared for a stand—a rough breastwork of horizontal logs, pierced for musketry, having been drawn across a narrow and steep spur of a thickly-wooded hill flanked by

steep ravines. On the morning of the 6th August 1846, this strong position was attacked with but little effect, and with the loss of a promising young officer, Ensign Blackburn of the 99th Regiment, and two privates killed and nine wounded. Two small mortars having meanwhile arrived, the position was again assailed on the 8th. The height and thickness of the trees, however, prevented the efficient practice of the shells; and the inaccessible nature of the country, with the evident intention of the enemy to abandon post after post, firing a few destructive volleys and then flying from their valueless positions with little or no loss to themselves, together with the difficulty of subsisting so numerous a force, induced the officer commanding the expedition to desist from further pursuit of his slippery foe. The troops were accordingly withdrawn into the stockades, and the loyal natives, in pursuance of their gallant offer, were left to watch the enemy, to cut off his supply of provisions and water, and thus eventually to capture or drive him back.

On the 13th, the rebels opening a brisk fire on the loyalists, Ōpuaha, the leading chief of the latter, rushed with his followers to meet them, and, finding that the others retreated, pressed forward and entered their works by the front as the rebels passed out by the rear. The poor wretches had been fairly starved out—no remains nor signs of provisions being found in the camp except the mamuka or edible fern. A day or two later, the Christian chief, Wiremu Kingi (William King), issuing from Waikanae, fell upon the rear of the discomfited rebels, capturing a few half-famished creatures who had been driven by hunger to approach the coast. Harassed on all sides, Rangihaeata thought himself fortunate in making his escape to the mountains, almost totally denuded of his “tail;” and deeply humbled by the foregoing events, this turbulent chief never again appeared openly in arms against the British Government.

THE MASSACRE OF THE GILFILLANS.

It was in December 1846, soon after the defeat and dispersion of Rangihaeata and his *tauā* in the Horokiwi Valley, that Wanganui was first occupied by soldiers. Sites were quickly selected for stockades and blockhouses, officers and men were soon huddled in temporary *warrees* of reeds, the position was entrenched and surrounded with double palisades bullet-proof, and a few light guns and mortars were mounted.

In the following April occurred near the township one of the most appalling and sweeping massacres of a peaceful household that ever blackened the history of a savage race, and harrowed the feelings of a white community—namely, the destruction of the Gilfillan family. On the evening of the 18th April, Mr Gilfillan, a settler residing about five miles from Wanganui, was heard calling from the opposite bank of the river for a boat to be sent for him, as he had been wounded by some natives. He was brought across the water, and found to have been severely hurt by a cut from a tomahawk on the back of the neck. Next morning, the officer commanding the post despatched a party of armed police and friendly Maoris, accompanied by two or three gentlemen, to Matarana, the

residence of the sufferer, in order to ascertain the fate of the family, when they discovered the house burned to the ground, and lying around the ruins the mutilated bodies of the mother, two sons of twelve and four years old, and a daughter of fourteen years. The eldest daughter, a girl of sixteen, had escaped, badly wounded, and four other children remained unhurt. The same day, the news of the murder and the names of the murderers having reached the missionary *pah* of Putiki, just opposite the cantonments, some of the natives tendered their services to attempt their capture, for they were known to have fled up the river with their booty. The Christian chief, Honi Wiremu (John Williams), with six other young men, in a swift canoe, pursued, overtook, seized, and brought prisoners to the British camp five of the six assassins. A coroner's inquest, assembled by the commandant, returned a verdict of "wilful murder" against four of the prisoners, expressing a strong conviction that the fifth was also an accomplice. The district of Wanganui was at that time under martial law, which, however, would expire with the current month. No time was therefore to be lost, and Captain Laye (58th Regiment), the commandant, lost none. He brought the villains to trial by a general court-martial, composed of seven officers, on the 23d of April, continued by adjournment to the 24th. All the five prisoners pleaded guilty to charges of murder and robbery—one of the miscreants acknowledging that they had cut off and devoured a part of the cheek of the slaughtered mother. The four men were condemned to death; the other prisoner, a boy, to transportation for life. The 25th was the Sabbath. On the morning of the 26th April, the four murderers were hanged on a gibbet in front of the stockade.

It was a good and gallant act on the part of Honi Wiremu and his companions, and an interesting proof of the ameliorating effects of Christian teaching, that they should have so strongly testified their abhorrence of the barbarities committed by their countrymen, as to resolve to bring them to justice at the risk of their own lives. Indeed, the forcible apprehension, by only equal numbers, of a band of ruffians from whom a desperate resistance might be expected, required a mixture of rashness and ruse that seldom go hand in hand. Mr Power, one of the gentlemen who volunteered to ascertain the fate of the wretched family, thus closes his animated account of the pursuit of the assassins: "The fugitives, who by this time were fifty miles from the settlement, and no longer feared pursuit, were taking it easy, singing songs, and bragging of what they had done. As their canoe ran alongside of that of the murderers, Patapo, a wild young chief, and a great favourite of the officers, who was hidden in the bow, saw that one of the fugitives had a cocked musket beside him, and that the others had arms lying within reach; and being anxious to take them alive, he, with a tomahawk between his teeth, made one spring on the fellow with the musket, seizing it, and at the same time upsetting the canoe. In a few minutes the whole party were captured in the water." Yet nothing could be more modest than the tenor of the evidence he gave on this exploit before the court-martial; it was a model for a despatch after action. It would seem that this brave young chief was still a heathen, as he knew not the nature of an oath. The governor-

in-chief, in reporting these matters to the Secretary of State, writes, that he had "satisfied himself that Captain Laye, in adopting these proceedings, had followed the only course that was open to him, and that there is little doubt that his firmness and decision saved the country from a serious rebellion." Military law, right or wrong, had been proclaimed by the gallant captain's superiors; the ordinary law was therefore in abeyance; and it was a happy circumstance that at such a juncture a prompt arraignment, a simple formula, a trial "according to the consciences and to the best of the understandings" of seven honourable gentlemen, and a swift execution, should have filled, for the nonce, the place of that cumbrous piece of machinery—that net full of large meshes, called the civil law.

White apologists of the New Zealanders asserted that the massacre of the Gilfillan family was perpetrated in *utu* for a wound inflicted upon a Putiki chief by a young midshipman—his pistol having gone off by accident. The truth is, that the natives of Putiki were totally unconnected by relationship or friendship with the assassins; and that the wounded man, being kindly and skilfully treated by the English surgeons, entertained no ill-will to the youthful cause of his injury—much less an indiscriminate desire for vengeance on the white race.

On the 18th May large bodies of the insurgent Maoris were seen approaching the place from all directions. They took possession of the surrounding hills and of several houses on the outskirts of the town, and keeping well under cover, opened a harassing fire on the stockades, the village, and the gunboat in the river. Too weak in numbers to move out by daylight to attack the enemy, the captain despatched at night two strong parties to seize the buildings occupied by the foe—a duty which they gallantly performed—the Maoris plundering and evacuating them at the first onset. The troops suffered no loss, but the rebels, in addition to some thirty men wounded, lost a great "fighting chief," Maketu by name, who was killed by a musket-shot in a house which stands at a distant extremity of the village. The course of the bullet was afterwards traced, and afforded no bad proof of "Brown Bess's" power. At 150 paces the ball had passed through five planks including the garden paling, as well as through the skull of the chief, as he crouched on the floor fancying his person quite secure. Another minor chief was also slain. After the fight their friends retired for a time to bake the bodies of the slain, and to vow vengeance. They were seen the following morning sitting disconsolate on the hills lamenting their loss, and soon afterwards all had disappeared.

On the 4th June Lieut.-Colonel M'Cleverty arrived at Wanganui in the "Inflexible" with a strong reinforcement—raising the numbers in the camp to about 550 men, and assuming the command. During the week he made reconnaissances three or four miles up each bank of the river, thereby ascertaining that the enemy's camp, which was posted on the right bank, was covered by a series of entrenched ravines, stretching from a swamp to the river, but that there was no regular *pah*. His Excellency the governor, who had repaired to Wanganui, took active interest in these movements, as well as others. A few days afterwards the rebel tribes seemed to be gradually closing round the settlement—considerable numbers showing themselves on either side of the river, as

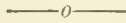
well as on the before-mentioned heights, distant about a mile and a half from the town. Finally, so insolently bold were some of the native scouts in an attempt to cut off a herdsman and his charge under the very guns of the fortress, that two parties under active subalterns were sent to drive them off. The scouts fled—doubtless according to pre-arrangement—towards the hill of St John's Wood, and up a steep ravine which had been strongly entrenched, and behind which among the trees a body of the rebels lay concealed. The soldiers, dashing after the runaways, were received with a heavy fire, which they of course returned, and an action was commenced. The colonel, having come up, sent to the camp for reinforcements; the insurgents were strengthened from their supports in rear of the wooded heights; and in a short time about four hundred men on either side were briskly engaged.

In the hope of tempting the enemy from their cover, the colonel now tried the effect of a partial retreat, which movement was no sooner observed by the Maoris than, with a deafening shout, they rushed boldly down the hill, and, musket and tomahawk in hand, fell upon the nearest of their white opponents. Then the soldiers, turning upon their savage assailants, charged the foremost at the distance of fifteen paces, overthrowing those who waited for the touch of the bayonet, and driving the others, in hot haste, back to their breastworks and reserves. On our side one officer was wounded, two privates were killed and eleven wounded, one of whom died subsequently. Nothing but the well-known awkwardness of the New Zealanders in the use of fire-arms can account for the small execution done by them during this skirmish.

After the brisk brush just related, the rebels stuck fast to their works, which were admirably though only temporarily constructed—all approach to them being impossible except under a front and flank fire. A few days later the *tauā* broke up altogether from the British front, and dispersed into winter quarters—a movement to which their usual desultory mode of warfare, the scarcity of ammunition and provisions (for these wild warriors had hitherto lived from hand to mouth by plundering the cattle and swine of the settlers and loyal natives), the severe cold of the season, and, perhaps, the slight taste of the bayonet they had enjoyed, all contributed to incline the insurgents. A long-threatened, and by the troops ardently hoped-for, assault on the British stockades never took effect, though, it is said, the storming parties for each, with the chiefs to lead them, had all been regularly “told off.”

The sustained blockade of the river, and other stringent measures enforced by the English, reduced the natives residing on its banks to the greatest straits; and, under the pressure of famine, a numerous deputation of men of note came down to the camp, and tendered their *peccavi* to the officer in command. He assured them of the pardon of the governor-in-chief upon certain conditions, which were accepted, and peace was restored.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.



THE nature of this work precluded the writer from entering into the political history of the various colonies, or the details of the Maori wars in New Zealand. Those topics, to treat them fully, would require the space of many volumes. In the composition of the work free use has been made of the best authorities attainable on the subjects dealt with; and care has been taken to omit everything relating to local conflicts on political questions. The history is a history of facts, and it may safely be affirmed that no such magazine of facts relating to the British dominions in the south has ever before been given to the world.

An appendix of curious facts and anecdotes relating to early colonial times is added.

In the foregoing pages we have followed step by step the series of social, commercial, and political events which have established free and prosperous colonies on the island-continent of Australia; the progress of the pastoral interest from the eight merinos imported by Macarthur to the millions of fine-woolled sheep which now graze over Australian pastures; the progress of emigration, from the few score officials, soldiers, turnkeys, and rum-traders, who, for a quarter of a century, formed the only free additions to the native-born population, to the present time, when armies of emigrants, counted in tens of thousands, arrive from all countries of Europe and America; the progress of the value of land from the period when a bribe of rations and the aid of Government-fed slave labour was needed to induce a colonist to accept a farm, to the present year, when land is sold by the foot at the rate of thousands of pounds per acre; the progress of trade from the mere barter of the year 1800, with imports dependent on the expenditure of the Home Government, to the year 1853, when millions of Australian exports in gold and wool created a new and profitable export for almost every branch of British manufactures, and afforded employment for an amount of tonnage which British shipowners find themselves unable to supply; the progress of political institutions, from the irresponsible despotism of the first governor and gaoler, to the concession of the amplest powers of self-government and taxation, with full control of land and land funds, customs and casual revenues, to the legislatures of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and New Zealand. These splendid possessions of the British Crown now contain nearly two millions of loyal subjects, enjoying the utmost amount of individual and general pro-

sperity attainable by man, and with a prospect before them of literally unlimited expansion. Such are the results of British energy and enterprise in the NEW EMPIRE OF THE SOUTH !

AUSTRALIAN FACTS AND ANECDOTES.

PORT JACKSON.

It is erroneously stated in the text that Cook named Port Jackson after the sailor who first sighted the entrance. The true statement is as follows : There is an epitaph on a tablet in Cleveland Church, Yorkshire, to the memory of Sir George Duckett, erected by his widow, which states, among other things, that the deceased, "formerly Sir George Jackson, for many years joint-secretary to the Admiralty, afterwards Judge-Advocate of the Fleet," had been a zealous patron of Captain Cook ; and that the latter, "in recognition of their friendship, called after him Point Jackson in New Zealand, and Port Jackson in New South Wales." We thus learn that the family name of Jackson had been changed to Duckett. There was no sailor of the name of Jackson on the "Endeavour's" books.

NATIVE NAMES.

I like the native names, as Paramatta,
And Illawarra and Woolloomoolloo,
Toongabbee, Mittagong, and Coolingatta,
And Yurumbon, and Coodgiegang, Meroo,
Euranarina, Jackwa, Bulkomatta,
Nandowra, Tumbarumba, Woogaroo ;
The Wollondilly and the Wingcarribbee,
The Warragumby, Daby, and Bungarribbee.

"COO-EY !"

Coo-ey, with the rising inflection on the second syllable, is the *call* universally used by the aborigines of Australia. It can be heard to a much greater distance than any *call* made by Europeans ; and the repetition of the *coo-ey*, it may be from a distant part of the forest, establishes a communication between two parties at once. The colonists all use the *coo-ey*. It was once used by a young lady, a native of New South Wales, who had been accidentally separated from her party in the crowd on the streets of London ; and it answered its purpose at once—no doubt to the great astonishment of the Cockneys, who would naturally think the strangers mad.

LEICHHARDT'S GRAVE.

LINES ADDRESSED TO THE PARTY PROCEEDING ON THE TRACK OF DR LEICHHARDT.

BY R. LYND, ESQ.

Ye who prepare, with pilgrim feet,
Your long and doubtful path to wend,
If—whitening on the waste—ye meet
The relics of my murdered friend—

His bones with rev'rence ye shall bear,
To where some mountain streamlet flows :
There, by its mossy bank, prepare
The pillow of his long repose.

It shall be by a stream whose tides
Are drunk by birds of every wing ;
Where ev'ry lovelier flower abides
The earliest wak'ning touch of spring !
O meet that he—(who so carest
All-beauteous Nature's varied charms)—
That he—her martyred son—should rest
Within his mother's fondest arms !

When ye have made his narrow bed,
And laid the good man's ashes there,
Ye shall kneel down around the dead,
And wait upon your God in prayer.
What though no reverend man be near—
No anthem pour its solemn breath—
No holy walls invest his bier
With all the hallowed pomp of death !

Yet humble minds shall find the grace,
Devoutly bowed upon the sod,
To call that blessing round the place
Which consecrates the soil to God.
And ye the wilderness shall tell
How—faithful to the hopes of men—
The Mighty Power he served so well,
Shall breathe upon his bones again !

When ye your gracious task have done,
Heap not the rock above his dust !
The Angel of the Lord alone
Shall guard the ashes of the just !
But ye shall heed with pious care,
The mem'ry of that spot to keep ;
And note the marks that guide me where
My virtuous friend is laid to sleep !

For oh ! bethink—in other times
(And be those happier times at hand),
When science, like the smile of God,
Comes bright'ning o'er that weary land !
How will her pilgrims hail the power,
Beneath the drooping myall's gloom,
To sit at eve, and mourn an hour,
And pluck a leaf on Leichhardt's tomb !

COOK'S MONUMENTS.

There is now a fine statue to Cook, from the chisel of Woolner, erected in Hyde Park, Sydney. A second stands in the garden of Captain Thomas Watson, near Sydney, erected by that gentleman himself in 1874.

STORY OF JAMES DAVIES.

James Davies was the son of a Scotch blacksmith, who followed his calling first in the Old Wynd, and afterwards at the Broomielaw, in the city of Glasgow, about sixty years ago. The father brought up his son to his own business, but the latter turned out a bad character, and was transported to New South Wales, per the ship "Minstrel," in the year 1824, being only sixteen years of age at the time. His transportation, however, does not seem to have reformed him in any degree, for he was again transported for some colonial misdeed to the penal settlement at Moreton Bay. He was there employed at the forge along with another young man in similar circumstances. The commandant at Moreton Bay at that period was Captain Logan, of the 57th Regiment, who being very zealous in the cause of geographical discovery, and accustomed to take long solitary excursions into the wild bush, was at length unfortunately murdered by the black natives, probably in revenge for some act of aggression committed upon themselves, by one or other of the convicts under his charge. Captain Logan was a strict and rather severe disciplinarian, and so liberal in the application of the lash, that Davies and his companion, fearing that it might shortly be their turn to be flogged, although they had never been punished in the settlement, absconded, and "took to the bush." Proceeding to the northward, they soon fell in with a numerous tribe of black natives, by whom they were kindly received, and treated with the utmost hospitality—Davies being recognised as one of their own number, who had died, or been killed some time before, returned to life again. Davies was by no means good-looking as a white man. The name of the native whom he was supposed to represent had been Darumb-boy, and this was thenceforth his native name. The recognition of the supposed relationship was attended, in the first instance, with lamentations, mingled with rejoicing; and Davies was immediately adopted by the parents of Darumb-boy, who were still alive, and regularly supplied with fish in abundance, and any other description of provisions they happened to possess.

The tribe in which Davies and his companion were thus naturalised, had their usual place of habitation (if such a phrase can be used with propriety in reference to a migratory people, who never stay more than a few nights in any one place), at a considerable distance in the interior, although they occasionally visited the coast to vary their usual sustenance and mode of life by fishing; and it was on one of these occasional visits to the coast that Davies was found and brought back to civilised society, by Mr Andrew Petrie, after he had been upwards of fourteen years among the natives, and had long given up all thoughts or expectation of ever returning to the society of civilised men. His companion,

however, had in the meantime, and when they had both been only a short period among the natives, fallen a victim to his ignorance of the native superstitions. For the tribe being on the coast, and encamped near some inlet of the sea, where oysters and other shell-fish were abundant, and all that were able being employed in gathering the shell-fish, Davies's companion being in want of a basket or other receptacle for those he had collected, and observing a *dilly* or native basket (which is usually formed of a strong native grass, very neatly plaited), hanging in the hollow of a tree close by, he took it down, and finding it contained only a quantity of bones, he threw them out, and filled the dilly with oysters. These bones, however, were those of a deceased native of the tribe which had thus, in conformity to the native usage in such cases, been solemnly deposited in their last resting-place; and the deed which the white man had done quite unconsciously in removing them and throwing them out, was regarded by the natives as the greatest sacrilege, and punishable only with death. The unfortunate young man was accordingly surprised and killed very shortly thereafter.

PARAPHRASE AND TRANSLATION OF A SONG OF THE ABORIGINES.

"Ngaan nubang dhuraa?
Barrabooring gil-waa!"

"A warrior lies in yonder dell,
His eyelids closed for ever!
Heroes! I slew him, and he fell
Near Warragumby river.
Who is he ere we dig his grave?
Come tell me in the song.
Oh, he is like a warrior brave,
Bold Barrabooring."

THE COROBBORY.

Sir Thomas Mitchell describes this dance. He says: "The amusement always takes place at night, and by the light of blazing boughs. They dance to beaten time, accompanied by a song. The dancers paint themselves white, in such remarkably varied ways, that no two individuals are at all alike. The surrounding darkness seems necessary to the effect of the whole, all these dances being more or less dramatic; the painted figures coming forward in mystic order, from the obscurity of the background, while the singers and beaters of time are invisible, have a highly theatrical effect. Each dance seems most tastefully progressive, the movement being at first slow, and introduced by two persons, displaying the most graceful motions, both of arms and legs, while others, one by one, drop in, until each imperceptibly wears into the truly savage attitude of the 'Corobborry' jump—the legs striding to the utmost; the head turned over one shoulder; the eyes glaring, and fixed with savage energy in one direction; the arms raised and inclined towards the head; the hands usually grasping *waddies*, *boomerangs*, or other warlike weapons. The jump now keeps time with

each beat, and at each leap the dancer takes six inches to one side, all being in a connected line, led by the first dancer. The line is doubled, or tripled, according to space and numbers; and this gives great effect, for when the first line jumps to the *left*, the second jumps to the *right*, the third to the *left* again, and so on, until the action acquires due intensity, when all simultaneously and suddenly stop. The excitement which this dance produces in the savage is very remarkable. However listless the individual, lying half asleep, perhaps, as they usually are when not intent on game, set him to this dance, and he is fired with sudden energy—every nerve is strung to such a degree that he is no longer to be recognised as the same individual, until he ceases to dance, and comes to you again. There can be little doubt but that the Corobory is the medium through which the delights of poetry and the drama are enjoyed, in a limited degree, even by these primitive savages of New Holland.”—*Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, etc., etc.*, by Sir T. L. Mitchell, etc., etc., vol. ii., p. 5.

THE MAUNGATAPU MURDERS.

Distant about nine miles from the city of Nelson is the base of a large mountain forming a portion of one of the many mountain ranges which are so plentiful in this country, and whose great size and rugged character form one of the most remarkable features in New Zealand scenery. It is reached by a narrow track winding along the river Maitai. This track will not allow of two horsemen moving together abreast, and is often a mere ledge cut out of the mountain side, and overhanging precipitous banks which take a sheer descent to the river that is sometimes fifty or sixty feet below. The mountain, forest, and river scenery is grand and wild; and the thickly-timbered hill-side frequently “glances itself” in the deep and placid pools, where in some parts the stormy mountain stream sinks into perfect and unruffled stillness and calm beauty.

The track takes its name from the Maungatapu, a mountain over which it passes. This word signifies in the Maori the *tapu'd* (tabooed) or “sacred mountain,” which is about 5000 feet high, and the winding pathway which leads over it is about five miles long from base to base. This path is cut through a dense primeval forest, which clothes the mountain and its many spurs and steep river gorges with continual and luxuriant foliage; and the man who, for the first time, rides through the lonely yet majestic and changing scenery with its rushing river, dark gullies, dense bush, and hazardous side-ways, huge mountain tops, some jagged with huge rocks, and others rising into lofty peaks, must confess that seldom is there to be met with such splendid solitudes and scenery as those which embrace this narrow and tortuous pass.

This track connects by land the two provinces of Nelson and Marlborough, and forms the overland route to what, at one time, was a part of Nelson Province, the large and rich pastoral and agricultural valley of the Wairau. Mining enterprise first led to its formation some time since.

Some years ago the expectations of a yield from a copper-mine, believed to exist in the Dun Mountain (which lies about twelve miles to the south-east of

Nelson), led to the expenditure of large sums of money for the purpose of forming a road suitable for the transit of the ore to Nelson, the port for shipment; and the valley of the Maitai having been chosen as the best route, some half-score of miles of its course were gradually converted into a tolerable track, practicable for horses and pack bullocks. Rude bridges spanned the river at various parts of its devious course; rocks were toppled down into its channel; dense bush on its precipitous banks was cleared aside to enable horsemen to travel its course in single file, while pursuing a new road from Nelson, and to enjoy a day's travel amongst the changing scene of the rushing mountain torrent, dark gullies, dense bush, and dangerous-looking sidings that alternate the track. This road had not long been formed when it was discovered that by diverging from the track at the junction of the river, about nine miles from Nelson, and pursuing a more easterly course towards the Maungatapu, that a short cut across the mountains could be made in the direction of Wairau. Hence arose this road, which has from time to time been improved, and now extends about seventy miles from Nelson to Pictou, in Marlborough Province.

While there are few places more beautiful and striking than this road displays, there are also few places offering greater facilities for the commission of deeds of violence, with greater chances of escape for the perpetrators, or means of hiding their crimes. Yet never until 1866 had a single offence been heard of along its whole extent since its formation. Comparatively free from deeds of violence, and even from petty offences, such as thefts, has this part of New Zealand been since its settlement in 1842. The people of Nelson felt so secure in life and property that for nearly a generation their household doors were rarely locked, until very recently, when the gold discoveries of the province attracted a strange and moving population, multiplied largely the strange faces in our streets, and induced something more like caution and watchfulness than ever was practised before. The sense of security which had been so long enjoyed made all the more startling the intelligence of those dreadful occurrences which we now proceed to narrate.

On the morning of the 12th June 1866, four men left Deep Creek, a small township on the gold-diggings of the Wakamarina River, in the province of Marlborough, for Nelson, in order to proceed thence to the Grey River goldfields on the west coast of the province of Nelson. They were John Kempthorne, store-keeper at Deep Creek; Felix Mathieu, hotel-keeper there; James Dudley, store-keeper there; and James Pontius, miner there. Kempthorne and Dudley were Englishmen; Mathieu was a Frenchman; and Pontius an American belonging to New York. All were men in the prime of life, the eldest being not more than forty years of age. Deep Creek is the only settlement on the Wakamarina diggings which remains of the gold "rush" that arose on the discovery of gold on the Wakamarina, in April 1864. It has always maintained a small population, and yielded fair results to the few miners who remained out of the thousands that flocked to that quarter when the diggings first "broke out." The superior attractions of the Grey goldfields induced the four men above named to leave Deep Creek, with the intention of trying their fortune on the

west coast. This they were fated never to reach, for their bodies were found, foully murdered, lying on the side of a mountain gorge, on the lonely road which separates Nelson from the Wakamarina River. The pass spoken of leads to that river, which is thirty-five miles from Nelson, and close by the Wakamarina ford is Canvastown, once a spot well peopled with miners, now almost deserted. Deep Creek lies at a distance of seven miles farther up the Wakamarina, through a heavy bush path. The four murdered men reached Canvastown before noon on Tuesday, 12th June, and left on their way to Nelson the same afternoon. They had with them altogether about £300 in gold dust and notes, and were accompanied by a pack-horse, which carried their "swags," the diggers' phrase for baggage. They rested on Tuesday night at the Pelorus Accommodation House, six and a half miles from Canvastown, kept by Mr Couper, whence they started on the memorable morning of Wednesday, 13th June, for Nelson, where they expected to arrive that night, but which they, or rather all that remained of them, reached in a melancholy procession, sixteen days after, as "dead corpses." Previous to leaving Deep Creek, Mathieu, who owned the pack-horse which the party took with them, had arranged that a man named Möller should follow them to bring back the horse from Nelson. Möller, who was a good walker, and unencumbered with baggage, left Deep Creek at daybreak on Wednesday, 13th June, a day after his friends. He passed Canvastown at an early hour, and gradually gained ground upon his four friends, who were obliged to adhere to the slow pace of their heavily-laden pack-horse. Möller had been informed that the party he was in quest of was but a short way in advance of him, and this he learned from several travellers, who were, on that particular day, more than usually numerous on the road. The four lost men were last seen alive by travellers on the road at a small flat a little more than half the distance between Canvastown and Nelson. This spot is called Franklin's Flat, from the name of a storekeeper who started an accommodation house there during the "rush" that existed in the early days of the Wakamarina diggings. The flat is now deserted, but it is frequently chosen as a resting-place by travellers, being a convenient spot at which to feed their horses and refreshen themselves. Kempthorne and his companions were seen on this flat by a horseman named Birrell about one o'clock in the afternoon, and a few minutes afterwards were seen leaving the place by a man named Livingstone and a woman of the name of Fulton (referred to by Burgess in his confession before the magistrate). These were the last persons, with the exception of their murderers, who saw the four men alive; within a mile and a half of this spot all trace of them was lost. Möller, after passing this man and woman who reported having seen his friends, walked on, and less than a mile and a half on the Nelson side of it, close by the rock already spoken of, he met a settler on horseback named Bown, who, in answer to his inquiries, said he had seen nothing of the men or their horse, that no such party had passed, and that, from the nature of the road, he must have seen them if they had gone on. Möller was bewildered, and came on to Nelson, but found no trace of his friends, who had not been seen there. He returned to Canvastown, arriving there on Saturday, 16th June. On telling his story of the

disappearance of the men to Mr Jervis, a storekeeper at Canvastown, the latter almost intuitively concluded that the men had been murdered, and that their murderers were a party of four strange and suspicious-looking men whom he had allowed to lodge for three days in an empty building adjoining his own store. These four had arrived at Canvastown from Nelson on Saturday, 9th June. One of the four went up to Deep Creek on the Sunday following, leaving the three others at Canvastown. This emissary returned on Monday, and all kept up a secrecy of movement, refusing to admit any one to the house, and seemingly actively engaged the while within. It was the suspicious appearance and conduct of these four men which led Mr Jervis to suspect them of having murdered the four missing men, on hearing of their non-arrival in Nelson. The one who visited Deep Creek was recognised there by the wife of a miner, Mrs Morgan, who knew him on the Dunstan diggings, in Otago, and whose attention was directed to him by Mrs Mathieu, the wife of one of the men since murdered, and who said he refused to give any name. Mrs Morgan spoke to him. She said, "What, Phil Levy! what do you want here?" Levy rose and shook hands with the woman, who again asked him, "Where is the woman Emma, that was living with you on the Dunstan?" This woman was said to have mysteriously disappeared. He replied, hurriedly: "Hush, don't say a word about her now;" and no more passed on the subject. He had a good deal of conversation with Dudley, another of the murdered men; and told Mrs Morgan and others that he had come to Nelson to buy goods, but having heard of a rush at Deep Creek he had come up to see about it. After staying a night at Mathieu's hotel he returned to Canvastown, which he reached on the Monday evening, and rejoined his three comrades there.

These four men were afterwards proved to be the prisoners—Richard Burgess, William or Phil Levy, Thomas Kelly, Joseph Thomas Sullivan. Descriptions of the four men had been furnished to the police of Nelson by the police authorities of Greymouth, on the west coast goldfields, at which place it was discovered they were wanted on the charge of being concerned in the murder of Mr George Dobson, a young gentleman employed as a surveyor by the Provincial Government of Canterbury, and who had suddenly disappeared. As afterwards appeared from the confessions of some of the prisoners, it was this gang who killed and buried Dobson, whose body was subsequently found where it had been buried, after they had strangled him, on the banks of the Grey River, about seven miles up from the town of Greymouth.

LAMENT FOR A NEW ZEALAND CHIEF.

Behold the lightning's glare,
It seems to cut asunder Tuwhara's rugged mountains.
From thy hand the weapon dropped:
And thy bright spirit disappeared
Beyond the heights of Raukawa.
The sun grows dim and hastes away,
As a woman from the scene of battle.
The tides of the ocean weep as they ebb and flow,

And the mountains of the south melt away :
 For the spirit of the chieftain
 Is taking its flight to Rona.
 Open ye the gates of the heavens.
 Enter the first heaven, then enter the second heaven,
 And when thou shalt travel the land of spirits,
 And they shall say to thee, "What meaneth this?"
 Say the winds of this our world
 Have been torn from it, in the death of the brave one,
 The leader of our battles.
 Atutahi and the stars of the morning
 Look down from the sky,
 The earth reels to and fro,
 For the great prop of the tribes lies low.
 Ah! my friend, the dews of Hokianga
 Will penetrate thy body.
 The waters of the rivers will ebb out
 And the land be desolate.

NEW ZEALAND CUSTOMS.

Connected with the mythology of the New Zealanders there was a singular ceremony called Iriiri, or Rohi. Before a child was a month old, often before it was ten days, its head was adorned with feathers, all the family greenstones were hung about it, and it was rolled up in a mat and carried to the side of a stream. Here the mother delivered the child into the hands of the priest, who, raising it in his arms, and looking steadily in its face, chanted :

"Wait till I pronounce your name.
 What is your name?
 Listen to your name.
 This is your name :
 Wai Kui Manecane."

Here a long list of names belonging to the child's ancestors was repeated by the priest, and when the child sneezed or cried, the name which was then being uttered was the one selected. Then, if it was a male child, the priest in a falsetto voice sung :

"Let this child be strong to grasp the battle-axe,
 To grasp the spear,
 Strong in strife,
 Foremost in the charge,
 First in the breach,
 Strong to grapple with the foe,
 To climb lofty mountains,
 To contend with raging waves.
 May he be industrious in cultivating the ground,
 In building large houses,
 In constructing canoes suited for war,
 In netting nets!"

Whilst over a female child he said :

“ May she be industrious in cultivating the ground,
In searching for shell-fish,
In weaving garments,
In weaving ornamental mats !
May she be strong to carry burdens ! ”

Then the priest sprinkled over the child water shaken out of the branches of trees, or he immersed it in the river. Occasionally it was held before a notched stick, and if any event occurred during the time which could be construed into a good or bad omen, it was foretold whether the future man would turn out a warrior or a coward, or whether death would overtake the infant before it reached maturity. Priests received presents for performing this ceremony, and when it was over food was cooked for the gods and for the guests. The rite was celebrated differently among different nations. It was, however, only over the children of chiefs that Iriiri was carefully performed. But all new-born infants were sacred, and could not be handed about until the *tapu* was removed from them by cooking food.

NEW ZEALAND STORIES.

STORY OF WAIHUKA AND TUTEAMOAMO.

There were two brothers, and they had neither father nor mother, nor tribe nor place.

The younger was named Waihuka, the elder Tuteamoamo. When the former married Hineitekakara, a very beautiful woman, the elder brother the moment he saw her was struck with love, and he made up his mind to destroy Waihuka, to obtain possession of his wife.

One day Tuteamoamo took Waihuka a long distance out to sea to fish, and after catching a hundred fish, the elder brother said to the younger, “ Haul up the anchor of our canoe ; ” but being unable to do so, he was prevailed on to dive for it. While under the water his brother cut the rope and paddled to a distance. When Waihuka came to the surface he cried to his brother to come and take him on board, but Tuteamoamo sailed away after throwing into the sea Waihuka’s mat, fishing-line, and paddle, which he told him to use as a canoe.

Waihuka now prayed to the birds to carry him to land, but none came to his assistance ; he then called on the fish, and the whale hearing his supplications carried him ashore on its back.

When Tuteamoamo reached the land he rushed home, and told Hineitekakara that her husband was on board his canoe, but she immediately suspected he was drowned, and fell a-weeping.

In the evening Tuteamoamo went to Hineitekakara’s house and cried, “ Draw back the slide of the door,” and she replied :

“ O let me weep,
Let me utter now the lamentation
For thy younger brother Waihuka !
Lo, the year is long, O Tuteamoamo,
And this long year is thine.”

While uttering these words, she dug a hole in the floor of the hut, before Tuteamoamo broke open the door, and escaped to the beach to search for her husband's body. Here she asked various birds, without obtaining any information, but a whale pointed out where Waihuka was to be found alive.

When Waihuka and Hineitekakara had ceased weeping, they returned quietly home. In the eventide Tuteamoamo again visited the house, and asked Hineitekakara to draw the slide of the door, which she did, and as he entered Waihuka sprang forward and slew him.

LEGEND OF THE KILLING OF THE MONSTER HOTUPUKU.

This is an account of the brave deeds of the men of Rotorua in the olden time.

Travellers between Rotorua and Taupo were frequently lost, and their friends invariably supposed they fell in with a war party, until one traveller escaped and reported that they were slain by a beast armed with scales and spikes, like a sea monster, living in a cave on the road.

This news quickly spread, and 340 Rotorua warriors took up arms to slay the monster. The party first travelled to the plain of Kapenga, where they plaited ropes and made snares with cabbage-palm leaves; and when they had finished, chiefs stood up and recounted tales of their ancestors' bravery, to animate each other's courage for the coming struggle.

It was then arranged the party should not approach too close to the monster, but wait until the wind blew towards them; "for should it blow from us towards him he will scent us, and then we shall be prevented from making our preparations by his coming upon us before we are ready for him." Parties were told off to be in readiness with the snares, and others to entice him out of the cave.

These arrangements were scarcely completed when the monster, scenting the approach of men, rushed out of his den. Long before he was seen, a rumbling noise like thunder was heard, and the monster flew at the warriors with an open mouth and a flaming tongue. They fled, and in their retreat "cunningly drew him into the snare, where his fore-legs and head were caught." Here he struggled hard for life; but after frequent attacks from the warriors on different parts of his body, he stretched himself out like a dying grub and expired.

Next day the warriors cut open their enemy. He was as large as a black whale, and in shape like a tuatara. In his stomach were found bodies of men, women, and children, some whole, others mutilated, and large quantities of warlike weapons and mats. The dead inside the monster were carefully buried; and after preserving his fat in calabashes, and eating portions of his flesh in revenge for his deeds, the warriors returned in triumph to Rotorua.

This story is not unlike that of St George and the dragon; but there is nothing European in it, for the dragon is the emblem of the Chinese, and all Malays hold in terror animals resembling dragons.

Fables, like stories, furnished amusement to the people. Every fable possessed a moral, which is, however, often obscure. From the following specimens it will be seen that the New Zealand fables are apologues, not parables.

THE EEL AND THE CODFISH.

"Which is your best part?" said the codfish to the eel. "I am good," replied the eel, "from my tail to my middle. But which is your good part?" The codfish answered, "My tail and fins." Then the codfish asked the eel which was his fattest part; and he replied by looking at his tail and referring a similar question to the cod, who by opening his eyes signified his head was the fattest part of his body.

This fable teaches us the best part of these fish.

THE GUANA AND THE ROCK COD.

A guana said to a rock cod, "Let us go inland." And he replied, "No; go yourself." But the guana urged the cod to go lest man should destroy him. The rock cod answered, "It is you, not me, men will destroy." To which insinuation the guana replied, "I will set up my spines, stick out my claws, and men will run from me."

THE RAT AND THE GREEN PARROT.

"Let us climb this tree," said the green parrot to the rat. "What shall we do there?" asked the rat. "Eat fruit," answered the parrot. "My friend," said the rat, "both our tribes are diminishing by the arts of man: he twists your neck and snares me."

This fable inculcates man's power over the lower animals.

THE KAURI-TREE AND THE WHALE.

"Come to the sea," said the whale to the kauri. "No," replied the tree, "I prefer the land." "Then," said the whale, "let us change skins, for you are in danger of being cut down by man and made into a canoe."

THE RAT AND THE LIZARD.

Lizard (in a tree). O Rat!

Rat. What?

Lizard. Come up hither to me.

Rat. What are we to do there?

Lizard. Gather the fruits of the trees.

Rat. O son, our place is here below, we only know how to burrow in the earth. This fable shows each man has his proper sphere on earth.

Proverbs are numerous among the New Zealanders, and are often the wise or witty sayings of ancestors. Some are pointed and elegant, while others are destitute of wit and sense to a European, although highly relished among themselves.

Proverbs are used to support arguments, to excite men to exertion, and to produce amusement. The introduction of an applicable proverb in a speech often carries more weight than any other sort of argument. Every proverb

inculcates some principle. The following instilled into men's minds the necessity of cultivating food :

Whoever trusts to another man's labour for his food will be disappointed, but he who labours with his own hands will have enough and to spare.

"In the procession the priest goes before and the multitude follow after."

Prosperity is promised to "those who give as well as take."

People who ask for advice which they do not follow are compared to "dogs, snatching food from their masters' hands and running away."

No man is a prophet in his own country has an equivalent in the proverb, "A mussel at home, a parrot abroad."

Greedy fellows are compared to rats, and the "rat has a double stomach."

The early bird gets the worm, is less pointedly expressed in the proverb, "He who goes before gathers treasures, but he who follows looks for them in vain."

"CURRENCY" AND "CORN-STALKS."

In New South Wales the native-born population are distinguished as the "currency"—in opposition to the emigrant portion of the inhabitants, who are (or formerly were) considered as "sterling." These terms originated in the difference which, at one period, some of the financial arrangements of the colonial government had occasioned between the nominal value of the pound sterling and its real worth as an article of currency—the latter being then considerably lower than its proper and standard estimate.

The "currency" of New South Wales are, however, a fine and manly race, by no means unworthy representatives of England's greatness; and, like all successful dwellers in a new country, they grow up in the practice of that greatest of moral qualifications—self-reliance. The colonial-born men are also popularly known by the name of "*Corn-stalks*"—from their frequent lank and bony appearance. With his independent and self-satisfied gait, his loose and careless dress (of which the cabbage-tree hat forms an invariable portion), his shrewd and ready intelligence, and his quick appreciation of the monetary value of things around, Brother "Corn-stalk" in not a few particulars resembles Brother Jonathan—his fellow-descendant from the same parent stock. The juvenile population of Sydney, and other towns in the Australian colonies, are also distinguished by the same precocious "smartness" which marks their congeners in the New World, and which often attracts amusingly the notice of visitors to the United States. In Australia, this is mainly the result of the comparative scarcity of labour, and the early age at which the youthful portion of the population find their services called into requisition—at a period when, in many cases, they are still within the limits of childhood. A numerous family is the reverse of an incumbrance to the industrious settler in these distant lands. A striking contrast, this, to over-populated Britain, in which a man too often has occasion to measure his pecuniary struggles by the catalogue of names inscribed within the cover of his family Bible!

THE SHIPWRECKED MISSIONARY.

The Rev. William Longbottom had been a Wesleyan missionary in India. The climate enfeebled his health. He sought the restoration of his vigour in the charming salubrity of Australia.

After a little rest, it was arranged that he should be stationed awhile at Swan River, Western Australia. As there was then more communication with that place from Hobart Town than from Sydney, he got a passage at the port of Van Diemen's Land. In these days of "Great Britains" and "Great Easterns," the insignificance of our ancient colonial craft might well provoke a smile. The good man was content to sail in a little boat of forty tons, called the "Fanny." A voyage of some two thousand miles, with many inconveniences, had to be undertaken by the invalid minister, accompanied by his wife and little child. This was in the month of June 1838, a time of year which, for rough weather and season, answers to the English December.

It was rather natural that so small a vessel should seek to hug the land a little for shelter; but it was singular imprudence, negligence, or something worse, that led the captain out of his route in proximity to a dangerous coast.

After sailing along the southern limestone rocks of Port Phillip, now Victoria, leaving Portland Bay, the Basaltic Heads, the Guano Isle, and the craggy heights of Cape Northumberland, he crept northward into Encounter Bay. This was so called from the accidental meeting of a French and English exploring ship in 1802. The first was commanded by Captain Baudin, who had received his commission of peace from the Consul Napoleon; the other was under Captain Flinders, the discoverer of Bass's Strait and the whole coast of South Australia.

Encounter Bay is of a crescent shape. Its two horns are bold promontories, the one of primitive rock, and the other of limestone beds. Between these not a stone or rise is seen. The curve line is traced on sand. The frolicsome waves will here and there throw up a hillock only to tear it down again, and strew its fragments far on the ocean bed. And yet this weak rampart repels the wild charges of the massive billows, and rolls back the mad seas that would engulf the land. A strong contest takes place, however, where the river Murray, after a tranquil course of 2400 miles, glides noiselessly through the salt waters of the Victoria Lake, and seeks then to fall into the Southern Ocean. The battle there is found with the shifting sands. The indignant sea hurls up huge banks to stay the irruptive waters; but, like the ancient forest tribes that broke across the frontiers of Rome, the repulsed foremost ranks of the stream are forced onward again by rearward hosts who must have room, until the wall is beaten down, and the imprisoned waters fly. Then will the ocean rush to the strife once more, and rebuild its fallen fortress.

Southward of this point, and extending for ninety miles parallel to the coast, is a singular physical feature. A few hundred yards from the sea, divided from it by sand hummocks only, and fed from it by the percolations through the sand, is an inland sea or lake, which, though nearly a hundred miles in length, is

seldom a mile broad, and but a few feet in depth. The salt Coorong has some dreary, shrubless islands, just showing their sandy heads above the glistening waters. Beyond, again, is the ever dreary sand of one of the many deserts of South Australia. The kangaroo and opossum fly this inhospitable part. The screaming of the gull is unanswered by the note of the land birds. Woe to the poor traveller caught in this wretched thirsty land !

The "Fanny" came drifting heedlessly along this low and barren shore. The swell that sets in there is strong and even dangerous in fair weather, and is overwhelming in a storm. The sky was clear and the wind was light, as in the still hour of night the missionary was thrown out of his berth by the keel of the vessel impinging on the sands. A gracious Providence was watching over them all. The captain, his four seamen, and the missionary family landed in safety.

Their first thought was to secure themselves with a little provision on the leeward side of the hummocks, where the cold wind could not annoy them. There they waited anxiously for day. As the morning was calm, and the ship was still hanging together with its end in the sands, a visit was paid to the cabin and the hold. Two days of fine weather enabled the shipwrecked ones to recover some biscuits, water, and clothes. They were unsuccessful, however, in the search for the charts and compass. These, with the ship's log and papers, had disappeared. There were several circumstances that tended to excite suspicions against the master.

A sort of tent was erected, and all availing means were employed to make themselves comfortable. The captain seemed to be wholly unacquainted with the locality, and made no early effort to shift his quarters. For a whole month the party were in a wretched plight, exposed on that stormy coast to the violence of wintry winds. Before the waves destroyed the vessel, and carried off the fragments, timber was secured for firing ; but when that was exhausted they suffered much from cold and damp. From this trouble they were relieved by some natives, who, seeing at a distance the tent, came near to observe the visitors. Instead of acting the savage, they courteously provided them with sticks for their fires ; the wood they brought from distant forests.

Strange to say, these very Coorong aborigines, who behaved with such kindness to these unfortunate Englishmen, were afterwards known for their horrible brutality towards another shipwrecked party.

A colonial brig had been cast ashore in a gale there. The people, crew and passengers, men, women, and children, attempted to follow the coast round to Adelaide. Day after day they pursued their toilsome way over the sands. They were thus separated into distinct parties. The natives, who at first appeared favourable, and even gave them food and directed them to water, suddenly, from some unexplained cause, set upon the stragglers, speared them at a distance, or beat out their brains with clubs. For a long time after, a piece of tattered dress disclosed the scene of some part of this terrible tragedy.

From such a fate the party of the "Fanny" were preserved. They were kept, however, in painful suspense. At length they were unexpectedly aided by others

The ever-graceful kangaroo
 Would bound, and often stop to view,
 And look as if he meant to scan
 The traits of European man.

THE RUM HOSPITAL.

In the primitive period of New South Wales the rum currency prevailed. In a purchase the worth was estimated in quarts or gallons of rum. One Sergeant-major Whittle sold a house to Governor Macquarie for two hundred gallons of rum. Both gained by the bargain. His Excellency could buy drink cheap, and the sergeant could sell it dear.

A good hospital being much required, three gentlemen—one subsequently becoming a wealthy citizen and most distinguished statesman—undertook the erection of the same, providing they had the right of purchasing imported spirits during four years, to the extent of 15,000 gallons. They not only supplied the various publicans of the colony, but opened a drinking-place on their own works. In this way, said the Rev. Dr Lang, they were the means of injuring the settlement, in “overspreading the whole surface of its body politic, in a moral and spiritual sense, with wounds and bruises and putrefying sores.” Holt says these persons bought the rum for 10s., and sold it at £2, 17s. 6d. per gallon.

The *rum mania* was the blight of the early times. When the farmers of the Hawkesbury applied for Government help in their distress, in 1798, the first thing the authorities did was to shut up all places selling liquor. In an order the governor called such “the chief cause from which many confessed their ruin to have sprung.” When the sale of drink was stayed, prosperity naturally returned. A similar complaint came to Sydney from the Norfolk Island settlers in 1799. An inquiry was instituted, the drink cause was found, and the governor urged them not “to indulge in such dangerous gratifications.”—*Bowwick*.

SORROWS OF THE FIRST AUSTRALIAN PRINTER.

Much has been written and sung of the trials and griefs of first discoverers, first inventors, and original shareholders. But the sorrows of the earliest printer of Sydney should surely awaken the interest of brother craftsmen, and enlist the sympathies of brother editors as well. Bound at once to furnish matter and material, to handle type and pen, he had even greater tasks to attempt, in procuring paper and collecting subscriptions.

In the record of Mr George Howe's death, 11th May 1821, his son and successor states some of his father's difficulties. Born on the island of St Kitts, West Indies, a printer on a London paper, George Howe found himself in Sydney in 1800. Three years after, under Government sanction, and with some Government aid, for he afterwards received a salary of £60, the *Gazette* was established; or, as his son describes it, “was founded *pro bono publico* in adversity; and carried on for the first seven years, under that goading penury, from which, when nearly spent, it at length emerged by the providential intervention of his Majesty's present Government.”

The printer had brought up his son to the trade from the age of nine years. "And ever since," said Robert Howe, "that early period to the present day, comprising no less a space than seventeen years, the present printer has been employed, under his universally respected parent, in the service of the British Government and of the Australian public; he is not yet twenty-six. Will the public reject so old, and it is hoped, so faithful a servant?"

The troubles of the first printer were no slight ones. The apology presented after some years' struggle, when complaint had been made, runs thus: "But every one aware of the present contractedness of the typographical machinery, will at once be satisfied that the utmost is done. Modesty is our best attire; but we cannot help saying, as opportunity now favours, that it is the *means* we are deficient in and not exactly *ability*." This modest avowal had much truth in it.

The one great difficulty was paper. It was the time of war. War prices prevailed. War risks increased the value of all exports. Communication between England and her colony was very irregular, and often after long intervals. Many articles ran out altogether, and others fetched famine prices. The poor printer shared in these vicissitudes, and suffered from the delays.

The unfortunate man thus addressed his constituency on 31st August 1806: "As we have no certainty of an immediate supply of paper, we cannot promise a publication next week." On 7th September he cries: "Under the assurance of a further temporary supply of paper, we have been enabled to provide an exact sufficiency for this scanty publication." There were but two pages of foolscap consumed. A glance at the paper the printer had to use would satisfy any one as to the scarcity of the article. Varied in colour, texture, size, and material, the paper was quite Protean in its appearance. It was under these circumstances, lasting many years, that ladies, going to the grocery store, would provide against the want of shop paper by putting the tea at one end of a stocking, and the sugar at the other.

After a suspension of some weeks, there is this announcement on 7th June 1807:

"Regretting the necessity which rendered the suspension of this publication unavoidable, we have used every exertion as speedily as possible to resume our labours, and a small unexpected supply of paper enables us once more to court the attention of our readers. We have frequently been reduced to the necessity of varying the size, shape, and very colour of the paper; and probably none of the transitions that have marked our progress here have been more observable than in the present instance." We are then informed that "quarto letter paper retails at the present moment at the enormous rate of six, seven, and even eight shillings per quire." The charges are thus mentioned: "Terms, three shillings upon the delivery of every fourth paper."

A suspension took place between 30th August 1807 and 15th May 1808. We have, therefore, no newspaper record of the Great Rebellion of New South Wales, the seizure and confinement of the governor, and ultimate exile of Admiral Bligh. The paper question is again quoted on the renewal of the *Gazette*.

"We have once more," says the editor, "the satisfaction of rendering our services to the public. We have had repeatedly to lament the necessity of vieing with the chameleon its change of colour, and of being compelled to rival the prophetic son of Oceanus in the frequency of change that has been given to our shape. To necessity we cannot dictate. As servants of the public, exertion is our duty, and commendation our hoped reward. A supply of paper guarantees the promise of a continuance of this publication, until other arrivals may take its place; and should our adverse destinies to any great length of time protract so desirable an event, we hope, nevertheless, in all the lively tints in which the Chinese favour us, to prosecute our labours, until relenting fate should put an end to our vicissitudes. This paper is printed upon a half sheet of demy, the pages (two) made up to the very extent of our press."

This composition was so beyond the editorial capacity, that some learned convict clerk must have brought his classical ability to the rescue of the printer.

In the early days, trade to India and China furnished the colonists with many manufactured goods besides paper. Another allusion, at a subsequent date of several years, is made to the rice material. "We are reduced," groans the editor, "to the necessity of printing the *Gazette* on China paper. Of all evils this is one of those most wished to be avoided, more particularly as it increases our labours twofold." It could only be printed on one side.

As late as 1823, two difficulties are mentioned. One relates to type. Year after year a better letter was hoped for and promised. It was always coming, but its absence perpetually apologised for. At last came forth the joyous cry, "The type has arrived." The week after, 21st August 1823, is this unhappy announcement of an annoying mistake on the part of the shippers: "The new type has reached us, but we lament to say it is of small utility, being from its minuteness nearly imperceptible to the eye." There was no desire on the part of the public to have a diamond edition of the *Gazette*; and had there been, the printer would have objected to the trouble of *picking up*.

Just before the last date, the paper was really in a most miserable plight. The paper was bad enough, the type was in the very last stage of decrepitude, but the ink was so utterly bad as to make the number absolutely illegible. The proprietor, ever struggling with difficulties, tries to soothe the perturbed feelings of his subscribers on the following publication day:

"We have to apologise for the illegibility of last week's *Gazette*. Many of them were scarcely readable; and this was a fault that appeared without remedy, in consequence of two failures having occurred in making experiments upon manufacturing ink. It is one of the most difficult and disagreeable tasks that possibly can devolve to the printer of a paper, to make his own ink. About three months since, some was turned out of hand pretty fair; since which two attempts have been made, and both fruitless, though laborious and expensive."

But it is time to turn to another and more vulgar trial. This is one from which modern proprietors of papers are not yet wholly free, and for which no adequate provision can be made. It is a commercial one. It is the old-fashioned worry of *accounts*. It is one thing to print; it is another to get paid for the printing.

It is easier to instruct the public than procure the payment for lessons given. Every man knows the frailty of his own times in this respect ; but it is sad to recognise the antiquity of the anti-paying-the-printer system. There cannot be furnished to that worthy labourer a more convincing evidence of the depravity of, at least, a portion of his species.

In a review of the past, published on Christmas Day 1819, Mr Howe refers to his older trials. Speaking in the third person, he says, "He bought the paper at a very dear price ; he distributed his type ; he invented and obtained new matter, without any auxiliary assistance ; he worked the paper off at press ; and he afterwards carried it out, that is to say, delivered it to the Sydney subscribers. A paper in England, under seven hundred in number, is sensibly a losing concern : and what must be a paper within half the number, and half of that unpaid for ?" Could the proprietor of the *Times* speak of such an experience as this ?

As early as 14th April 1805, the complaint is raised. The subscribers are urged to pay up their long arrears. The price is only sixpence, and the necessity is great, from "the very extravagant price of paper." The appeal is a moving one. The payment may be made in copper coin, grain, or bills.

The dunning subscribers got in those days was a caution, or ought to have been so. Again and again were protests entered, and again and again were really pathetic appeals sent forth. They were assured that payments in wheat would be "most thankfully received." On 28th December 1806, we read : "G. Howe, dreading the necessity of a peregrination through the extensive Hawkesbury settlement, is nevertheless compelled to form a resolution of once more encountering the fatigues certain upon so distressing a journey, under a hope that persons in arrears of subscriptions will liquidate their accounts."

And the poor fellow had to trudge on foot, from homestead to homestead, many a weary mile, and collect his hard-earned cash. As this was to a large extent paid in copper coinage, the *swag* must have been burdensome enough under the midsummer sun, and while toiling in the teeth of a burning, dusty *brickfielder*. He had to run the risk of snakes, bushrangers, and other vermin of the pathless woods.

Harassed beyond all endurance at last, and fairly wrought to a fever heat, the editor declared on the day before Christmas in 1809, that he certainly would and must stop the paper. He could not carry on any longer, for his credit was gone along with his subscribers' arrears.

The governor now came humanely and authoritatively to the rescue. After some declaration about the reception of grain from the debtors, he is pleased to say :

"As it is his Honour's wish to strengthen as much as possible the prospect of its uninterrupted continuance, he is further pleased to recommend punctuality in the discharge of subscriptions, etc., without which the publisher must always be exposed to inconvenience, against which he has been under the necessity of complaining that his circumstances are unable to contend.

"By command of his Honour the lieutenant-governor,

"JAMES FINACANE, *Secretary*."

It is something to have the interposition of Government on behalf of one's collection of debts.

One last appeal must be added for its pathos. "In England," says the writer, in March 1819, "newspapers are paid for before they quit the office; and here we are told, after years of patient forbearance, that the account shall be liquidated, when the person to whom presented shall *think proper to pay!* Now, generous subscribers, do not let your faithful publisher take his whity-brown locks with sorrow to the grave, when it is so happily in your power to pay the servant who is ever at your service. *N.B.*—The year's accounts are furnished."—*Bowwick.*

A PROPHECY FULFILLED.

Captain Flinders's vessel, the "Investigator" sailed from King George's Sound on the 5th January 1802, and after visiting the Recherche Archipelago, and the head of the Great Australian Bight, and naming and determining the true position of a great number of capes, heights, and islands, they kept on their course towards the unexplored part of the Australian coast. On the 21st February they had the misfortune to lose Mr Thistle, the master of the "Investigator," and the whole of the crew of one of the boats, which was swamped in returning from the shore, where they had gone in search of water. Respecting the fate of Mr Thistle and his companions Captain Flinders relates a very singular prediction of a fortune-teller, which unfortunately proved true, not only in respect to Mr Thistle, but regarding the shipwreck and other circumstances which took place after his death. "This evening," says Captain Flinders, speaking of Monday, 22d February 1802, the day after Mr Thistle's death, "Mr Fowler told me a circumstance which I thought extraordinary; and it afterwards proved to be more so. Whilst we were lying at Spithead, Mr Thistle was one day waiting on shore, and having nothing else to do he went to a certain old man, named Pine, to have his fortune told. The cunning man informed him that he was going out a long voyage, and that the ship, on arriving at her destination, would be joined by another vessel. That such was intended, he might have learned privately; but he added, that Mr Thistle would be lost before the other vessel joined. As to the manner of his loss the magician refused to give any information. My boat's crew, hearing what Mr Thistle said, went also to consult the wise man; and after the prefatory information of a long voyage, were told that they would be shipwrecked, but not in the ship they were going out in: whether they would escape and return to England, he was not permitted to reveal. This tale Mr Thistle had often told at the mess table; and I remarked with some pain in a future part of the voyage, that every time my boat's crew went to embark with me in the "Lady Nelson," there was some degree of apprehension amongst them that the time of the predicted shipwreck was arrived. I make no comment upon this story, but recommend a commander, if possible, to prevent any of his crew from consulting fortune-tellers."

The Mr Thistle whose unfortunate fate is here narrated, although he occupied when he first visited Australia no higher position than that of an ordinary

seaman, deserves honourable mention as one of the most enterprising and ardent of the explorers of that day. He was one of the volunteers who accompanied Mr Bass in his perilous expedition in the whaleboat when that youthful navigator discovered the straits which bear his name. Mr Thistle then joined Messrs Flinders and Bass in their circumnavigation of Van Diemen's Land, and shortly afterwards accompanied the former in his voyage to Moreton Bay and the north. Proceeding to England in 1801, he was, as a reward for his intelligence, skill, and good conduct, promoted from before the mast to be a midshipman, and shortly afterwards a master in the Royal Navy. His zeal for discovery, and his attachment to his former commander, induced him to join the "Investigator" when at Spithead ready to sail, although he had returned to England only three weeks before, after an absence of six years. This deserving young sailor was not only most zealous in the performance of his ordinary duties, but had made himself master of nautical astronomy and acquainted with marine surveying. Captain Flinders, in memory of his talents and worth, named the place at the mouth of Spencer's Gulf, where he was lost, Memory Cove, and the island itself Thistle Island. There he also affixed to a post, with a suitable inscription, a brass tablet, and concluded his account of the circumstance as follows: "His loss was severely felt by me; and he was lamented by all on board, more especially by his messmates, who knew more intimately the goodness and stability of his disposition." As one of the earliest and most enthusiastic of the many brave men who have lost their lives in the cause of Australian discovery, although occupying a comparatively humble position, he deserves this brief notice of his character, services, and fate.—*Bennett's History of Australian Discovery.*

AN ABORIGINAL MURDER.

A murder was perpetrated by the aborigines of Port Phillip on the 23d of August 1846, under circumstances of unwonted barbarity. The victim was a young settler of considerable promise, named Andrew Beveridge, who, with his brother, occupied a tract of country on the bank of the Lower Murray.

From the evidence of two men named Kelly and Ryan, who were present, it appeared that six of the natives had remained on the station during the night of the 22d, and that, on the morning of the 23d, while at breakfast, some of them "coo-eyed," and Mr Beveridge went out. Two black men, named Bobby and Ptolemy, had their spears in their hands, which they threw at Mr Beveridge, who immediately retreated towards the hut; one of the spears had entered his body about six inches, and the unfortunate young man almost instantly expired. The two men Kelly and Ryan got on their horses in the confusion and rode away. The murderers were afterwards captured by three of the Western Port Border Police, assisted by Messrs Kirby, French, and Mr Beveridge, the brother of the murdered gentleman. The police, disguised as bushmen, proceeded to Mr Coghill's station, and concealed their arms from observation in a hut. The blacks were camped on the opposite side of the Murray, but were very shy and afraid of policemen. The troopers represented themselves as white men looking for a run, and offered to pay the blacks if they would cut bark for building purposes. The hut had a

yard with a palisade in front ; a large fire was made within it, and an enormous pot placed on it; the blacks were invited to dine on a pudding made of flour, sugar, and water, which was being made ready. The police got six plates out, and informed the tribe that only six blackfellows could enter the yard at one time ; they took care that the three murderers of Mr Beveridge should dine in one party, and, after great difficulty, they managed to rush upon the party suddenly and to throw strong cords round the necks of Bobby, Bullet-eye, and Ptolemy, and in this manner pinned them to the ground. The rest of the blacks dashed across the river, yelling fearfully ; and such were the frantic efforts of the prisoners to get clear, that they dragged their captors over the palisade, and it was only by force of arms that they were at length finally secured and carried into the hut. The police, aware of the hazard they ran from the general attack which would inevitably be made on the hut, despatched mounted messengers to the two adjoining stations for aid. The reinforcements received before nightfall only amounted to three men, who came in from Mr Beveridge's station ; so that there were only eight individuals to man the little fortress which had to withstand the onset of the most daring and bloodthirsty tribe in the colony, or, perhaps, in the whole Australian continent. The garrison were on the alert all night, but the attack did not commence until just before daybreak. The blacks mustered on the bank of the river, and took up a strong position in the scrub ; an advanced body of about seventy picked men came on immediately to attack the hut ; just as the first faint streaks of daylight began to glimmer in the horizon they marched forward with silent tread, until they perceived that they were observed, when they gave forth the most savage and hideous yells, and sprang like tigers on the hut, clearing the palisade at a bound, and sending their spears against it with such force that they went half-way through the slabs, and penetrated the doors and shutters, wounding Johnston, the sergeant of the police, who had the command. The defenders were momentarily paralysed by the sudden energy of the attack, but soon recovered their coolness, and fired a volley from various apertures in the walls of their little fortress ; and the leader of the attack, " Dick, the Needle," as he was called, a chief of the Murrumbidgee tribe, fell dead with a convulsive spring. Still the attack continued, the blacks endeavouring to unroof the hut, and force an entrance by that means, and the besieged defending this part as the most vulnerable point. The cool resolution of the Europeans checked the violence of the onset, and the party of aborigines retreated to their friends on the bank of the river. It was now broad daylight, and the garrison were calmly awaiting a second attack ; they had heavy anticipations, it may well be supposed, for they would have to meet a fresh column of enemies, while they were exhausted with the previous struggle. Assistance, however, was at hand, and, before any further injury could be inflicted, a party of armed horsemen, who had galloped seventy-five miles to aid them, reached the scene, and changed the aspect of affairs very quickly. The aborigines had to retreat, and the police, assisted by a strong body of civilians, set forth with the prisoners for Melbourne. It is but right to state that one of the party who defended the hut was severely wounded in the hand by his own pistol, which accidentally went off in the affray, and he

lost the use of the injured limb. The Government were petitioned to assist this unfortunate gentleman, and gave him the very inadequate sum of fifty pounds as compensation.

The prisoners were brought to trial at Melbourne, and the usual defence was attempted to be made on their behalf—that they were not sufficiently acquainted with the proceedings. After some delay, however, parties were obtained who could interpret to all the three, and, the evidence being conclusive against Bobby and Ptolemy, they were convicted and sentenced to death. There was no evidence to implicate Bullet-eye, and he was discharged.

The huge, dreary mass of dark stone which looms on the rising ground in the rear of the hospital and court-house has, during the brief period that it has been in use as the receptacle of criminals, witnessed many sad and shocking spectacles; but it is questionable if ever a more afflicting drama has been enacted within its gloomy portals than that of the 30th April 1847. The unfortunate murderers of Mr Beveridge, Bobby and Ptolemy, were led forth, neatly clad in duck frocks and trousers, attended by the Rev. A. C. Thompson, rector of St James's Church, Mr Protector Thomas, Mr French, and various other persons interested in them. They were sensible of their awful position, and the powerful working of their feelings was fully exhibited by the twitching of the muscles of their faces during the time that the prayers usual upon such occasions were read. When they were pinioned their feelings overpowered them, and they cried and sobbed in a manner most painful to witness. As the two sable denizens of the far-off forest emerged from the gloomy corridor of the gaol into the open air, the sun shone forth on their upturned countenances with uncontrollable splendour. In a scene, strange, new, and terrible—haunted by the fear of a terrible death, and shut up, as they had been, for many months from the blessed light of heaven, they looked on the glorious orb for a moment, and their faces lightened up as if they had met a dear friend. No doubt their thoughts wandered to their hunting-grounds and *mia-mias* on the Murray, to their relations and companions, and, for that instant, they heeded not the terrible engine which was now in full view. It seemed a happy, but, alas! a brief moment. The terrible reality of the actual scene again presented itself; they gave a dread shudder, and, with a quiet, subdued air, awaited their terrible doom. Ptolemy died almost instantaneously, but Bobby struggled for a considerable time, having broken his fall by standing with one foot off the platform.—*M'Combie's History*.

THE DISCOVERY OF GIPPSLAND.

Mr Angus MacMillan claimed to be the original discoverer of the noble district of Gippsland. At a public dinner given to Mr MacMillan, at Port Albert, in March 1856, he gave the following account of circumstances attending the discovery: "In February 1839, I arrived at Carravong, Maneroo, having received instructions from Mr M'Alister to look out for stations. I heard from the natives that there was to the south-west of Buchan (a place discovered by Mr Bayliss) a fine country. I got Jemmy Gibber, chief of the Maneroo tribe, to obtain all the information he could from the old black, who affirmed he was

once there; and on the 26th May 1839, Jemmy volunteered to accompany me. I provided myself with arms, and also provisions for four weeks; in four days reached a hill, which I named Mount M'Leod, now called the Haystack, from the summit of which I had a bird's-eye view of the country lying between me and Corner Inlet, and of the long beach stretching to the south-west. My friend was beginning to get alarmed, and wished to return, but seeing me determined to proceed, he threatened to leave me. On this night I was nearly paying dearly for placing so much confidence in my companion. Whilst lying at the camp-fire I was aroused by the circumstance of his raising his club to strike me. I had just time to present my pistol to his breast: he begged hard for his life, saying he dreamt a blackfellow was taking away his *gin*, and he wanted to kill him. I was satisfied that he intended to kill me, and report that I had been killed by the blacks of the district. Next morning started for Omeo; arrived there in six days; it was a very rough journey; was more determined than ever to explore the country, and form a station as near to it as possible. While at Omeo gleaned the intelligence that Mr Walter Mitchell, a nephew of Mr M'Farlane, had been as far as Bruthen, but had discovered no country worth occupying. I then started for Clifton, the station of Mr M'Alister, and received from that gentleman every encouragement to explore the country, and find my way to Corner Inlet. After many unsuccessful attempts, I again, on the 9th February 1841, formed a party, with instructions from Mr M'Alister to abandon the country unless I could find a road to the inlet; and we started from our station—which we had formed on the Avon—this time with the determination to accomplish it or die in the attempt. On the 10th crossed the Thompson, and the Glengarry on the 11th; on the 14th discovered the Old Port, and marked a road from thence to the plains. In May following came down from the Avon with a dray; great credit is due to the driver, James Lawrence, and, in fact, to all my companions, who, whenever an expedition was talked of, were always eager to accompany me. I am proud and happy to see one of them here present, who shared with me many hardships and privations. For sixteen months, during two years, we never slept on a bed, and were deprived of many comforts of life, even the luxury of a tent. In my expeditions I had no other guide than a pocket compass, and a copy of Flinders's chart of the coast. With regard to the natives, who at that time were numerous, I will mention that at first they were very terrified at the sight of white men; on one occasion some of them approached our party, and, as I dismounted to salute them, they all set up yelling, and ran away. Since then I have learnt that they imagined that the horse and rider were one. On another occasion, after saluting us by a shake of the hand, they conferred the same honour on the horse by shaking his bridle. After we had been at the station, which we formed on the Avon, some time, they attacked us in a body, compelling us to leave the district: we, however, by force of arms, again regained our station, and kept possession. Count Strzelecki, a Pole, has also claimed the discovery of Gippsland, but I leave it to the public to decide. On the 7th of March 1840, he called at my station, where he was supplied with provisions and a camp kettle. Mr M'Alister went a day's journey with him,

told him the name I gave the country (Caledonia Australis), and described where he might cross the rivers."

MELBOURNE IN 1837.

James Backhouse, the Quaker missionary, visited Port Phillip in 1837. The following is his description of the infant city of Melbourne :

"13th November.—The Yarra Yarra is deep, but it is difficult to navigate for boats, on account of the quantity of sunken timber. It is about sixty feet wide, margined with trees and scrubs. The river is fresh to Melbourne, where there is a rapid. The country on its banks is open grassy forest, rising into low hills. The town of Melbourne, though scarcely more than fifteen months old, consists of about a hundred houses, amongst which are stores, inns, a gaol, a barrack, and a schoolhouse. Some of the dwelling-houses are tolerable structures of brick. A few of the inhabitants are living in tents, or in hovels resembling thatched roofs, till they can provide themselves with better accommodation. There is much bustle and traffic in the place, and a gang of prisoners are employed in levelling the streets. The town allotments (of half an acre each) were put up here a short time since, at £5 each, the surveyor thinking £7 too much to ask for them. But the fineness of the country has excited such a mania for settling here that they sold for from £25 to £100 each.

"Business was at this time conducted on a very disagreeable and unsound plan. Almost everything, including labour, was paid for by orders on Sydney or Van Diemen's Land; the discount required by a few persons who had cash was from £20 to £40 per cent. A mechanic received half his wages in goods, charged at about 30 per cent. profit, and the rest in an order, which he paid his employer 10 per cent. to discount."

Mr Backhouse remained from the 6th to the 19th November in Melbourne, residing at the missionary station on the Yarra Yarra, under the charge of Mr George Langhorne. He also visited Mr J. Gardiner, who then resided on the creek which still bears his name, and who was one of the first overland travellers from New South Wales. Mr Backhouse also visited Mr Batman, who expressed a deep interest in the welfare of the aborigines, and who had several Sydney and Van Diemen's Land aborigines in his employment as servants.

AN ABORIGINAL DEED OF GIFT.

The following is a copy of the original deed of gift alleged to have been made by the natives of Port Phillip to John Batman in 1835 :

"Know all persons that we, three brothers, Jagajaga, Jagajaga, Jagajaga, being the three principal chiefs, and also Cooloolock, Bungarie, Yanyan, Moowhip, Monmarmalar, being the chiefs of a certain native tribe called Duttigallar, situated at and near Port Phillip, called by us the above-mentioned chiefs, Irausnoo and Geelong, being possessed of the tract of land hereinafter mentioned, for and in consideration of twenty pair of blankets, thirty knives, twelve tomahawks, ten looking-glasses, twelve pair of scissors, fifty handkerchiefs, twelve red shirts, four flannel jackets, four suits of clothes, and fifty pounds of flour, delivered to us by John Batman, residing in Van Diemen's Land, Esquire, but at present sojourning with us and our tribe, do, for ourselves, our heirs, and successors, give, grant, enfeoff, and confirm unto the said John Batman, his heirs and assigns, all that tract of country situate and being in the Bay of Port

Phillip known by the name of Indented Head, but called by us Geelong, extending across from Geelong harbour, about due south, for ten miles, more or less, to the head of Port Phillip, taking in the whole neck or tract of land, containing about 100,000 acres, as the same hath been before the execution of these presents delineated and marked out by us, according to the custom of our tribe, by certain marks made upon the trees growing along the boundaries of the said tract of land, with all advantages belonging thereto, unto and to the use of the said John Batman, his heirs, said tract of land, and place thereon sheep and cattle, yielding and delivering to us and assigns, to the meaning and intent that the said John Batman, his heirs and assigns, may occupy and possess the same, and our heirs and successors, the yearly rent or tribute of fifty pair of blankets, fifty knives, fifty tomahawks, fifty pair of scissors, fifty looking-glasses, twenty suits of slops or clothing, and two tons of flour. In witness thereof we, Jagajaga, Jagajaga, Jagajaga, the three principal chiefs, and also Cooloolock, Bungarie, Yanyan, Moowhip, and Monmarmalar, the chiefs of the said tribe, have hereunto affixed our seals to these presents, and have signed the same. Dated, according to the Christian era, this 6th day of June 1835.

“Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of us, the same having been fully and properly interpreted and explained to the said chiefs.

(Signed)
JAMES GUMM.
WM. TODD.

JAGAJAGA, his X mark.
JAGAJAGA, his X mark.
JAGAJAGA, his X mark.
COOLOLOCK, his X mark.
BUNGARIE, his X mark.
YANYAN, his X mark.
MONMARMALAR, his X mark.

(Signed) JOHN BATMAN.

“Be it remembered that, on the day and year within written, possession and delivery of the tract of land within mentioned was made by the within-named Jagajaga, Jagajaga, Jagajaga, Cooloolock, Bungarie, Yanyan, Moowhip, Monmarmalar, chiefs of the tribes of natives called Duttigallar Geelong, to the within-named John Batman, by the said chiefs, taking up part of the soil, and delivering the same to the said John Batman in the name of the whole.

(Signed)
JAMES GUMM.
ALEXANDER THOMPSON.
WM. TODD.

In presence of

JAGAJAGA.
JAGAJAGA.
JAGAJAGA.
COOLOLOCK.
BUNGARIE.
YANYAN.
MOOWHIP.
MONMARMALAR.”

THE WRECK OF THE “FALMOUTH” MAN-OF-WAR.

In the present day, when all parts of India and Australia are in constant intercourse with each other and with Europe, when steam communication is regular and rapid between almost all parts of the world; when a voyage to the parent country is but a matter of a few weeks; when arrangements for visiting the most distant parts of the earth are made and carried out with as much certainty and as little difficulty or delay as our grandfathers experienced in performing a journey from Exeter or York to London, it is difficult to comprehend fully the great distance in time which, only a century since, separated the countries of the Indian Ocean and the South Seas from Europe. The case of the crew of the “Falmouth,” an English man-of-war of fifty guns, illustrates in a remarkable manner the difference between the two periods. This ship having been several years out from England, cruising in the Pacific and China Seas, was on her voyage home, in the year 1762, when she ran aground on a mudbank on the

coast of Batavia. It does not appear that she was much injured ; still she could not be got off. Her commander, and some of her officers and crew, after a time quitted her with the hope of reaching England. The fate they met with is not known. They left the ship and stores, part of which had been landed in an attempt to lighten the vessel, in charge of that portion of the officers and crew which remained behind. These unfortunate people stayed by the ship for eight years before they were afforded an opportunity of quitting her and of being taken home. In 1767, five years after the vessel struck on the mudbank, the ship "Dolphin," Captain Wallis, then on a voyage round the world, discovered them; and the following account of their then condition is given in the history of the "Dolphin's" voyage : "On the examination of the stores and ship, everything was found in so decayed a state as to be totally useless ; the masts, yards, and cables were dropping to pieces ; the ironwork was so rusty that it was worth nothing ; her hull was in a most shattered condition ; many of her ports were washed into one, and there was no place in her where a man could be sheltered from the weather. The officers and crew were in as wretched a state as the ship herself. The boatswain, through vexation and distress, had lost his senses, the carpenter was dying, and the cook wounded and a cripple. The warrant officers presented a petition to Captain Wallis, requesting that he would take them on board the 'Dolphin.' They stated that nothing now remained for them to look after ; that although they had ten years' pay due they would gladly forfeit it to be relieved from their present sufferings ; and that they were frequently robbed by the Malays, and were in continual dread of being murdered by them. Captain Wallis told them, with the utmost regret and compassion, that the relief they prayed for was not in his power to render ; that as they had received charge of the ship and stores they must wait for orders from home. He assured them that he would do all in his power on his arrival in England to relieve them ; and with this remote consolation only," continues the narrative, "these poor, neglected, forgotten, unassisted, suffering men, took their leave with tears in their eyes." Upwards of two years more elapsed, and still these poor fellows, true to what they considered their duty to their country, remained by the rotting ship, and still no relief arrived from England. At length the Government at Batavia interfered, and sent them home in a Dutch ship. This took place a few months before Captain Cook touched at Batavia on his first voyage in the latter part of 1770. The hardships they endured, and the apparent neglect with which they were treated, were no doubt mainly due to the infrequency and difficulty of communication in those days, for it cannot be supposed that the British Government would have allowed nearly the whole crew of a man-of-war to perish in the miserable manner narrated, if the circumstances under which they were placed were rightly understood. Captain Wallis's refusal to rescue them, although he no doubt acted in strict accordance with the Admiralty regulations of that period, would have brought him to a court-martial, and probably to condign punishment, in the present day. The case affords a remarkable illustration of the progress which has been made in navigation, and the changes that have been effected in travelling and in communicating with distant parts of the world through the

instrumentality of steam and the agency of the electric telegraph, during the present century.—*Bennett's History of Australian Discovery.*

THE SATIN BOWER BIRD.

On visiting the cedar brushes of the Liverpool Range, I discovered several of the extraordinary bower-like structures, or playing places, built by the bower bird. They are usually placed under the shelter of the branches of some overhanging tree, in the most retired part of the forest, and differ considerably in size. The base consists of an extensive, and rather convex platform of sticks firmly interwoven, on the centre of which the bower itself is built; this, like the platform on which it is placed, and with which it is interwoven, is formed of sticks and twigs, but of a more slender and flexible description, the tips of the twigs being so arranged as to curve inwards, and nearly meet at the top. In the interior of the bower, the materials are so placed, that the forks of the twigs are always presented outwards, by which arrangement not the slightest obstruction is offered to the passage of the birds. The interest of this curious bower is much enhanced by the manner in which it is decorated at and near the entrance with the most gaily-coloured articles that can be collected, such as the blue tail feathers of the rose-bill and Pennantian parrots, bleached bones, the shells of snails, etc. Some of the feathers are stuck in among the twigs, while others, with the bones and shells, are strewed about the entrances. The propensity of these birds to pick up and fly off with any attractive object is so well known to the natives, that they always search the runs for any small missing article, as the bowl of a pipe, etc., that may have been accidentally dropped in the brush. I myself found, at the entrance of one of them, a small neatly-worked stone tomahawk, of an inch and a half in length, together with some slips of blue cotton rags, which the birds had doubtless picked up at a deserted encampment of the natives.

For what purpose these curious bowers are made is not yet, perhaps, fully understood. They are certainly not used as a nest, but as a place of resort for many individuals of both sexes, which when there assembled, run through and around the bower in a sportive and playful manner, and that so frequently, that it is seldom entirely deserted.

The proceedings of these birds have not been sufficiently watched to render it certain whether the runs are frequented throughout the whole year or not; but it is highly probable that they are merely resorted to as a rendezvous, or playing ground, at the pairing time, and during the period of incubation. It was at this season, as I judged from the state of the plumage, and from the internal indications of those I dissected, that I visited these localities; the bowers, I found, had been recently renewed. It was, however, evident, from the appearance of a portion of the accumulated mass of sticks, etc., that the same spot had been used as a place of resort for many years. Mr Charles Coxen informed me, that after having destroyed one of these bowers, and secreted himself, he had the satisfaction of seeing it partially reconstructed; the birds engaged in this task, he added, were females. With much care and trouble I succeeded in bringing to England

two fine specimens of these bowers, one of which I presented to the British Museum, and the other to the collection at Leyden, where they may be seen by all those who take an interest in the subject.—*Gould's Birds of Australia.*

AUSTRALIA AND AMERICA CONTRASTED.

From time to time it has been the lot of England to plant nations in every portion of the habitable globe—speaking her language, nurtured in her own institutions, and expanding her population under new conditions. Few more interesting and important studies present themselves than to trace the modifications which have been produced on these portions of her race, under the varying circumstances of clime, mode and time of settlement, and, above all, the progressive character of England's own colonial policy. Nowhere, indeed, will the marks of a common origin be found quite obliterated. There are streams so strong that their waters may be traced for many miles through the great oceans into which they discharge themselves. And thus, in a similar manner, the great stream of English colonisation will be found nowhere to have wholly lost the chief characteristics of its source. They may be traced under the tropical suns of the Indies, and amid the perennial snows of the Canadas—by the banks of the Mississippi, and the banks of the Murray. Everywhere, however, we shall find these characteristics forming new combinations, and passing into new institutions.

Amid many such minor settlements and plantations, two great groups occupy by far the most conspicuous positions in this wide-spreading colonial empire. In the western hemisphere, we have the American group; in the eastern, the Australasian. In many respects these two groups present the most extraordinary features which the progress of colonisation has yet exhibited. In all that constitutes the elements of great and powerful nations, no portion of the Old World has shown a growth so rapid as the American plantations; no portion of the American plantations has shown a growth so rapid as the colonies of Australasia.

Those, however, who more nearly compare the physical configuration, the origin, and the history of the North American and the Australian colonies of Britain, will be at no loss to discover causes which very differently affect their future destinies. The American continent, with its numerous harbours, its unbounded plains intersected by navigable rivers, its northern lakes, and its interminable forests, is the very opposite of the dry plateau of Australia, where a belt of pasture land encircles a huge unwatered waste, if not a desert. America, even before the arrival of the European, was inhabited by numerous and powerful Indian tribes, and possesses some memorials of a still more ancient civilisation. Australia was essentially a new region, containing no human beings but a few of the lowest race of mankind, and not even any animals known to the rest of the world. The American continent was soon invaded by the conflicting standards of European nations and parties: Spaniards, Dutch, French, and English, both of the Cavalier and the Puritan factions, left their mark upon the soil, and for more than two centuries the wars of European states

were waged in part beyond the Atlantic. In Australia the modern English race holds an undivided sway: the peace of the country has never been broken: the natives were never formidable, and no foreign foe has ever approached its shores. The soil and climate of America are peculiarly favourable to the growth of all the products of agriculture: those of Australia encourage the broad operations of pasturage by one class of adventurers, and the speculative operations of mining by another: therefore the American settlers soon became more closely and permanently rooted to the land than those of the younger colonies. The institutions of the American colonies were moulded by the circumstances of their origin, and we still may discern in the events of the day the proud and warlike spirit of Virginia, the stern enthusiasm of New England, the French descent of Louisiana and Lower Canada. Their growth has been slow, their history gradual. Australia has no history, but that of a few squabbles with the Colonial Office, and she has risen in a couple of generations to the full exercise of all the powers of self-government and to the possession of enormous wealth, without any of those trials and efforts by which men are trained to the discharge of public duties and the knowledge of public affairs. With so many essential points of difference, we by no means anticipate that Australia will become an America of the East. On the contrary, the dissimilarity will probably increase between the nations. But it is interesting to remember that they are offsets from the same trunk, though planted in different soils; and to trace in their political condition at the present time the *indicia* of their future destiny. Their destiny is that of hundreds of millions of men of the English race, yet unborn, who may hereafter have to settle, for themselves and for the world, the greatest problems in the government of mankind.—*Edinburgh Review*.

NATIVE NAMES.

The language appeared to me soft and full of vowels and liquids, and is spoken with extreme volubility, especially by the women. Some of the native names of places are grandly sonorous and polysyllabic; it is well when they are retained by the English possessors of the lands, instead of substituting vulgar and unmeaning European titles. Here is a string of names—taken at hazard (that sort of hazard that suits a purpose)—almost as round-sounding as old Homer's muster-roll of heroes, and not unmusical in the shape of hexameters:

Wollondilly, Gelong, Bendendera, Coolapatamba,
Tangabalanga, Pëjar, Paramatta, Rhyana, Menangle,
Gobberalong, Nandowra, Memendere, Ponkeparinga,
Yass, Candalga, Mëlong, Karajong, Naradandara, Bongbong!

—*Colonel Mundy*.

A SYDNEY "BRICKFIELDER."

From some of the more elevated points of the country through which the South Head Road is conducted, the views of the harbour are truly splendid. It was from one of them, during an afternoon ride, that I saw town and country

for the first time under the influence of a "brickfielder." There had been a morning of terrible heat; the sky was free of clouds, yet not bright; a hot wind had raised the thermometer to 102° in the shade. Towards the afternoon the wind fell, a sullen and sultry calm came on, and, ordering my horse, I cantered towards the Heads, to meet a breath of air from the ocean, if breath might be had. Turning my eyes casually towards the town, I was astonished to find that it had disappeared. It had been swallowed up in clouds and columns of red and white dust, which, rising madly on the winds and sweeping across the harbour, gradually veiled from my sight also the pretty suburb of St Leonard's on the North Shore. Around my station, about five miles from Sydney, the trees and shrubs even to the minutest spray were motionless, and a little bay below me was unruffled as a mirror; yet I distinctly heard the fierce roaring of the tempest as it rushed through the city and the country beyond it, lashing the upper portion of the harbour into white foam. The boats were flying for shelter in all directions, and one, with calm-weather canvas spread, heeled over, filled, and vanished! Soon the line of road from Sydney towards my post, hitherto hidden by the bordering bush, became visible in all its curvatures by thick coils of dust; the tall still trees bowed their heads, and the expanse of bush before and below me seemed to put itself in motion and to rush towards the hill whereon I stood. Then a torrid gust, like the blast of a furnace, caught my face, almost stopping my respiration; and the dust which had ridden on the wings of the wind for so many miles came flying into my eyes and grated in my teeth. In a few moments there was once more a perfect calm. During the progress of the dust-storm a black battalion of clouds had been rapidly collecting on the southern horizon. Rolling and coiling about in confused masses, with mutterings of thunder and half-smothered flashes of lightning, their intention and direction were soon developed. Torrents of heavy rain and hail, accompanied by a chilling tornado, came drifting horizontally over the face of the country, whilst an ebon mass of vapour right overhead poured a perpendicular flood full upon my crown. The lightning became fearful in its vividness and apparent proximity; the thunder, stunning in its magnificent diapason, reverberated from the bluffs around. Joining in the general uproar, the surf on the North Shore flung itself madly up the steep cliffs to their very summits, seemed to stand suspended in the air for a space, and recoiled slowly and unwillingly to its wonted level.

This was "all very fine" certainly, but so unsuited to a "patent ventilating gossamer hat" and a filmy paletot by Nicol, as to drive me at length to a temporary shelter. The thunderstorm, satiated with an incursion round every point of the compass, rolled away sullenly in the distance. Its rear-guard of light cumulus closed up to the main body, and disappeared at length in the north-east, leaving only one heavy stationary mass—a sort of army of occupation—just above the setting sun, which, shooting its last rays from a bright stripe of sky over the distant Blue Mountains, and behind the long ridge where Sydney stands, showed the mere *silhouette* of a city—the council chamber, the infirmary, the staff offices, the spire of St James's, the barracks, and the gaol—in strong hard relief upon the rose-coloured haze. The valleys across which I rode on my

way home, and the deeper ravines, were already in darkness, while the slanting sunbeams still gilded the hill-tops, the wet shining faces of the rocks, and the milk-white boles of the gigantic gum-trees. Night followed quickly—for there is but little twilight at the antipodes. Such is a slight sketch of a Sydney hot-wind, and its constant follower the “brickfielder,” or, as the Port Jackson boatmen call it, the “sútherly búster!” No words can do justice to the degree of discomfort inflicted by the first upon the Sydney citizens during the season of its prevalence. Luckily the rush of wind from the colder regions, displacing the more rarified air of the preceding “hot-wind,” brings back a respirable atmosphere to the gasping inhabitants, while the floods of rain carry away all accumulated impurities. On the occasion I have just recounted the thermometer fell at once from 102° to 53° . When I started on my ride the lee side of an Indian *tattee* would have been luxury itself. Two hours later I was well pleased to “take an air,” as the Irish say, of the kitchen fire. Subsequently, however, I witnessed instances of a much greater variation of the glass. One morning, while the hot-winds were raging in Sydney, I walked to the Australian Library, facing with some difficulty the scorching gale. Seating myself in the large room to read, I was soon seized with a chill shivering, and, looking at the thermometer within the apartment, was surprised to find it as high as 81° . The instrument outside the window in the shade stood however at 110° . Thus the sudden change of temperature from a superlative degree of heat to a merely positive one, gave me as decided a case of catarrh as I ever got by a plunge from the hot-aired club-rooms of London to the frosty streets, or *vice versa*. In October 1848, as I find by my diary, I witnessed a fine instance of a *nocturnal* “brickfielder.” Awakened by the roaring of the wind, I arose and looked out. It was bright moonlight, or it would have been bright but for the clouds of dust which, impelled by a perfect hurricane, curled up from the earth, and absolutely muffled the fair face of the planet. Pulverised specimens of every kind and colour of soil within two miles of Sydney, flew past the house high over the chimney-tops in lurid whirlwinds, now white, now red. It had all the appearance of an American prairie fire—“barring” the fire. Had the “wild huntsman” and his skeleton field and pack galloped past along with this fierce commixture of earth and air, I should have taken the apparition as a matter of course! One of the greatest miseries of the “southerly burster” is, that (welcome to all animated nature as are its cooling airs) its first symptoms are the signal for a general rush of housemaids to shut hermetically every aperture of the dwelling. The thermometer in the drawing-room, and one’s own melting mood, announce some 86° of heat; while the gale, driving so refreshingly past your windows, is probably 30° lower; but if you have any regard for sight and respiration, for carpets, chintzes, books, and other furniture, you must religiously shut up shop until the “chartered libertine,” having scavenged the streets of every particle of dust, has moderated its wrath. Even then, however well fitted may be the doors and windows, the volatile atoms will find their way everywhere, to the utter disturbance of household and personal comfort. Hot-winds and sand-storms, sirocs and simoons, are common to many countries; in the deserts of Africa they are, as we know, a deadly visita-

tion. In New South Wales these storms sometimes cause the eye-blight, or sand-blight, as the malady is indifferently called, than which, as experience taught me, nothing can well be more painful and irksome, involving actual loss of vision while inflammation is at its height—a loss sometimes, though rarely, as permanent as that occasioned by the Egyptian ophthalmia.—*Mundy's Our Antipodes.*

AUSTRALIAN FLOWERS.

The drive along the southern shore of the harbour to the Heads or entrance to Port Jackson, and thence back to Sydney by the “old South Head Road,” about thirteen miles, has hardly its equal for picturesque beauty. The harbour itself rudely resembles, in its projections and indentations, the form of an oak leaf—or, to enlist a monstrous simile, it may be likened to the gaping mouth of some huge antediluvian saurian, the bluffs and inlets representing the teeth and the interstices between them. The eye, following the profile of the two opposite shores, cannot but perceive that if the said enormous sandstone jaws were, by some geological miracle, to snap together again, so neat would be the fit that there would remain but little more than a serpentine line of demolished rocks and gum-trees to mark where was once Port Jackson. The views of the harbour from the higher points of the road, over the tufted tops of the forest, and the glimpses of its glittering waters between the boles of the enormous gum-trees, are truly beautiful. So completely is this great port shut in from the ocean, that I know of no spot a mile within its gates from which the stranger would even surmise the position of its mouth—were it not for the tall bluff of the North Head, which lifts a hundred feet of its sheer, wall-like profile above any of the interior headlands. I cannot describe botanically the trees, plants, and shrubs among which the eye of the rider wanders, well pleased, on either side of the road. The eucalyptus, and other gums of infinite variety, form the larger growth of “the bush.” But there are trees distantly resembling in aspect the European ash, the holly, larch, and myrtle, with a luxuriant undergrowth of ferns and lichens, and a multitude of flowering shrubs clad in spring and autumn with blossoms so lovely in form and hue as to justify the name of “Botany,” conferred by Dr Solander as a title of honour on the neighbouring bay. There is the correa, with stiff stem and prickly leaves, but with a string of delicate little pendulous flowers, red, orange, and white, something like the fuchsia, but, in my mind, a hundred times more brilliant. The native rose has the colour but no other resemblance to the European queen of flowers. It is one of the few bush-flowers possessing any odour. Wafted on the passing gale, it commends itself pleasantly to the senses; but, strange enough, on closer acquaintance there mingles with the rich perfume an undoubted scent of the fox! a scent which, however creative of rapture in “the field,” is ill adapted to the boudoir. The South Sea myrtle, or *Leptospermum*, grows in fine round bushes, spangled with white stars. Of the heath-like epacris there is an infinite variety, among which I name the styphelia because it possesses the rare quality of a green flower. The boronias shoot up their

slender stems, among the roughest rocks and stubbornest plants, towards the sun, their wax-like petals showing every delicate shade between deep pink and snowy white. All these shrubs are evergreen. Amongst their branches and those of the higher trees the most beautiful creepers wreath themselves. The *Kennedya*, with a purple vetch-like blossom, is among the most graceful. There is also a white variety, whose flower is so small, that a microscope is necessary to examine its minute beauties. I must not forget the bottle-brush, one of the most characteristic plants of the bush. It has rough, twisted branches, and a leaf something like the holly. Sir Joseph Banks gave it the botanical name of *Banksia*, and his butler, perhaps, bestowed on it the vulgar appellation by which it is generally known. The upright, conical flowers with which this eccentric-looking shrub is thickly covered resemble pretty closely that useful implement of the pantry. When at its prime, the deep orange hue of the flower makes it almost handsome. In the swamps is a smaller and prettier kind of *Banksia*, of a softer fabric and with a flower of rich crimson. I used to fancy that my favourite charger loved to wear one of these brilliant natural rosettes in his headstall. There are several pretty iris-like bulbs in the moister soil; and in the lowlands of the Botany Scrub I noticed a crimson and orange flower, like the foxglove in form, very handsome, but so hard and horny in texture that the blossoms actually ring with a clear metallic sound as the breeze shakes them. It might be the fairies' dinner-bell, calling them to their dew and ambrosia! Alas! there are no "good people" in Australia; no one ever heard of a ghost, or a bogle, or a fetch here!—all is too absolutely material to afford a niche for imagination or superstition. Perhaps the greatest ornament of the bush, however, is the acacia, of which there are many varieties. In autumn the trees look as if a golden snowstorm had fallen on their branches, bending down with their burden of blossom towards the earth. Some of the acacias possess a delicious almond-like perfume. The bark is extensively used for tanning. A bouquet of bush-flowers is highly ornamental in the *épergne* of the dinner-table, for they do not soon fade, and keep better out of water than in it; but he who would not implant a thorn in the bosom of beauty will never desire to see them worn in the ball-room, for, with scarcely an exception, they are harsh and thorny as the holly itself. As the flowers of Australia are generally beautiful, but scentless, so are the birds for the most part as gorgeous in plumage as they are harsh in song. Indeed, they have no sustained melody, although isolated notes of great sweetness do occasionally break the silence of the bush.—*Mundy's Our Antipodes*.

A NIGHT IN THE BUSH.

Hitherto the country had been tolerably flat and open; the road soon, however, began to cross a succession of stony ridges, with here and there a patch of scrub; and there were now nothing but the marked trees to guide me, as the ground was too rough to receive any tracks which I was likely to find. A disagreeable change in the weather was also on the point of taking place; the wind began to rise in low fitful gusts, and the air became cold and raw, and right in

the wind's eye there rose a great pile of black thunder-clouds. The day had been unusually hot, but the cold wind was now by no means a relief, as there was an unnatural feeling about its chilness. I hurried on, hoping to reach some place of shelter, although I knew perfectly well that there was none at hand. One of my boots was at this time a great nuisance to me; the front part of the sole had become separated from the leather, and kept flapping and doubling under my foot; I essayed to mend it as well as I could with a piece cut from one of my straps, and just as I was performing this operation the first big drops began to fall. The storm was ushered in, as usual, by a tremendous blast of icy wind, carrying with it just enough rain to wet me thoroughly; then came the lightning, the wind ceased at the first flash, and I believe that the sun set at the same moment, at all events the darkness seemed to come on instantaneously. I was in such a rage, with my boot, and everything else, that I took it off, and hurled it as far as I could into the darkness; I heard it rattling against a tree at some distance. Every minute the storm increased in violence. The lightning kept up a continual crackling and growling, with, now and again, a loud explosion, which seemed to be only a few feet off. The air was full, as it seemed, of fire, which ran along the ground, and illuminated all things with a ghastly light. I never before remember realising thoroughly the intimate connection between lightning and thunder, for here the lightning itself seemed actually to speak and roar. The uproar was simply appalling while it lasted. The whole scene was like nothing that I had ever experienced before, and I hope never to witness the like again. A large iron-bark tree which stood a few yards away from me was suddenly split and rent into pieces; it seemed to melt away amid a shower of splinters, and the crash of falling branches, and nothing remained but a smouldering and unsightly stump. The lightning did not last in this fashion more than a very few minutes, and it was with a great sigh of relief that I welcomed the rain, which now came down with a steady pour, no longer in drops, but in a regular sheet of water. Every ridge became a cataract, and every little gully a raging torrent, for the rain descended in such quantities that the thirsty ground could not suck it up fast enough. In other respects the storm assumed the aspect of an ordinary European thunderstorm. The lightning still flashed and gleamed, but there was now some interval between the flash and the thunderclaps, which gradually increased. To say that I was now wet through, soaked, would be nothing, for I felt utterly beaten down, sopped and crushed by the falling water. I could go no farther, even if I could have found which way to go; so I reached the highest ridge I could find, where the water ran down on each side, and having unpacked my swag, rolled myself on the ground in my blankets, and settled myself to make the best of it. Of all the strange things that happened to me while I was in Capricornia, this always seems to me, when I recur to it, the strangest—that I should have quietly rolled myself up like this, in such a place and such weather, and sink quietly to sleep. I can remember perfectly the first sensation of cold, when the water soaked through my blankets, after that I felt all in a glow, as if I had been in a warm bath, or was undergoing some cooking process; but I soon fell asleep, and slept soundly, though I had a kind of conscious-

ness of damp and rain pervading my dreams. Just at daybreak the clouds rolled away, and before the sun rose, the sky was clear and glorious. The effect of a beautiful climate, and genial sunshine, is wonderful in dispelling feelings of discomfort or annoyance. When I awoke I was rather stiff, but I got up and stretched myself and wrung the water out of my blankets, and soon felt quite brisk and jolly.—*Colonial Adventures and Experiences.*

BUSHRANGING IN QUEENSLAND.

In stories of colonial life gold and bushrangers are usually connected. Now, although Queensland has not as yet become a bushranging colony, yet specimens of this class have from time to time appeared there, and have sometimes had a tolerably long and successful career. Queensland, however, does not hold out many attractions for the profession, which is fast dying out in Australia. Those "bushrangers" who have practised in Queensland have been usually such as have found the other colonies too hot to hold them. The most noted Queensland bushranger was the "Wild Scotchman," as he was called. He had several times intimated that he wished to be known by this name, his real one being Macgregor. He came originally with a gang from New South Wales, as it was supposed, and depredations were chiefly carried on, at first, in the south of the colony, among the larger townships. At that time there had been few finds of gold, and there were no gold escorts to rob; but their way was to break into stations and public-houses, and take whatever portable property they could lay their hands on. Another plan was to waylay the squatters on their road to and from the meeting of Parliament at Brisbane. This practice is colonially called "sticking a man up." The man thus "stuck up," is usually tied to a tree, and his horse, if not required by the bushrangers, turned adrift. The injured party is usually released in a few hours by chance travellers. After carrying on this game for some time with impunity, the gang was "come upon" by the police, and, after a fight, three of their number were captured. The "Wild Scotchman" himself, being, as usual, well mounted, managed to escape, and went up among the stations in the north. During his sojourn there, he "stuck up," single-handed, several stations and public-houses, and shot one man through the cheeks who tried to defend his property. But he made a chivalrous declaration that he only intended to favour the squatters and publicans with his attentions, and that no working-man should be molested. Few people, I should imagine, have had the honour of entertaining a bushranger unawares, yet such has been one of my experiences. I was shepherding at the time in a hut about two miles off the road, and one evening, coming home, as usual, to supper, I found the hut occupied by four men, dressed in the usual bush costume of shirt, trousers, belt, etc., and cabbage-tree hat. They had made free use of my rations, which they were, of course, perfectly welcome to do; and supposing them to be travellers, I was very glad to see them, although they had only left just enough tea and damper for my supper. After tea they produced a keg of rum, which they began to discuss, laughing and talking, and, of course, offering me a share. It transpired from what they let fall,

that they had met on the road a publican, to whom they owed a grudge, who was bringing up on his saddle two gallons of rum. They had "stuck him up," and made him dismount, turning his horse adrift, and had insisted on his sharing part of the rum with them then and there. They had then left him to make his way home as best as he could, striking across the bush to my hut, and bringing with them the keg and the publican's saddle and bridle. In the morning they started, promising to leave word at the station that I wanted more rations, and requesting me to get the empty keg and saddle and bridle forwarded to their owner. The man who seemed to be the leader of the party, added, "You can let him know that the Wild Scotchman does not always let people off so easy. I shall be far enough away before he knows who it was that stuck him up." The Wild Scotchman was captured a week or two afterwards, having ventured too near the police barracks, but managed to escape on his way to Rockhampton gaol. He took to the bush again, but was eventually ridden down and captured by two magistrates, who got fresh horses at several stations, while the bushranger had but one. He rode eighty miles before he was caught. He is now undergoing penal servitude in Brisbane: his sentence was twenty years, no charge of mortal violence having been preferred against him, though there were more than a hundred indictments against him for various robberies. Since his capture and conviction, bushranging in the colony has been at a discount, and bids fair to become extinct altogether—a fate which has already befallen it in the other colonies.—*Colonial Adventures and Experiences.*

AUSTRALIAN AND ENGLISH SEASONS CONTRASTED.

I wonder whether any one has observed how completely the antipodal position of Australia falsifies many of the images of the English and ancient poets. To the born Australian, Thomson knows nothing about the seasons; Shakespeare is no longer the poet of nature: what does he mean by—

"The sweet South,
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odour!"

The *south* wind brings sleet and hail and chilly hurricanes, blighting and blasting every blossom it touches! What does Horace mean by his "*rabiem noti?*" 'Tis a libel on our soft Australian northern breezes. "Keen Aquilon" is not keen, whatever Herbert may say or sing. As for the east wind, so much abused in English prose, if not in verse—*here* it is the balmy breath of the Pacific—the sweet sea-breeze, for whose daily advent during the summer the Sydneyite watches and prays with all the fervour that inspired the "*Aura veni!*" of Cephalus. The veteran Spenser must have been dozing or doting when he wrote:

"Then came old January, wrapped well
In many weeds to keep the cold away;
Yet did he quake and quiver like to quell,
And blow his nayles to warm them if he may!"

To cool them, of course he meant ; for, as I have before quoted, an Australian bard sings :

“ When hot December’s sultry breeze
Scarce stirs a leaf on yonder trees.”

And if December be hot, January is hotter ! One of the greatest advantages of an Australian clime is, that whatever you may have planned for out-door work or pastime you may, for three hundred and twenty days out of the three hundred and sixty-five, pretty assuredly perform. The words “ weather permitting ” is a reservation unheard of here—whilst in dear, drizzly old England a picnic and wet weather are proverbial companions. It is a great blessing, too, to be able to go abroad in an ordinary in-door dress, instead of piling on extra pellicles, graduated according to the season. Here the family of clogs, goloshes, umbrellas, etc., imported from Europe by the careful emigrant, are “ hung up as monuments ! ” I am aware of the existence of one warming-pan in New South Wales—one only ; and I shall move the owner to present it to the Sydney Museum when she returns to England—perfectly certain that to ninety-nine out of a hundred Anglo-Australian visitors of the institution the intent and purposes of the implement would be utterly inscrutable. One of our old essayists defends the English practice of making the weather the first theme of conversation. Contrasting it with some other matters of common interest, he says : “ The weather is a nobler and more interesting subject ; it is the present state of the skies and of the earth, on which plenty or famine are suspended—on which millions depend for the necessaries of life.” In New South Wales the words, “ a fine day,” as part of a salutation, are absurdly expletive, and have therefore become obsolete—a fine day being a mere matter of course—sunshine the rule—clouds the exception. Yet with all its beauties the Australian climate, taken as a whole, is hard, glaring, almost withering in its excessive aridity. If it does not prompt to languor and listlessness, like that of some other southern countries, neither is there in it anything voluptuous. Perhaps, however, so business-like a people would not be sentimental, romantic, poetical, or amorous under any skyey influences. The winter season and the autumn mornings are thoroughly delightful. I often think how much we shall miss when we shall have lost them. Yet after all—bigot that I am—welcome, thrice welcome ! misty atmosphere, “ lack-lustre ” skies of “ my own, my native land.” When the sun *does* shine he shines on landscapes that in my eyes at least have no counterpart. There *are* days I well remember (little as I have lived in England) which no climate or country can equal in loveliness—more delicious than any others—anywhere else—under any circumstances ! What think you, sportsman reader, of a fine first of September morning in a good old-fashioned English country house ? You spring from your couch, and throw up the window-sash to see if the weather favours the intended business of the day. How sweet and fresh the early air ! How gratefully it plays upon the brow and fills the lungs ! How pleasantly the sun, about an hour above the horizon, is “ warning off ” the lingering mists with his rays, like so many flaming swords ! How cheerful the music from the rookery ! You look out over the wide-spread park—over oak and elm clumps—bright sheets of

water, where the fog still loiters among the sedges—fern-clad knolls, upon which the deer and cattle are browsing. Through vistas in the woodlands you catch glimpses of golden stubbles; here and there a dark-green turnip field; a brown fallow or two; beyond them a ridgy potato piece, and a narrow strip of gorse dotted with birch-trees, trending away until it is lost in the deep purple of a heathery upland. Bringing your eyes more homeward, they alight on the smooth-shaved dewy lawn, where the strutting cock pheasant—happy in a month's impunity—is sunning his golden plumage; and the "limping" hare, sponging his "innocent nose" with his wet forepads, is longing for a nibble at the lady's well-guarded carnations. . . . And, by Jove! here come the keeper and his assistants, with a leash of pointers and a shaggy pony.—*Mundy's Our Antipodes.*

RESULTS OF RECENT AUSTRALIAN EXPLORATION.

We have endeavoured to show what has recently been done to obtain a knowledge of the nature of the extensive region of Western Central Australia, and the reader himself will be able to point the moral. Pioneers have been at work in other parts of Australia, in the north-east and north, and, generally, it may be said, that the great bulk of the country east of the telegraph line invites and will repay occupation, and, indeed, is being rapidly settled. The central waste on its east, north, and west sides is surrounded by a border which, at greater or less intervals, is fairly fitted for cattle or sheep runs. On its south side, along the Great Bight, are considerable patches suitable for settlement, if only the water difficulty could be solved, and we have yet to learn that this has been the case. In the centre there is at least half a million square miles (about one-fifth of the whole area of the continent) totally unfit for occupation by civilised man, unless by science or miracle he is able essentially to modify his own constitution, or materially alter the conditions of what is at present "a waste howling wilderness." The southern portion of this wilderness appears to be thickly clad with vegetation—such as it is; while the north, along the route traversed by Warburton, Forrest, and Giles, seems to have its almost unvarying sandhills by no means so thickly clad with the usual spinifex and scrub. Over the waste as a whole there seems to be considerable variety of vegetation, judging from the list published by Baron Von Mueller; but, except the desert oak and the eucalyptus, none of it seems capable of being turned to any practical use. At the same time, those whose faith and hope are strong may derive some little comfort from the observation of Mr Landsborough, an old settler, whose name is well known as an explorer in North-Eastern Australia. In a recently-published paper he adduces a variety of interesting facts to prove that dense forests are on the increase in Australia, that the climate is becoming moister, and therefore improving; that the country is gradually ceasing to be favourable to sheep-farming, and becoming well adapted to agriculture. Formerly, in the now settled districts, when there was no sheep to keep down the grass, fires were frequent (as they are now in the central waste), and terribly destructive to trees and all vegetation; but since the stocking of the country there is less grass for

the fires to consume, and their ravages are consequently becoming limited in extent. Queensland especially, Mr Landsborough states, is now so unfit for sheep pasturing that no one thinks of making a living by it. Mr Landsborough's observations are worthy of attention, but they are founded, it should be remembered, mainly on data collected on the eastern and by far the better half of the continent. Were it not for the almost absolute want of water, it is hard to say what might not be accomplished in the region with which we are dealing. But it should be remembered that our knowledge of the central waste has been obtained from observations made in the greatest possible haste, as every expedition which has crossed it has been really a race for life. What is now required, it appears to us, is a series of continuous observations by the meteorologist and geologist. There are, at various points on the east, north, and west border, if not on the south, oases at which observing stations might be established, and which might form a good basis for operation by skilled and properly-equipped geological parties, who might in time obtain data of great scientific importance and of the highest practical value. Judging from the innumerable creeks and various broad river beds as well as the clay pans and native wells met with, rain must fall in some abundance at certain intervals, and it seems to us to be well worth while for the various colonies—for they are all really interested in the matter—to unite and obtain by skilled observation some knowledge of the laws which govern the meteorology of Central Australia. At one point in the early part of Mr Giles's southern journey, about a hundred miles east of Youldch, we are informed by one of his companions, they came upon a solitary white man, who somehow had found his way there, and who had been for many days without water, having only obtained a supply on the day the expedition came up by sinking a well seventy feet deep. In many places water in small quantity is obtainable by scratching the sand for a few feet; but might not the fact just mentioned justify some experiments being made at various points on the desert border in the sinking of wells? At all events, there does not appear to be any need for sending out another expedition similar to those of Warburton, Forrest, and Giles. We have obtained a satisfactory general idea of the nature of the great Australian waste, and what is now wanted is minute observation and experiment, which, as we have said, it is the interest of all the Australian colonies to join in making.—*Times*, 26th December 1877.

KING'S ISLAND.

Although King's Island—which forms a portion of the Tasmanian territory—is within ten hours' steaming distance from Port Phillip Heads, it is almost a *terra incognita*. There are occasional accounts in the columns of the *Argus* of "a wreck at King's Island," but there are very few people outside the seafaring world who know anything definite about the size and position of the island. Notwithstanding its proximity to the Tasmanian coast, and its forming a portion of that colony, whenever it has to be visited by any of the Government officials they have to make Melbourne their starting-point, and either charter a vessel for the trip or take the chance of a small craft going across to fish along the coast.

King's Island is about thirty-five miles long from north to south, with a varying breadth of from five to fifteen miles. The eastern coast generally consists of low, sandy hummocks, topped with thick scrub. This continues from Cape Wickham until Sea Elephant Island is reached, but after passing that point the coast-line alters. The hills rise to a height of two hundred to three hundred feet, and they are thickly wooded to the summit. The coast is of a rocky nature, and there is no safe anchorage until the south portion of the island is rounded. Stokes Point is the southernmost promontory, but as there are a number of outlying rocks, and the tides and currents run with varying force, and in different directions consequent upon the prevailing winds, mariners generally give the south end of the island as wide a berth as possible. After rounding the Stokes Point, the rocky coast continues to Fitzmaurice Bay, where there is anchorage for small craft as long as the wind keeps to the southward or eastward, but it is quite open to the north and west. It was on the point near this bay that the ship "Cataraque" was lost, in the year 1845. She had emigrants on board, and no less than 414 lives were lost, only six seamen and one passenger being saved. The coast still continues of a rocky nature until Currie Harbour is reached, the only exception being the long sandy beach, on an outlying reef, off which the ship "British Admiral" was lost in 1874. From Currie Harbour to Cape Wickham—the north point of the island—the coast is generally of a sandy nature, with occasional patches of rock. Along the whole of the western coast there are numerous outlying rocks, which render it very dangerous to mariners with the wind at all from the westward, as there is no anchorage at all for large vessels. There is very good shelter for small craft under New Year's Island, and they can also remain safely in Currie Harbour, but cannot get out again as long as the wind keeps to the westward. The geological formation of the island is principally slate and granite, the latter being a very handsome dark mottled stone. The hunters living on the island state that on the southern portion quartz is frequently found, but it has never been ascertained whether the reefs contain gold. The soil generally appears to be good, consisting mainly of a black sandy loam, in which English grasses and vegetables grow luxuriantly, but near the sea-coast the plants are liable to be blighted by the westerly gales. In some parts of the island the scrub is very thick, but there are large areas of open, rolling, grassy downs, the look of which would gladden the eye of the grazier. There are several fresh-water streams running into the sea, both on the east and west sides, and there are also some large, swampy lagoons, where are to be found plenty of black swans and wild ducks. Kangaroos and wallabies are numerous, while snakes are far from uncommon. The area of the island is estimated at 27,000 acres, and it is rented from the Tasmanian Government for £270, being at the rate of £1 per 100 acres. The island, however, swarms with a small plant, like a tare, called by some the Darling pea, and according to the hunters this proves poisonous to stock, animals eating it gradually getting thin and dying off. That they believe such is the case is evident from the fact that the two or three horses and cows they possess are carefully tethered or kept in enclosures during the summer months, when the animals are likely to eat this plant owing to the

scarcity of other feed. The population of the island does not exceed twenty-five persons, about one-half of whom are in the employ of the Tasmanian Government at the Cape Wickham lighthouse. The remainder are men who make a living by hunting and snaring kangaroos for their skins. Occasionally they make a good thing out of a wreck—of which unfortunately there have been too many of late years, as is shown by the fact that the whole of the coast of the island is thickly strewn with wreckage, and articles of use or value are continually being thrown up on the beach above high-water mark.

The following is the list of the ships lost on King's Island since 1835 :

Ships.			Ships.		
Year.		Number of Lives Lost.	Year.		Number of Lives Lost.
Neva,	1835	300	Omagh,	1868	—
Rebecca,	1843	1	Mary Ann,	1868	—
Cataraque,	1845	414	Ocean Bride,	1871	—
Isabella,	1845	—	Martha and Lavinia,	1871	—
City of Melbourne,	1853	—	Loch Leven,	1871	1
Brahmin,	1854	7	Katheraw,	1872	—
Waterwitch,	1854	—	Anna,	1873	—
Maypole,	1855	3	British Admiral,	1874	79
Whistler,	1855	—	Blencathra,	1875	—
Arrow,	1865	—	Flying Squirrel,	1876	—
Netherby,	1866	—	Abeona,	1877	—
Europa,	1867	—			

Total vessels wrecked, 23
Lives lost, 805

—*Melbourne Argus*, February 3, 1878.

YOUNG AUSTRALIA.

The ladies in the grand stand were scarcely to be distinguished from English-women in dress or countenance, but the crowd presented several curious types. The fitness of the term “cornstalks” applied to the Australian-born boys was made evident by a glance at their height and slender build; they have plenty of activity and health, but are wanting in power and weight. The girls, too, are slight and thin; delicate, without being sickly. Grown men who have emigrated as lads and lived ten or fifteen years in New Zealand, eating much meat, spending their days in the open air, constantly in the saddle, are burly, bearded, strapping fellows, physically the perfection of the English race, but wanting in refinement and grace of mind, and this apparently by constitution; not through the accident of occupation or position. In Australia there is promise of a more intellectual nation; the young Australians ride as well, shoot as well, swim as well, as the New Zealanders; are as little given to book-learning; but there is more shrewd intelligence, more wit and quickness, in the sons of the larger continent. The Australians boast that they possess the Grecian climate, and every young face in the Sydney crowd showed me that their sky is not more like that of Attica than they are like the old Athenians. The eager burning democracy that is springing up in the Australian great towns is as widely different from the republicanism of

the older states of the American Union as it is from the good-natured conservatism of New Zealand, and their high capacity for personal enjoyment would of itself suffice to distinguish the Australians from both Americans and British.—*Sir C. W. Dilke.*

THE POLYNESIANS.

The wanderings of the Polynesian race were, probably, not confined to the Pacific. Ethnology is as yet in its infancy; we know nothing of the Tudas of the Neilgherries; we ask in vain who are the Gonds; we are in doubt about the Japanese; we are lost in perplexity as to who we may be ourselves; but there is at least as much ground for the statement that the Red Indians are Malays as for the assertion that we are Saxons. The resemblances between the Red Indians and the Pacific Islanders are innumerable. Strachey's account of the Indians of Virginia, written in 1612, needs but a change in the names to fit the Maoris: Powhátan's house is that of William Thompson; cannibalism prevailed in Brazil and along the Pacific coast of North America at the time of their discovery, and even the Indians of Chili ate many an early navigator; the aborigines of Vancouver Island are tattooed; their canoes resemble those of the Malays, and the mode of paddling is the same from New Zealand to Hudson's Bay—from Florida to Singapore. Jade ornaments of the shape of the Maori *Heitiki* (the charm worn about the neck) have been found by the French in Guadalupe; the giant masonry of Central America is similar to that of Cambodia and Siam. Small-legged squatting figures, like those of the idols of China and Japan, not only surmount the gate-posts of the New Zealand *pahs*, but are found eastwards to Honduras, westwards to Burmah, to Tartary, and to Ceylon. The fibre mats, common to Polynesia and Red India, are unknown to savages elsewhere, and the feather head-dresses of the Maoris are identical with those of the Delawares or Hurons. In the Indians of America and of Polynesia there is the same hatred of continued toil, and the same readiness to engage in violent exertion for a time. Superstition and witchcraft are common to all untaught peoples, but in the Malays and red men they take similar shapes; and the Indians of Mexico and Peru had, like all the Polynesians, a sacred language, understood only by the priests. The American altars were one with the temples of the Pacific, and were not confined to Mexico, for they form the "mounds" of Ohio and Illinois. There is great likeness between the legend of Maui, the Maori hero, and that of Hiawatha, especially in the history of how the sun was noosed, and made to move more slowly through the skies, so as to give men long days for toil. The resemblance of the Maori *runanga*, or assembly for debate, to the Indian council is extremely close, and throughout America and Polynesia a singular blending of poetry and ferocity is characteristic of the Malays. In colour, the Indians and Polynesians are not alike; but colour does not seem to be, ethnologically speaking, of much account. The Hindoos of Calcutta have the same features as those of Delhi; but the former are black, the latter brown, or, if high-caste men, almost white. Exposure to sun, in a damp, hot climate, seems to blacken every race that it does not destroy. The races that it will finally destroy, tropical heat first

whitens. The English planters of Mississippi and Florida are extremely dark, yet there is not a suspicion of black blood in their veins : it is the white blood of the slaves to which the abolitionists refer in their philippics. The Jews at Bombay and Aden are of a deep brown ; in Morocco they are swarthy ; in England, nearly white. Religious rites and social customs outlast both physical type and language ; but even were it otherwise, there is great resemblance in build and feature between the Polynesians and many of the "Red Indian" tribes. The aboriginal people of New York State are described by the early navigators not as tall, grave, hooked-nose men, but as copper-coloured, pleasant-looking, and with quick, shrewd eyes ; and the Mexican Indian bears more likeness to the Sandwich Islander than to the Delaware or Cherokee.—*Sir C. W. Dilke.*

PITCAIRN ISLAND.

After traversing lonely and hitherto unknown seas, and looking in vain for a new guano island, on the sixteenth day we worked out the ship's position at noon with more than usual care, if that were possible, and found that in four hours we ought to be at Pitcairn Island. At half-past two o'clock land was sighted right ahead ; and by four o'clock we were in the bay, such as it is, at Pitcairn. Although at sea there was a calm, the surf from the ground-swell beat heavily upon the shore, and we were fain to content ourselves with the view of the island from our decks. It consists of a single volcanic peak, hung with an arras of green creeping plants, passion-flowers, and trumpet-vines. As for the people, they came off to us dancing over the seas in their canoes, and bringing us green oranges and bananas, while a huge union-jack was run up on their flagstaff by those who remained on shore. As the first man came on deck, he rushed to the captain, and shaking hands violently, cried, in pure English, entirely free from accent, "How do you do, captain ? How's Victoria ?" There was no disrespect in the omission of the title "Queen ;" the question seemed to come from the heart. The bright-eyed lads, Adams and Young, descendants of the "Bounty" mutineers, who had been the first to climb our sides, announced the coming of Moses Young, the "magistrate" of the isle, who presently boarded us in state. He was a grave and gentlemanly man, English in appearance, but somewhat slightly built, as were, indeed, the lads. The magistrate came off to lay before the captain the facts relating to a feud which existed between two parties of the islanders, and upon which they required arbitration. He had been under the impression that we were a man-of-war, as we had fired two guns on entering the bay, and being received by our officers, who wore the cap of the Naval Reserve, he continued in the belief till the captain explained what the "Rakaia" was, and why she had called at Pitcairn. The case which the captain was to have heard judicially was laid before us for our advice while the flues of the ship were being cleaned. When the British Government removed the Pitcairn Islanders to Norfolk Island, no return to the old home was contemplated, but the indolent half-castes found the task of keeping the Norfolk Island convict roads in good repair one heavier than they cared to perform, and fifty-two of them have lately come back to Pitcairn. A widow who returned with

the others claims a third of the whole island as having been the property of her late husband, and is supported in her demand by half the islanders, while Moses Young and the remainder of the people admit the facts, but assert that the desertion of the island was complete, and operated as an entire abandonment of titles, which the re-occupation cannot revive. The success of the woman's claim, they say, would be the destruction of the prosperity of Pitcairn. The case would be an extremely curious one if it had to be decided upon legal grounds, for it would raise complicated questions both on the nature of British citizenship and the character of the "occupation" title; but it seemed probable that the islanders would abide by the decision of the Governor of New South Wales, to which colony they consider themselves in some degree attached. When we had drawn up a case to be submitted to Sir John Young at Sydney, our captain made a commercial treaty with the magistrate, who agreed to supply the ships of the new line, whenever daylight allowed them to call at Pitcairn, with oranges, bananas, ducks, and fowls, for which he was to receive cloth and tobacco in exchange—tobacco being the money of the Polynesian Archipelago. Mr Young told us that his people had thirty sheep, which were owned by each of the families in turn, the household taking care of them, and receiving the profits for one year. Water, he said, sometimes falls short in the island, but they then make use of the juice of the green cocoa-nut. Their school is excellent; all the children can read and write, and in the election of magistrates they have female suffrage. When we went on deck again to talk to the younger men, Adams asked us a new question: "Have you a *Sunday at Home*, or a *British Workman*?" Our books and papers having been ransacked, Moses Young prepared to leave the ship, taking with him presents from the stores. Besides the cloth, tobacco, hats, and linen, there was a bottle of brandy, given for medicine, as the islanders are strict teetotallers. While Young held the bottle in his hand, afraid to trust the lads with it, Adams read the label and cried out, "Brandy? How much for a dose? . . . Oh, yes! all right—I know: it's good for the women?" When they at last left the ship's side, one of the canoes was filled with a crinoline and blue silk dress for Mrs Young, and another with a red-and-brown tartan for Mrs Adams, both given by lady passengers, while the lads went ashore in dust-coats and smoking-caps. Now that the French, with their singular habit of everywhere annexing countries which other colonising nations have rejected, are rapidly occupying all the Polynesian groups except the only ones that are of value—namely, the Sandwich Islands and New Zealand—Pitcairn becomes of some interest as a solitary British post on the very border of the French dominions; and it has for us the stronger claim to notice which is raised by the fact that it has figured for the last few years on the wrong side of our British budget.—*Sir C. W. Dilke.*

NEW ZEALAND SCENERY.

When I left Hokitika, it was by the new road, 170 miles in length, which crosses the Alps and the island, and connects Christchurch, the capital of Canterbury, with the western parts of the province. The bush between the sea

and mountains is extremely lovely. The highway is "corduroyed" with trunks of the tree-fern, and, in the swamps, the sleepers have begun to grow at each end, so that a close-set double row of young tree-ferns is rising along portions of the road. The bush is densely matted with an undergrowth of supple-jack and all kind of creepers, but here and there one finds a grove of tree-ferns twenty feet in height, and grown so thickly as to prevent the existence of underwood and ground plants. The peculiarity which makes the New Zealand west-coast scenery the most beautiful in the world to those who like more green than California has to show, is that here alone can you find semi-tropical vegetation growing close up to the eternal snows. The latitude and the great moisture of the climate bring the long glaciers very low into the valleys; and the absence of all true winter, coupled with the rainfall, causes the growth of palm-like ferns upon the ice-river's very edge. The glaciers of Mount Cook are the longest in the world, except those at the sources of the Indus, but close about them have been found tree-ferns of thirty and forty feet in height. It is not till you enter the mountains that you escape the moisture of the coast, and quit for the scenery of the Alps the scenery of fairyland. Bumping and tumbling in the mail-cart through the rushing blue-grey waters of the Taramakao, I found myself within the mountains of the Snowy Range. In the Otira Gorge, also known as Arthur's Pass—from Arthur Dobson, brother to the surveyor murdered by the Thugs—six small glaciers were in sight at once. The Rocky Mountains opposite to Denver are loftier and not less snowy than the New Zealand Alps, but in the Rockies there are no glaciers south of about 50° N.; while in New Zealand—a winterless country—they are common at eight degrees nearer to the line. The varying amount of moisture has doubtless caused this difference. As we journeyed through the pass, there was one grand view—and only one: the glimpse of the ravine to the eastward of Mount Rolleston, caught from the desert shore of Lake Misery—a tarn near the "divide" of waters. About its banks there grows a plant, unknown, they say, except at this lonely spot—the Rockwood lily—a bushy plant, with a round, polished, concave leaf, and a cup-shaped flower of virgin white, that seems to take its tint from the encircling snows. In the evening, we had a view that for gloomy grandeur cannot well be matched—that from near Bealey township, where we struck the Waimakiriri Valley. The river-bed is half-a-mile in width, the stream itself not more than ten yards across, but, like all New Zealand rivers, subject to freshets, which fill its bed to a great depth with a surging, foaming flood. Some of the victims of the Waimakiriri are buried alongside the road. Dark evergreen bush shuts in the river-bed, and is topped on the one side by dreary frozen peaks, and on the other by still gloomier mountains of bare rock. Our road, next morning, from The Cass, where we had spent the night, lay through the eastern foot-hills and down to Canterbury Plains by way of Porter's Pass—a narrow track on the top of a tremendous precipice, but soon to be changed for a road cut along its face. The plains are one great sheep-run, open, almost flat, and upon which you lose all sense of size. At the mountain-foot they are covered with tall, coarse, native grass, and are dry, like the Kansas prairie; about Christchurch,

the English clover and English grasses have usurped the soil, and all is fresh and green.—*Sir C. W. Dilke.*

THE TWO FLIES.

“As the Pakeha fly has driven out the Maori fly;
As the Pakeha grass has killed the Maori grass;
As the Pakeha rat has slain the Maori rat;
As the Pakeha clover has starved the Maori fern,
So will the Pakeha destroy the Maori.”

These are the mournful words of a well-known Maori song. That the English daisy, the white clover, the common thistle, the camomile, the oat, should make their way rapidly in New Zealand, and put down the native plants, is in no way strange. If the Maori grasses that have till lately held undisturbed possession of the New Zealand soil, require for their nourishment the substances A, B, and C, while the English clover needs A, B, and D; from the nature of things A and B will be the coarser earths or salts, existing in larger quantities, not easily losing vigour and nourishing force, and recruiting their energies from the decay of the very plant that feeds on them; but C and D will be the more ethereal, the more easily destroyed or wasted substances. The Maori grass, having sucked nearly the whole of C from the soil, is in a weakly state, when in comes the English plant, and, finding an abundant store of untouched D, thrives accordingly, and crushes down the Maori.—*Sir C. W. Dilke.*

CONTRAST BETWEEN NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA.

No two countries in the world are so wholly distinct as Australia and New Zealand. The islands of New Zealand are inhabited by Polynesians, the Australian continent by negroes; New Zealand is ethnologically nearer to America, Australia to Africa, than New Zealand to Australia. If we turn from ethnology to scenery and climate, the countries are still more distinct. New Zealand is one of the groups of volcanic islands that stud the Pacific throughout its whole extent; tremendous cliffs surround it on almost every side; a great mountain-chain runs through both islands from north to south; hot springs abound, often close to glaciers and eternal snows; earthquakes are common, and active volcanoes not unknown. The New Zealand climate is damp and windy; the land is covered in most parts with a tangled jungle of tree-ferns, creepers, and parasitic plants; water never fails, and, though winter is unknown, the summer heat is never great; the islands are always green. Australia has for the most part flat, yellow, sun-burnt shores; the soil may be rich, the country good for wheat and sheep, but to the eye it is an arid plain; the winters are pleasant, but in the hot weather the thermometer rises higher than it does in India, and dust-storms and hot-winds sweep the land from end to end. It is impossible to conceive countries more unlike each other than are our two great dominions of the south. Their very fossils are as dissimilar as are their flora and fauna of our time.—*Sir C. W. Dilke.*

EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA.

One of the best features of the colonial democracy is its earnestness in the cause of education. In England it is one of our worst national peculiarities that, whatever our station, we either are content with giving children an "education" which is absolutely wanting in any real training for the mind, or aid to the brain in its development, or else we give them a schooling which is a mere preparation for the Bar or Church, for it has always been considered with us that it is a far greater matter to be a solicitor or a curate than to be wise or happy. This is, of course, a consequence partly of the energy of the race, and partly of our aristocratic form of society, which leads every member of a class to be continually trying to get into the class immediately above it in wealth or standing. In the colonies, as in the United States, the democratic form which society has taken, has carried with it the Continental habit of thought upon educational matters, so that it would seem as though the form of society influenced this question much more than the energy of the race, which is rather heightened than depressed in these new countries. The English Englishman says, "If I send Dick to a good school and scrape up money enough to put him into a profession, even if he don't make much, at least he'll be a gentleman." The Australian or democratic Englishman says, "Tom must have good schooling, and must make the most of it; but I'll not have him knocking about in broadcloth and earning nothing; so no profession for him; but let him make money like me, and mayhap get a few acres more land."—*Sir C. W. Dilke.*

DEMOCRACY IN AUSTRALIA.

There is no sign that in Australia any more than in America there will spring up a centre of opposition to the dominant majority; but there is as little evidence that the majority will even unwittingly abuse its power. It is the fashion to say that for a state to be intellectually great and noble, there must be within it a nucleus of opposition to the dominant principles of the time and place, and that the best and noblest minds, the intellects the most seminal, have invariably belonged to men who formed part of such a group. It may be doubted whether this assumed necessity for opposition to the public will is not characteristic of a terribly imperfect state of society and government. It is chiefly because the world has never had experience of a national life at once throbbing with the pulse of the whole people, and completely tolerant not only in law but in opinion of sentiments the most divergent from the views of the majority—firm in the pursuit of truths already grasped, but ready to seize with avidity upon new; gifted with a love of order, yet prepared to fit itself to shifting circumstances—that men continue to look with complacency upon the enormous waste of intellectual power that occurs when a germ of truth such as that contained in the doctrines of the Puritans finds development and acceptance only after centuries have passed. Australia will start unclogged by slavery to try this experiment for the world.—*Sir C. W. Dilke.*

CONFEDERATION.

There are many difficulties in the way of confederation. The leading merchants and squatters of Victoria are in favour of it; but not so those of the poorer or less populous colonies, where there is much fear of being swamped. The costliness of the federal government of New Zealand is a warning against over hasty confederation. Victoria, too, would probably insist upon the exclusion of West Australia, on account of her convict population. The Continental theory is undreamt of by Australians, owing to there having always been inhabitants of comparatively small states, and not, like dwellers in the organised territories of America, potentially citizens of a vast and homogeneous empire. The choice of capital will here, as in Canada, be a matter of peculiar difficulty. It is to be hoped by all lovers of freedom that some hitherto unknown village will be selected. There is in all great cities a strong tendency to imperialism. Bad pavement, much noise, narrow lanes, blockaded streets, all these things are ill dealt with by free government, we are told. Englishmen who have been in Paris, Americans who know St Petersburg, forgetting that without the emperor the *préfet* is impossible, cry out that London, that New York, in their turn need a Haussmann. In this tendency lies a terrible danger to free states—a danger avoided, however, or greatly lessened, by the seat of the legislature being placed, as in Canada and the United States, far away from the great cities. Were Melbourne to become the seat of government, nothing could prevent the distant colonies from increasing the already gigantic power of that city by choosing her merchants as their representatives. The bearing of confederation upon imperial interests is a more simple matter. Although union will tend to the earlier independence of the colonies, yet, if federated, they are more likely to be a valuable ally than they could be if remaining so many separate countries. They would also be a stronger enemy; but distance will make all their wars naval, and a strong fleet would be more valuable to us as a friend than dangerous as an enemy, unless in the case of a coalition against us, in which it would probably not be the interest of Australia to join. From the colonial point of view, federation would tend to secure to the Australians better general and local government than they possess at present. It is absurd to expect that colonial governors should be upon good terms with their charges when we shift men every four years—say from Demerara to New South Wales, or from Jamaica to Victoria. The unhappy governor loses half-a-year in moving to his post, and a couple of years in coming to understand the circumstances of his new province, and then settles down to be successful in the ruling of educated whites under democratic institutions only if he can entirely throw aside the whole of his experience, derived as it will probably have been from the despotic sway over blacks. We never can have a set of colonial governors fit for Australia until the Australian governments are made a distinct service, and entirely separated from those of the West Indies, of Africa, and Hong-Kong. Besides improving the government, confederation would lend to every colonist the dignity derived from citizenship of a great country—a point the importance of which will not be contested by any

one who has been in America since the war. It is not easy to resist the conclusion that confederation is in every way desirable. If it leads to independence, we must say to the Australians what Houmai ta Whiti said in his great speech to the progenitors of the Maori race when they were quitting Hawaiki: "Depart, and dwell in peace; let there be no quarrelling amongst you, but build up a great people."—*Sir C. W. Dilke.*

A MAORI "RUNANGA."

Sir Charles W. Dilke, in his "Greater Britain," gives an amusing account of a Maori assembly at which he was present, convened to negotiate the sale of some land to the Government. The site of the meeting was Parewanui Pah.

"Here is Pétatoné.
This is the 10th of December;
The sun shines, and the birds sing;
Clear is the water in rivers and streams;
Bright is the sky, and the sun is high in the air.
This is the 10th of December;
But where is the money?
Three years has this matter in many debates been discussed,
And here at last is Pétatoné;
But where is the money?"

"A band of Maori women, slowly chanting in a high-strained key, stood at the gate of a *pah*, and met with this song a few Englishmen who were driving rapidly on to their land.

"Our track lay through a swamp of the New Zealand flax. Huge sword-like leaves and giant flower-stalks all but hid from view the Maori stockades. To the left was a village of low *wahrés*, fenced round with a double row of lofty posts, carved with rude images of gods and men, and having posterns here and there. On the right were groves of karakas, children of Tanemahuta, the New Zealand sacred trees; under their shade, on a hill, a camp and another and larger *pah*. In startling contrast to the dense masses of the oily leaves, there stretched a great extent of light-green sward, where there were other camps and a tall flagstaff, from which floated the white flag and the union-jack—emblems of British sovereignty and peace.

"A thousand kilted Maoris dotted the green landscape with patches of brilliant tartans and scarlet cloth. Women lounged about, whiling away the time with dance and song; and from all the corners of the glade the soft cadence of the Maori cry of welcome came floating to us on the breeze, sweet as the sound of distant bells.

"As we drove quickly on, we found ourselves in the midst of a thronging crowd of square-built men, brown in colour, and for the most part not much darker than Spaniards, but with here and there a woolly negro in their ranks. Glancing at them as we were hurried past, we saw that the men were robust, well-limbed, and tall. They greeted us pleasantly with many a cheerful open smile, but the faces of the older people were horribly tattooed in spiral curves.

The chiefs carried battle-clubs of jade and bone ; the women wore strange ornaments. At the flagstaff we pulled up, and, while the preliminaries of the council were arranged, had time to discuss with Maori and with Pakeha (white man) the questions that had brought us thither.

“The purchase of an enormous block of land—that of the Manawatu—had long been an object wished for and worked for by the Provincial Government of Wellington. The completion of the sale it was that had brought the superintendent, Dr Featherston, and humbler Pakehas to Parewanui Pah. It was not only that the land was wanted by way of room for the flood of settlers, but purchase by Government was, moreover, the only means whereby war between the various native claimants of the land could be prevented. The Pakeha and Maori had agreed upon a price ; the question that remained for settlement was how the money should be shared. One tribe had owned the land from the earliest times ; another had conquered some miles of it ; a third had had one of its chiefs cooked and eaten upon the ground. In the eye of the Maori law, the last of these titles was the best ; the blood of a chief overrides all mere historic claims. The two strongest human motives concurred to make war probable, for avarice and jealousy alike prevented agreement as to the division of the spoil. Each of the three tribes claiming had half-a-dozen allied and related nations upon the ground ; every man was there who had a claim direct or indirect, or thought he had, to any portion of the block. Individual ownership and tribal ownership conflicted. The Ngatiapa were well armed ; the Ngatiraukawa had their rifles ; the Wanganuis had sent for theirs. The greatest tact on the part of Dr Featherston was needed to prevent a fight such as would have roused New Zealand from Auckland to Port Nicholson.

“On a signal from the superintendent, the heralds went round the camps and *pahs* to call the tribes to council. The summons was a long-drawn minor-descending-scale ; a plaintive cadence, which at a distance blends into a bell-like chord. The words mean : ‘Come hither ! Come hither ! Come ! come ! Maoris ! Come —— !’ and men, women, and children soon came thronging in from every side, the chiefs bearing sceptres and spears of ceremony, and their women wearing round their necks the symbol of nobility, the Heitiki, or green-stone god. These images, we were told, have pedigrees, and names like those of men.

“We, with the resident magistrate of Wanganui, seated ourselves beneath the flagstaff. A chief, meeting the people as they came up, stayed them with the gesture that Homer ascribes to Hector, and bade them sit in a huge circle round the spar. No sooner were we seated on our mat than there ran slowly into the centre of the ring a plumed and kilted chief, with sparkling eyes, the perfection of a savage. Halting suddenly, he raised himself upon his toes, frowned, and stood brandishing his short feathered spear. It was Hunia té Hakéké, the young chief of the Ngatiapa.

“Throwing off his plaid, he commenced to speak, springing hither and thither with leopard-like freedom of gait, and sometimes leaping high into the air to emphasise a word. Fierce as were the gestures, his speech was concilia-

tory, and the Maori flowed from his lips—a soft Tuscan tongue. As with a movement full of vigorous grace, he sprang back to the ranks to take his seat, there ran round the ring a hum and buzz of popular applause.

“‘Governor’ Hunia was followed by a young Wanganui chief, who wore hunting-breeches and high boots, and a long black mantle over his European clothes. There was something odd in the shape of the cloak: and when we came to look closely at it, we found that it was the skirt of the riding-habit of his half-caste wife. The great chiefs paid so little heed to this flippant fellow, as to stand up and harangue their tribes in the middle of his speech, which came thus to an untimely end.

“A funny old grey-beard, Waitéré Maru Maru, next rose, and, smothering down the jocularly of his face, turned towards us for a moment the typical head of Peter, as you see it on the windows of every modern church—for a moment only; for, as he raised his hand to wave his tribal sceptre, his apostolic drapery began to slip from off his shoulders, and he had to clutch at it with the energy of a topman taking in a reef in a whole gale. His speech was full of Nestorian proverbs and wise saws, but he wandered off into a history of the Wanganui lands, by which he soon became as wearied as we ourselves were; for he stopped short, and, with a twinkle of the eye, said: ‘Ah! Waitéré is no longer young: he is climbing the snow-clad mountain Ruahiné; he is becoming an old man;’ and down he sat.

“Karanama, a small Ngatiraukawa chief with a white moustache, who looked like an old French *concierge*, followed Maru Maru, and, with much use of his sceptre, related a dream foretelling the happy issue of the negotiations; for the little man was one of those ‘dreamers of dreams’ against whom Moses warned the Israelites.

“Karanama’s was not the only trance and vision of which we heard in the course of these debates. The Maoris believe that in their dreams the seers hear great bands of spirits singing chants; these when they wake the prophets reveal to all the people; but it is remarked that the vision is generally to the advantage of the seer’s tribe.

“Karanama’s speech was answered by the head chief of the Rangitané Maoris, Té Peeti Té Awé Awé, who, throwing off his upper clothing as he warmed to his subject, and strutting pompously round and round the ring, challenged Karanama to immediate battle, or his tribe to general encounter; but he cooled down as he went on, and in his last sentence showed us that Maori oratory, however ornate usually, can be made extremely terse. ‘It is hot,’ he said; ‘it is hot, and the very birds are loath to sing. We have talked for a week, and are therefore dry. Let us take our share—£10,000, or whatever we can get—and then we shall be dry no more.’

“The Maori custom of walking about, dancing, leaping, undressing, running, and brandishing spears during the delivery of a speech is convenient for all parties: to the speaker, because it gives him time to think of what he shall say next; to the listener, because it allows him to weigh the speaker’s words; to the European hearer, because it permits the interpreter to keep pace with the

orator without an effort. On this occasion the resident magistrate of Wanganui, Mr Buller—a Maori scholar of eminence, and the attached friend of some of the chiefs—interpreted for Dr Featherston; and we were allowed to lean over him in such a way as to hear every word that passed. That the able Superintendent of Wellington—the great protector of the Maoris, the man to whom they look as to Queen Victoria's second in command—should be wholly dependent upon interpreters, however skilled, seems almost too singular to be believed; but it is possible that Dr Featherston may find in pretended want of knowledge much advantage to the Government. He is able to collect his thoughts before he replies to a difficult question; he can allow an epithet to escape his notice in the filter of translation; he can listen and speak with greater dignity.

“The day was wearing on before Té Peeti's speech was done, and, as the Maoris say, our waistbands began to slip down low; so all now went to lunch, both Maori and Pakeha, they sitting in circles, each with his bowl, or flax-blade dish, and wooden spoon, we having a table and a chair or two in the mission-house; but we were so tempted by Hori Kingi's * whitebait that we begged some of him as we passed. The Maoris boil the little fish in milk, and flavour them with leeks. Great fish, meat, vegetables, almost all they eat, in short, save whitebait, is ‘steamed’ in the underground native oven. A hole is dug and filled with wood, and stones are piled upon the wood, a small opening being left for draught. While the wood is burning, the stones become red-hot, and fall through into the hole. They are then covered with damp fern, or else with wet mats of flax, plaited at the moment; the meat is put in, and covered with more mats; the whole is sprinkled with water, and then earth is heaped on till the vapour ceases to escape. The joint takes about an hour, and is delicious. Fish is wrapped in a kind of dock-leaf, and so steamed.

“While the men's eating was thus going on, many of the women stood idly round, and we were enabled to judge of Maori beauty. A profusion of long crisp curls, a short black pipe thrust between stained lips, a pair of black eyes gleaming from a tattooed face, denote the Maori belle, who wears for her only robe a long bedgown of dirty calico, but whose ears and neck are tricked out with greenstone ornaments, the signs of birth and wealth. Here and there you find a girl with long smooth tresses and almond-shaped black eyes: these charms often go along with prominent thin features, and suggest at once the Jewess and the gipsy girl. The women smoke continually; the men not much.

“When at four o'clock we returned to the flagstaff, we found that the temperature, which during the morning had been too hot, had become that of a fine English June—the air light, the trees and grass lit by a gleaming yellow sunshine that reminded me of the Californian haze.

“During luncheon we had heard that Dr Featherston's proposals as to the division of the purchase-money had been accepted by the Ngatiapa, but not by Hunia himself, whose vanity would brook no scheme not of his own conception. We were no sooner returned to the ring than he burst in upon us with a defiant speech. ‘Unjust,’ he declared, ‘as was the proposition of the great “Pétatoné”

* “Hori Kingi té Anansia died on the 18th of September 1868.”

(Featherston), he would have accepted it for the sake of peace had he been allowed to divide the tribal share; but as the Wanganuis insisted on having a third of his £15,000, and as Pétatoné seemed to support them in their claim, he should have nothing more to do with the sale.' 'The Wanganuis claim as our relatives,' he said: 'verily, the pumpkin-shoots spread far.'

"Karanama, the seer, stood up to answer Hunia, and began his speech in a tone of ridicule. 'Hunia is like the ti-tree: if you cut him down he sprouts again.' Hunia sat quietly through a good deal of this kind of wit, till at last some epithet provoked him to interrupt the speaker. 'What a fine fellow you are, Karanama; you'll tell us soon that you've two pair of legs.' 'Sit down!' shrieked Karanama, and a word-war ensued, but the abuse was too full of native raciness and vigour to be fit for English ears. The chiefs kept dancing round the ring, threatening each other with their spears. 'Why do not you hurl at me, Karanama?' said Hunia; 'it is easier to parry spears than lies.' At last Hunia sat down.

"Karanama, feinting and making at him with his spear, reproached Hunia with a serious flaw in his pedigree—a blot which is said to account for Hunia's hatred to the Ngatiraukawa, to whom his mother was for years a slave. Hunia, without rising from the ground, shrieked 'Liar!' Karanama again spoke the obnoxious word. Springing from the ground, Hunia snatched his spear from where it stood, and ran at his enemy as though to strike him. Karanama stood stock-still. Coming up to him at a charge, Hunia suddenly stopped, raised himself on tiptoe, shaking his spear, and flung out some contemptuous epithet; then turned, and stalked slowly, with a springing gait, back to his own corner of the ring. There he stood, haranguing his people in a bitter undertone. Karanama did the like with his. The interpreters could not keep pace with what was said. We understood that the chiefs were calling each upon his tribe to support him, if need were, in war. After a few minutes of this pause, they wheeled round, as though by a common impulse, and again began to pour out torrents of abuse. The applause became frequent, hums quickened into shouts, cheer followed cheer, till at last the ring was alive with men and women springing from the ground, and crying out on the opposing leader for a dastard.

"We had previously been told to have no fear that resort would be had to blows. The Maoris never fight upon sudden quarrel: war is with them a solemn act, entered upon only after much deliberation. Those of us who were strangers to New Zealand were nevertheless not without our doubts, while for half an hour we lay upon the grass watching the armed champions running round the ring, challenging each other to mortal combat on the spot.

"The chieftains at last became exhausted, and the mission bell beginning to toll for evening chapel, Hunia broke off in the middle of his abuse: 'Ah! I hear the bell!' and turning stalked out of the ring towards his *pah*, leaving it to be inferred, by those who did not know him, that he was going to attend the service. The meeting broke up in confusion, and the Upper Wanganui tribes at once began their march towards the mountains, leaving behind them only a delegation of their chiefs.

“As we drove down to the coast, we talked over the close resemblance of the Maori *runanga* to the Homeric council; it had struck us all. Here, as in the Greek camp, we had the ring of people, into which advanced the lance-bearing or sceptre-wearing chiefs, they alone speaking, and the people backing them only by a hum: ‘The block of wood dictates not to the carver, neither the people to their chiefs,’ is a Maori proverb. The boasting of ancestry, and bragging of deeds and military exploits, to which modern wind-bags would only casually allude, was also thoroughly Homeric. In Hunia we had our Achilles; the retreat of Hunia to his *wahré* was that of Achilles to his tent, the cause of quarrel alone was different, though in both cases it arose out of the division of spoil, in the one case the result of lucky wars, in the other of the Pakeha’s weakness. The Argive and Maori leaders are one in fire, figure, port, and mien; alike, too, even in their sulkiness. In Waitéré and Aperahama Tipai we had two Nestors; our Thersites was Porea, the jester, a half-mad buffoon, continually mimicking the chiefs or interrupting them, and being by them or their messengers as often kicked and cuffed. In the frequency of repetition, the use of proverbs and of simile, the Maoris resemble not Homer’s Greeks so much as Homer’s self; but the calling together of the people by the heralds, the secret conclave of the chiefs, the feast, the conduct of the assembly—all were the exact repetition of the events recorded in the first and second books of the Iliad as having happened on the Trojan plains. The single point of difference was not in favour of the Greeks: the Maori women took their place in council with the men.

“As we drove home, a storm came on, and hung about the coast so long, that it was not till near eleven at night that we were able to take our swim in the heated waters of the Manawatu River, and frighten off every duck and heron in the district.

“In the morning we rose to alarming news. Upon the pretext of the presence in the neighbourhood of the Hau-Hau chief Wi Hapi, with a war party of two hundred men, the unarmed Parewanui natives had sent to Wanganui for their guns, and it was only by a conciliatory speech at the midnight *runanga* that Mr Buller had succeeded in preventing a complete break-up of all the camps, if not an intertribal war. There seemed to be white men behind the scenes who were not friendly to the sale, and the debate had lasted from dark till dawn.

“While we were at breakfast, a Ngatiapa officer of the native contingent brought down a letter to Dr Featherston from Hunia and Hori Kingi, calling us to a general meeting of the tribes convened for noon, to be held in the Ngatiapa Pah. The letter was addressed, ‘Kia té Pétatoné té Huperinténé’ (‘To the Featherston, the Superintendent’)—the alterations in the chief words being made to bring them within the grasp of Maori tongues, which cannot sound *f*’s, *th*’s, nor sibilants of any kind. The absence of harsh sounds, and the rule which makes every word end with a vowel, give a peculiar softness and charm to the Maori language. Sugar becomes *huka*; scissors, *hikiri*; sheep, *hipi*: and so with all English words adopted into Maori. The rendering of the Hebrew names of the Old Testament is often singular: Genesis becomes *Kenehi*; Exodus

is altered into *Ekoruhe*; Leviticus is hardly recognisable in *Rewitikaha*; *Tiuteronomi* reads strangely for Deuteronomy, and *Hohua* for Joshua; Jacob, Isaac, Moses, become *Hakopa*, *Ihaka*, and *Mohi*; Egypt is softened into *Ihipa*, Jordan into *Horámo*. The list of the nations of Canaan seems to have been a stumbling-block in the missionaries' way. The success obtained with Gergashites has not been great; it stands *Kirekah*; Gaash is transmuted into *Kaaha*, and Eleazar into *Ereatara*.

"When we drove on to the ground, all was at a dead-lock—the flagstaff bare, the chiefs sleeping in their *wahrés*, and the common folk whiling away the hours with *haka* songs. Dr Featherston retired from the ground, declaring that till the Queen's flag was hoisted he would attend no debate; but he permitted us to wander in among the Maoris.

"We were introduced to Tamiana té Rauparaha, chief of the Ngatitoa branch of the Ngatiraukawa, and son of the great cannibal chief of the same name who murdered Captain Wakefield. Old Rauparaha it was who hired an English ship to carry him and his nation to the South Island, where they ate several tribes, boiling the chiefs, by the captain's consent, in the ship's coppers, and salting down for future use the common people. When the captain, on return to port, claimed his price, Rauparaha told him to go about his business, or he should be salted too. The captain took the hint, but he did not escape for long, as he was finally eaten by the Sandwich Islanders in Hawaii.

"In answer to our request for a dance-song, Tamiana and Horomona Torémi replied through an interpreter that 'the hands of the singers should beat time as fast as the pinions of the wild duck;' and in a minute we were in the middle of an animated crowd of boys and women collected by Porea, the buffoon. As soon as the singers had squatted upon the grass, the jester began to run slowly up and down between their ranks as they sat swinging backwards and forwards in regular time, groaning in chorus, and looking upwards with distorted faces.

"In a second dance, a girl standing out upon the grass chanted the air—a kind of capstan song—and then the 'dancers,' who were seated in one long row, joined in chorus, breathing violently in perfect time, half forming words, but not notes, swinging from side to side like the howling dervishes, and using frightful gestures. This strange whisper-roaring went on increasing in rapidity and fierceness, till at last the singers worked themselves into a frenzy, in which they rolled their eyes, stiffened the arms and legs, clutched and clawed with the fingers, and snorted like maddened horses. Stripping off their clothes, they looked more like the Maoris of thirty years ago than those who see them only at the mission-stations would believe. Other song-dances, in which the singers stood striking their heels at measured intervals upon the earth, were taken up with equal vigour by the boys and women, the grown men in their dignity keeping themselves aloof, although in his heart every Maori loves mimetic dance and song. We remarked that in the *haka* the old women seemed more in earnest than the young, who were always bursting into laughter, and forgetting words and time.

"The savage love for semitones makes Maori music somewhat wearisome to

the English ear ; so after a time we began to walk through the *pahs* and sketch the Maoris, to their great delight. I was drawing the grand old head of a venerable dame—Oriuhia té Aka—when she asked to see what I was about. As soon as I showed her the sketch, she began to call me names, and from her gestures I saw that the insult was in the omission of the tattooing on her chin. When I inserted the stripes and curves, her delight was such that I greatly feared she would have embraced me.

“Strolling into the karaka groves, we came upon a Maori wooden tomb, of which the front was carved with figures three feet high, grotesque and obscene. Gigantic eyes, hands bearing clubs, limbs without bodies, and bodies without limbs, were figured here and there among more perfect carvings, and the whole was of a character which the Maoris of to-day disown, as they do cannibalism, wishing to have these horrid things forgotten. The sudden rise of the Hau-Hau fanaticism within the last few years has shown us that the layer of civilisation by which the old Maori habits are overlaid is thin indeed.

“The flags remained down all day, and in the afternoon we returned to the coast to shoot duck and *pukéko*, a sort of moor-hen. It was not easy work, for the birds fell in the flax-swamp, and the giant sword-like leaves of the *Phormium tenax* cut our hands as we pushed our way through its dense clumps and bushes, while some of the party suffered badly from the sun ; Maui, the Maoris say, must have chained him up too near the earth. After dark, we could see the glare of the fires in the karaka groves, where the Maoris were in council, and a Government surveyor came in to report that he had met the dissentient Wanganuis riding fast towards the hills.

“In the morning we were allowed to stay upon the coast till ten or eleven o’clock, when a messenger came down from Mr Buller to call us to the *pah* ; the council of the chiefs had again sat all night—for the Maoris act upon their proverb that the eyes of great chiefs should know no rest—and Hunia had carried everything before him in the debate.

“As soon as the ring was formed, Hunia apologised for the pulling down of the Queen’s flag ; it had been done, he said, as a sign that the sale was broken off, not as an act of disrespect. Having, in short, had things entirely his own way, he was disposed to be extremely friendly both to whites and Maoris. The sale, he said, must be brought about, or the ‘world would be on fire with an intertribal war. What is the good of the mountain-land ? There is nothing to eat but stones ; granite is a hard but not a strengthening food ; and women and land are the ruin of men.’

“After congratulatory speeches from other chiefs, some of the older men treated us to histories of the deeds that had been wrought upon the block of land. Some of their speeches—notably those of Aperahama and Ihakara—were largely built up of legendary poems ; but the orators quoted the poetry as such only when in doubt how far the sentiments were those of the assembled people ; when they were backed by the hum which denotes applause, they at once commenced with singular art to weave the poetry into that which was their own.

“As soon as the speeches were over, Hunia and Ihakara marched up to the

flagstaff, carrying between them the deed of sale. Putting it down before Dr Featherston, they shook hands with each other and with him, and swore that for the future there should be eternal friendship between their tribes. The deed was then signed by many hundred men and women, and Dr Featherston started with Captain Té Képa,* of the native contingent, to fetch the £25,000 from Wanganui town, the Maoris firing their rifles into the air as a salute.

"The superintendent was no sooner gone than a kind of solemn grief seemed to come over the assembled people. After all, they were selling the graves of their ancestors, they argued. The wife of Hamuéra, seizing her husband's green-stone club, ran out from the ranks of the women, and began to intone an impromptu song, which was echoed by the women, in a pathetic chorus-chant :

'The sun shines, but we quit our land ; we abandon for ever its forests, its mountains, its groves, its lakes, its shores.

All its fair fisheries, here, under the bright sun, for ever we renounce.

It is a lovely day ; fair will be the children that are born to-day ; but we quit our land.

In some parts there is forest ; in others the ground is skimmed over by the birds in their flight.

Upon the trees there is fruit ; in the streams, fish ; in the fields, potatoes ; fern-roots in the bush ; but we quit our land.'

"It is in chorus-speeches of this kind that David's psalms must have been recited by the Jews ; but on this occasion there was a good deal of mere acting in the grief, for the tribes had never occupied the land that they now sold.

"The next day Dr Featherston drove into camp surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade of Maori cavalry, amid much yelling and firing of pieces skywards. Hunia, in receiving him, declared that he would not have the money paid till the morrow, as the sun must shine upon the transfer of the lands. It would take his people all the night, he said, to work themselves up to the right pitch for a war-dance ; so he sent down a strong guard to watch the money chests, which had been conveyed to the missionary hut. The Ngatiapa sentry posted inside the room was an odd cross between savagery and civilisation : he wore the cap of the native contingent, and nothing else but a red kilt. He was armed with a short Wilkinson rifle, for which he had, however, not a round of ammunition, his cartridges being Enfield, and his piece unloaded. Barbarian or not, he seemed to like raw gin, with which some Englishman had unlawfully and unfairly tempted him.

"In the morning the money was handed over in the runanga-house, and a signet-ring presented to Hunia by Dr Featherston in pledge of peace and memory of the sale ; but owing to the heat, we soon adjourned to the karaka grove, where Hunia made a congratulatory and somewhat boastful speech, offering his friendship and alliance to Dr Featherston.

"The assembly was soon dismissed, and the chiefs withdrew to prepare for the grandest war-dance that had been seen for years, while a party went off to catch and kill the oxen that were to be 'steamed' whole, just as our friends' fathers would have steamed us.

* "Wounded at the defence of Okutuku, against the escaped Hau-Haus, 7th of November 1868."

"A chief was detached by Hunia to guide us to a hill whence we commanded the whole glade. No sooner had we taken our seats than the Ngatiraukawa, to the number of a hundred fighting-men, armed with spears, and led by a dozen women bearing clubs, marched out from their camp and formed in column, their chiefs making speeches of exhortation from the ranks. After a pause, we heard the measured groaning of a distant *haka*, and, looking up the glade, at the distance of a mile, saw some twoscore Wanganui warriors jumping in perfect time, now to one side, now to the other, grasping their rifles by the barrel, and raising them as one man each time they jumped. Presently, bending one knee, but stiffening the other leg, they advanced, stepping together with a hopping movement, slapping their hips and thighs, and shouting from the palate, 'Hough! hough!' with fearful emphasis.

"A shout from the Ngatiraukawa hailed the approach of the Ngatiapa, who deployed from the woods some two hundred strong, all armed with Enfield rifles. They united with the Wanganuis, and marched slowly down with their rifles at the 'charge,' steadily singing war-songs. When within a hundred yards of the opposing ranks they halted, and sent in their challenge. The Ngatiraukawa and Ngatiapa heralds passed each other in silence, and each delivered his message to the hostile chief.

"We could see that the allies were led by Hunia in all the bravery of his war-costume. In his hair he wore a heron plume, and another was fastened near the muzzle of his short carbine; his limbs were bare, but about his shoulders he had a pure white scarf of satin. His kilt was gauze-silk, of three colours—pink, emerald, and cherry—arranged in such a way as to show as much of the green as of the two other colours. The contrast, which upon a white skin would have been glaring in its ugliness, was perfect when backed by the nut-brown of Hunia's chest and legs. As he ran before his tribe he was the ideal savage.

"The instant that the heralds had returned, a charge took place, the forces passing through each other's ranks as they do upon the stage, but with frightful yells. After this they formed two deep in three companies, and danced the 'musket-exercise war-dance' in wonderful time, the women leading, thrusting out their tongues, and shaking their long, pendant breasts. Among them was Hamuéra's wife, standing drawn up to her full height, her limbs stiffened, her head thrown back, her mouth wide open and tongue protruding, her eyes rolled so as to show the white, and her arms stretched out in front of her, as she slowly chanted. The illusion was perfect: she became for the time a mad prophetess; yet all the frenzy was assumed at a whim, to be cast aside in half an hour. The shouts were of the same under-breath kind as in the *haka*, but they were aided by the sounds of horns and conch-shells, and from the number of men engaged the noise was this time terrible. After much fierce singing, the musket-dance was repeated with furious leaps and gestures till the men became utterly exhausted, when the review was closed by a general discharge of rifles. Running with nimble feet, the dancers were soon back within their *paks*, and the feast, beginning now, was, like a Russian banquet, prolonged till morning.

“It is not hard to understand the conduct of Lord Durham’s settlers, who landed here in 1837. The friendly natives received the party with a war-dance, which had upon them such an effect that they immediately took ship for Australia, where they remained.

“The next day, when we called on Governor Hunia at his *wahré* to bid him farewell, before our departure for the capital, he made two speeches to us which are worthy recording as specimens of Maori oratory. Speaking through Mr Buller, who had been kind enough to escort us to the Ngatiapa’s *wahré*, Hunia said :

“‘Hail, guests! You have just now seen the settlement of a great dispute—the greatest of modern time.

“‘This was a weighty trouble—a grave difficulty.

“‘Many Pakehas have tried to settle it—in vain. For Pétatoné was it reserved to end it. I have said that great is our gratitude to Pétatoné.

“‘If Pétatoné hath need of me in the future, I shall be there. If he climbs the lofty tree, I will climb it with him. If he scales high cliffs, I will scale them too. If Pétatoné needeth help, he shall have it; and where he leads there will I follow.

“‘Such are the words of Hunia.’

“To this speech one of us replied, explaining our position as guests from Britain.

“Hunia then began to speak :

“‘O my guests, a few days since when asked for a war-dance, I refused. I refused because my people were sad at heart.

“‘We were loath to refuse our guests, but the tribes were grieved; the people were sorrowful at heart.

“‘To-day we are happy, and the war-dance has taken place.

“‘O my guests, when ye return to our great Queen, tell her that we will fight for her again as we have fought before.

“‘She is our Queen as well as your Queen—Queen of Maoris and Queen of Pakeha.

“‘Should wars arise, we will take up our rifles, and march whithersoever she shall direct.

“‘You have heard of the King movement. I was a Kingite; but that did not prevent me fighting for the Queen—I and my chiefs.

“My cousin, Wiremu, went to England, and saw our Queen. He returned. . . .

“‘When you landed in this island, he was already dead. . . .

“‘He died fighting for our Queen.

“‘As he died, *we* will die, if need be—I and all my chiefs. This do you tell our Queen.

“‘I have said.’

“This passage, spoken as Hunia spoke it, was one of noble eloquence and singular rhetoric art. The first few words about Wiremu were spoken in a half-indifferent way; but there was a long pause before and after the statement that

he was dead, and a sinking of the voice when he related how Wiremu had died, followed by a burst of sudden fire in the 'As he died, *we* will die—I and all my chiefs.'

"After a minute or two, Hunia resumed :

" 'This is another word.

" 'We are all of us glad to see you.

" 'When we wrote to Pétatoné, we asked him that he would bring with him Pakehas from England and from Australia—Pakehas from all parts of the Queen's broad lands.

" 'Pakehas who should return to tell the Queen that the Ngatiapa are her liegemen.

" 'We are much rejoiced that you are here. May your heart rest here among us ; but if you go once more to your English home, tell the people that we are Pétatoné's faithful subjects and the Queen's.

" 'I have said.'

"After pledging Hunia in a cup of wine, we returned to our temporary home."

THE FUTURE OF AUSTRALIA.

In Australia, it is often said, we have a second America in its infancy ; but it may be doubted whether we have not become so used to trace the march of empire on a westward course, through Persia and Assyria, Greece and Rome, then by Germany to England and America, that we are too readily prepared to accept the probability of its onward course to the Pacific. The progress of Australia has been singularly rapid. In 1830 her population was under 40,000 ; in 1860 it numbered 1,500,000 ; nevertheless, it is questionable how far the progress will continue. The natural conditions of America in Australia are exactly reserved. All the best lands of Australia are on her coast, and these are already taken up by settlers. Australia has three-quarters the area of Europe, but it is doubtful whether she will ever support a dense population throughout even half her limits. The uses of the Northern Territory have yet to be discovered, and the interior of the continent is far from being tempting to the settler. Upon the whole, it seems likely that almost all the imperfectly-known regions of Australia will in time be occupied by pastoral Crown tenants, but that the area of agricultural operations is not likely to admit of indefinite extension. The central district of Australia, to the extent, perhaps, of half the entire continent, lies too far north for winter rains, too far south for tropical wet seasons, and in these vast solitudes agriculture may be pronounced impossible, sheep-farming difficult. There will be no difficulty in retaining in tanks, or raising by means of wells, sufficient water for sheep and cattle-stations, and the wool, tallow, and even meat, will be carried by those railways for which the country is admirably fitted, while the construction of locks upon the Murray and its tributaries will enable steamers to carry the whole trade of the Riverina. So far, all is well ; but the arable lands of Australia are limited by the rains, and apparently the limit is a sadly narrow one. Once in a while, a heavy winter rain falls in the interior ; grass springs up, the lagoons are filled, the up-country

squatters make their fortunes, and all goes prosperously for a time. Accounts reach the coast cities of the astonishing fertility of the interior, and hundreds of settlers set off to the remotest districts. Two or three years of drought then follow, and all the more enterprising squatters are soon ruined, with a gain, however, sometimes of a few thousand square miles of country to civilisation. Small as are the inhabited portions of Australia when compared with the corresponding divisions of the United States, this country nevertheless is huge enough. The part of Queensland already peopled is five times larger than the United Kingdom. South Australia and West Australia are each of them nearly as large as British India, but of these colonies the greater part is desert. Fertile Victoria, the size of Great Britain, is only a thirty-fourth part of Australia. In face of the comparatively small amount of good agricultural country known to exist in Australia, the disproportionate size of the great cities shows out more clearly than ever. Even Melbourne, when it comes to be examined, has too much the air of a magnified Hobart Town, of a city with no country at its back, of a steam-hammer set up to crack nuts. Queensland is at present free from the burthen of gigantic cities, but then Queensland is subject to the greater danger of becoming what is in reality a slave republic. Morally and intellectually, at all events, the colonies are thriving. A literature is springing up, a national character is being grafted upon the good English stock. What shape the Australian mind will take is at present somewhat doubtful. In addition to considerable shrewdness and a purely Saxon capacity and willingness to combine for local objects, we find in Australia an admirable love of simple mirth, and a serious distaste for prolonged labour in one direction; while the downrightness and determination in the pursuit of truth, remarkable in America, are less noticeable here. Australian manners, like the American, resemble the French rather than the British—a resemblance traceable, perhaps, to the essential democracy of Australia, America, and France. One surface point which catches the eye in any Australian ball-room, or on any race-course, is clearly to be referred to the habit of mind produced by democracy—the fact, namely, that the women dress with great expense and care, the men with none whatever. This, as a rule, is true of Americans, Australians, and French. Unlike as are the Australians to the British, there is nevertheless a singular mimicry of British forms and ceremonies in the colonies, which is extended to the most trifling details of public life. Twice in Australia was I invited to ministerial dinners, given to mark the approaching close of the session; twice also was I present at university celebrations, in which home whimsicalities were closely copied. The Governors' messages to the Colonial Parliaments are travesties of those which custom in England leads us to call the "Queen's." The very phraseology is closely followed. We find Sir J. Manners Sutton gravely saying: "The representatives of the Government of New South Wales and of *my* Government have agreed to an arrangement on the border duties. . . ." The "*my*" in a democratic country like Victoria strikes a stranger as pre-eminently incongruous, if not absurd. The imitation of Cambridge forms by the University of Sydney is singularly close. One almost expects to see the familiar blue gown of the

“bull-dog” thrown across the arm of the first college servant met within its precincts. Chancellor, vice-chancellor, senate, syndicates, and even proctors, all are here in the antipodes. Registrar, professors, “seniors,” fees, fines, and “petitions with the university seal attached;” “Board of Classical Studies”—the whole corporation sits in borrowed plumage; the very names of the colleges are being imitated: we find already a St John’s. The Calendar reads like a parody on the volume issued every March by Messrs Deighton. Rules upon matriculation, upon the granting of *testamurs*; prize-books stamped with college arms are named, *ad eundem* degrees are known, and we have imitations of phraseology even in the announcement of prizes to “the most distinguished candidates for honours in each of the aforesaid schools,” and in the list of subjects for the Moral Science tripos. Lent Term, Trinity Term, Michaelmas Term, take the place of the Spring, Summer, and Fall Terms of the less pretentious institutions in America, and the height of absurdity is reached in the regulations upon “academic costume,” and on the “respectful salutation” by undergraduates of the “fellows and professors” of the university. The situation on a hot-wind day of a member of the senate, in “black silk gown, with hood of scarlet cloth, edged with white fur, and lined with blue silk, black velvet trencher cap,” all in addition to his ordinary clothing, it is to be presumed, can be imagined only by those who know what hot-winds are. We English are great acclimatisers: we have carried trial by jury to Bengal, tenant-right to Oude, and caps and gowns to be worn over *loongee* and *paejama* at Calcutta University. Who are we, that we should cry out against the French for “carrying France about with them everywhere?”

Of the religious position of Australia there is little to be said: the Wesleyans, Catholics, and Presbyterians are stronger, and the other denominations weaker, than they are at home. The general mingling of incongruous objects and of conflicting races, characteristic of colonial life, extends to religious buildings. The graceful Wesleyan church, the Chinese joss-house, and the Catholic cathedral stand not far apart in Melbourne. In Australia the mixture of blood is not yet great. In South Australia, where it is most complete, the Catholics and Wesleyans have considerable strength. Anglicanism is naturally strongest where the race is most exclusively British—in Tasmania and New South Wales. As far as the coast tracts are concerned, Australia, as will be seen from what has been said of the individual colonies, is rapidly ceasing to be a land of great tenancies, and becoming a land of small freeholds, each cultivated by its owner. It need hardly be pointed out that, in the interests of the country and of the race, this is a happy change. When English rural labourers commence to fully realise the misery of their position, they will find not only America, but Australia also open to them as a refuge and future home. Looming in the distance, we still, however, see the American problem of whether the Englishman can live out of England. Can he thrive except where mist and damp preserve the juices of his frame? He comes from the fogs of the Baltic shores and from the Flemish lowlands; gains in vigour in the South Island of New Zealand. In Australia and America—hot and dry—the type has already changed. Will it eventually dis-

appear? It is still an open question whether the change of type among the English in America and Australia is a climatic adaptation on the part of nature, or a temporary divergence produced by abnormal causes, and capable of being modified by care.—*Sir C. W. Dilke.*

THE FUTURE OF THE ENGLISH RACE.

In America we have seen the struggle of the dear races against the cheap—the endeavours of the English to hold their own against the Irish and Chinese. In New Zealand we found the stronger and more energetic race pushing from the earth the shrewd and laborious descendants of the Asian Malays; in Australia, the English triumphant, and the cheaper races excluded from the soil not by distance merely, but by arbitrary legislation; in India we saw the solution of the problem of the officering of the cheaper by the dearer race. Everywhere we have found that the difficulties which impede the progress to universal dominion of the English people lie in the conflict with the cheaper races. The result of our survey is such as to give us reason for the belief that race distinctions will long continue, that miscegenation will go but little way towards blending races; that the dearer are, on the whole, likely to destroy the cheaper peoples, and that Saxondom will rise triumphant from the doubtful struggle. The countries ruled by a race whose very scum and outcasts have founded empires in every portion of the globe, even now consists of nine and a half millions of square miles, and contains a population of three hundred millions of people. Their surface is five times as great as that of the empire of Darius, and four and a half times as large as the Roman empire at its greatest extent. It is no exaggeration to say that in power the English countries would be more than a match for the remaining nations of the world, whom in the intelligence of their people and the extent and wealth of their dominions they already considerably surpass. Russia gains ground steadily, we are told, but so do we. If we take maps of the English-governed countries and of the Russian countries of fifty years ago, and compare them with the English and Russian countries of to-day, we find that the Saxon has outstripped to Muscovite in conquest and in colonisation. The extensions of the United States alone are equal to all those of Russia. Chili, La Plata, and Peru must eventually become English: the Red Indian race that now occupies those countries cannot stand against our colonists; and the future of the table-lands of Africa and that of Japan and of China is as clear. Even in the tropical plains, the negroes alone seem able to withstand us. No possible series of events can prevent the English race itself in 1970 numbering three hundred millions of beings—of one national character and one tongue. Italy, Spain, France, Russia, become pigmies by the side of such a people. Many who are well aware of the power of the English nations are nevertheless disposed to believe that our own is morally, as well as physically, the least powerful of the sections of the race, or, in other words, that we are overshadowed by America and Australia. The rise to power of our southern colonies is, however, distant; and an alliance between ourselves and America is still one to be made on equal terms. Although we are forced to contemplate the speedy loss of our manu-

facturing supremacy as coal becomes cheaper in America and dearer in Old England, we have, nevertheless, as much to bestow on America as she has to confer on us. The possession of India offers to ourselves that element of vastness of dominion which, in this age, is needed to secure width of thought and nobility of purpose; but to the English race our possession of India, of the coasts of Africa, and of the ports of China, offers the possibility of planting free institutions among the dark-skinned races of the world. The ultimate future of any one section of our race, however, is of little moment by the side of its triumph as a whole, but the power of English laws and English principles of government is not merely an English question—its continuance is essential to the freedom of mankind.—*Sir C. W. Dilke.*

MARRIAGE AMONGST THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES.

It is generally admitted that the Australians were a law-abiding people, in so far as the observance of traditional customs may be termed law; but certainly in no feature of their social customs did their adherence to laws, or tribal usages of a most complicated character, appear more manifest than in those relating to marriage. It is even now believed by many of the old natives that the disorganisation of their tribes and the dying out of the natives themselves, together with the infecundity of the *lubras*, were all due to the neglect of the requirements of their ancient marriage laws. It has been supposed that restrictions of *totem* existed, by which no native could marry a woman of the same *totem* as himself; and there can be no doubt that some such restrictions did exist, although not, perhaps, to the extent of prohibiting all marriages between persons of the same *totem*. It may be that the matrimonial limitation drawn by the Rev. Mr Ridley, as existing among the Kamilaroi, extended even into Victoria. Among them, and among tribes in Gippsland, the restriction was that a man could not marry a woman of the same name as his sister; to avoid, as far as possible, such a circumstance ever recurring, all precautions were used to give each female infant *reared* a different name. The Rev. Mr Mackie informs me that, from his questioning of Tommy Farmer, one of the most intelligent natives at Corranderrk, whose original home was on the Loddon, he inferred "that there were no restrictions as to marriage" (that is, there were no tribal restrictions of *totem*). "A man might marry any woman, or he might have three or four wives; but in such cases the consent of the king and the relatives of the females had to be obtained. They seldom, however, went out of their own tribe for a wife, unless it was desired to make peace with some neighbouring tribe with whom they had quarrelled." In some of the Australian tribes it was essential for a man, in obtaining a wife, to give a sister, or some female relative in exchange; for only by such exchange would the marriage be recognised in the tribe. Should the wife in such marriages fail to give satisfaction to her husband, either by being lazy, unfaithful, or sickly, he could cancel the contract by leaving her where he had obtained her, and recalling his sister or relative. Should either of the husbands become dissatisfied with the other, from any cause, he would not think twice before cancelling the agreement between them.

In these transactions the women themselves had no voice, nor indeed were they in any part of the colony allowed to use their judgment or make their own matrimonial arrangements; they were regarded as in every respect man's inferior, and intended only as his slaves—in fact, as his beasts of burden, who were to have no will of their own, but to bow at all times in abject submission to the will of their master. Says a writer on the Australian aborigines in *Chambers's Journal*, quoted by M'Lellan, in the Appendix to his "Studies in Ancient History:" "In nothing is the brutality of their nature more clearly shown than in their treatment of their females. Amongst them women are considered as an inferior class, and are used almost" (he might have said altogether) "as beasts of burden; so that it is not at all uncommon to meet a blackfellow travelling merrily along with no load but his spear or war-club, whilst his unfortunate *lubra* is panting under the weight of their goods and chattels, which she is compelled to carry from camp to camp." Other methods of obtaining wives than that of bartering sisters were also practised—thus marriage by capture, both as a "form" and *de facto* existed; indeed, in marriages by private agreement between the husbands, the form of capture had in most instances to be observed, and wives were only secured after a pretended struggle, which afforded considerable amusement to the bystanders. Soon, however, the *lubra* would lay down her yam stick, with which she had been defending herself, and quietly accompany the man to whom her brother had assigned her to his *gunyah*, where she would light a fire, and from that moment regard herself as his wife. In other parts of the colony marriage by capture existed as a fact, and afforded the only means by which the majority of males could obtain wives for themselves. With those tribes where this state of things existed, female infanticide was generally more or less practised, induced probably by the hardness of their struggle for life; and with most tribes of Australian blacks, there can be no doubt the struggle was at all times excessively keen. Should any more trying season than usual come upon them, not only are they likely to have resorted to cannibalism, but they would also endeavour to lessen the individual severity of the struggle by destroying as many of the most helpless and dependent members of the tribe as possible. It is but natural for us to infer that, as savages everywhere regard women as of less value—either actual or probable—to their tribes than are its male members, that female infants would be those chosen for destruction, although it is quite possible, and very probable, that during the pressure of extra severe seasons *all* infants might have been killed; yet, when there would be a relaxation of this pressure, and the customary supplies were again forthcoming, the numbers destroyed would gradually lessen, those escaping death being the male infants, as of greater value to the tribe than female ones. Once female infanticide became an established practice, and the adult males of the tribe succeeded in securing for themselves wives from some neighbouring tribe, there would be a constant tendency to perpetuate the practice, consequent upon the increase of adults adding to the intensity of the natural struggle. Laziness, too, on the part of the *lubras*, was a frequent cause of indiscriminate infanticide. We must not, however, be too severe in our judgment of the poor

lubra, for often it was the distraction of sheer necessity, and the despair of cruel ill-usage—not lack of affection—that determined the murder of her child. Returning again for a few moments to the capturing of wives, I may state that the following was one of the most generally adopted modes of capture. The young man who desired to procure a wife (usually there would be several young men banded together for the purpose of wife-capturing) would reconnoitre the position of some neighbouring tribe, or ascertain the whereabouts of some beauty, the fame of whose charms had extended beyond the limits of her own tribe. Armed with his *nulla-nulla* and spear, he would steal, in some very dark night, perfectly nude, as near to the camp-fire as possible. After having discovered the object of his search, he would await until all the tribe had sunk into the silence of sleep, and then place the point of his spear gently, but firmly, against her throat. Being thus rudely disturbed from her slumbers, and well knowing what was meant, she would in most instances arise quietly and follow her captor; should she, however, make any noise, or offer the least resistance, a blow from the *nulla-nulla*, not at all tempered by affection, generally made matters quiet. I remember, about fifteen years ago, on one of the stations of the late Mr Hugh Glass, on the Avoca River, seeing a woman who had been stolen. She had not had time nor opportunity to attend to her toilet when I saw her, which was several hours after her capture; but even then she was half stupid from the effects of a blow on her head from a *waddy*. Her hair was clotted with blood, little streams of which were oozing out of the wounds which had been inflicted. Love marriages, and even elopements, are not altogether unknown in the social history of the Australians; but, in most cases, such came to untimely end. When missed, the friends of the bride's parents set out in a general search. "As soon as caught," writes the Rev. John Bulmer, in a letter which I received from him, "the young woman is well beaten by her mother, sisters, or female friends, each forgetting that they themselves may have acted in the same manner. The young man has to stand and fight for his wife, and generally gets a good thrashing; but the person who gets the most punishment is the female, for she was usually given up as a prostitute, for a time, to the whole male portion of her tribe." In my own experience, the practice has been slightly different from that related above. In most parts of Australia, each female (if to be reared) was, from her birth, assigned to some male friend of her parents, without any regard to parity of age or natural suitableness, and often when the girls grew up, they were not at all pleased with their allotted husbands; and if not stolen from their tribe, they would find some young man of their own choice with whom they would elope. When the elopement became known, there would be a general pursuit; when caught, as they invariably were, the young man had to fight for his wife against considerable odds, or yield her quietly up, and be branded as a coward for the remainder of his life. The mode of fighting was that the young man should stand in a certain position, at a given distance, and receive from each of his pursuers, or as many as had been agreed upon, a shot with either the spear or boomerang, he being allowed a shield with which to defend himself. Should he escape death, he was then permitted to

have one shot at any one of his assailants he chose (usually *his bride's* prospective husband), and often the whole affair would end in a duel, in which either one or other would be seriously wounded. Should the runaway not be killed (which seldom happened), he was allowed to retain possession of his wife, and from that moment all intercourse between him and his *lubra's* parents was at an end. Even were he on the point of death, they would not go near him, nor must he look upon them—he must particularly abstain from seeing his mother-in-law, although he must minister to her wants. Should he fail to do so, she will make herself heard, if not seen. I do not deem it advisable to enter into the question of polygamy, or that of polyandry, further than to state that the former was almost universally practised where there were sufficient *lubras* to allow of it, while in many tribes there was evidence to prove that at a former period of their tribal existence the latter had also been a common practice. Most tribes had certain ceremonies through which the youth of the male sex had to pass before they were entitled to the privileges of manhood, and until they had undergone these, they were not permitted to marry, nor to associate with women, nor were they allowed to take part in the general business of the tribe. They were *made men*, by a process which differed in different tribes, and was not by any means universal in its observance, but which was always, where practised, both painful and disgusting—as, for instance, the practice of the Western and many other Australian tribes, which was as follows: The nose was pierced by a particular bone from a kangaroo's leg, about eight or ten inches long, which, after having been properly prepared, was thrust with great ceremony through the cartilage between the nostrils, and kept there for a month, and even a longer time, in order that there would be no chance of the hole made healing up—while other tribes knocked out the front teeth, and still others plucked large quantities of hair from the head and different parts of the body; but whatever the practice was, where any such practice was observed, it was always preluded by a most severe preparation, the professed object being to inure the young men to pain, and whatever was done, or whatever had to be passed through, all had to be borne without a murmur. As soon, however, as the initiatory service was over and the young man returned to his tribe, he was admitted to the council meetings, and a woman was provided to work for him, it being left to his own skill, energy, or courage, to procure a wife for himself. Aboriginal marriages were tolerably happy, although their mode of life, their savage and inhuman condition and attainments, made conjugal chastity, or a continuance of the domestic relations between coolies and their *lubras*, impossible; and the violent temper of the men frequently expended itself on the unfortunate *lubras*, who, on the whole, were dreadfully ill-used by their coolies.—*Mr D. Macallister in Melbourne Review.*

ABORIGINAL TRADITIONS.

I may premise my remarks on the traditions of the Australians by stating that, almost without exception, they are preserved in the poetical form. Among other peculiar traditions, there was one, not by any means local or confined in

its acceptance, which informed the natives that, long ago, before there were any blackfellows, this earth was inhabited by a race of beings, or spirits, different from the natives themselves. From some cause, the nature of which I have never been able to ascertain, these spirits left this world at the advent of the blackman, or, rather, they were transformed into certain of the stars which now shine in the heavens. Other stars are held to have been at one time animals, who, for some work performed for the good of man, were rewarded by being converted into these stars, the very works being preserved in the traditional stories, and often recited at the social gatherings of the tribes. The natives along the Murray and Edward rivers, and in many other localities, believed that the sun is simply a large fire, which is renewed every morning and extinguished every evening; but, from their traditions, it is evident that they believed that, at one time, the sun's fire burned constantly both night and day—the very words used when the change was made being still preserved in some of their songs, of which the following is a translation of one verse, as furnished me by the Rev. Mr Bulmer:

Yhuko	Warry	Yhuko Warry
<i>Sun</i>	<i>You</i>	<i>Sun You</i>
Yarra	Yarroma	Warredilyee
<i>Wood</i>	<i>Wood of yours</i>	<i>Burn</i>
Yuntho	Yunthoma	Warradilyee
<i>Bowels</i>	<i>Bowels of yours</i>	<i>Burn</i>
Tule	Tule	
<i>Go down!</i>	<i>Go down!</i>	

Since the utterance of these mystic words, the rising and setting of the sun has been constant.

Of the moon, "Night's fair Queen," there appears to have been a general paucity of traditional stories; at any rate, but few have ever come under my notice. From these few I infer that, when the moon is young (*i.e.*, every new moon), it is shielded from its enemies by the clouds which envelop it, until such time as it gains sufficient strength to fight its own battles, when they withdraw. The following is the aspect of the idea, as related to me by Mr A. W. Robertson: He was out riding with Tommy, son of King Mangōtah, of the Barratta tribe, on the Edward River, N.S.W., when, observing that the sky was overcast, he inquired if they were going to have any rain, to which Tommy replied, "Bel,* any fellow rain, like it little-fellow Moon up there. Keep him dark; by-and-by, grow big-fellow Moon: make it all the same day at night."

It seems to have been currently believed all over Australia that there was a time when the natives did not possess fire; but the manner in which this most useful and necessary accessory to progress came into their possession is differently told by different tribes, no doubt some local incident or condition giving colour to the particular tradition; but, in the majority of cases, the tribes were agreed in ascribing its introduction to some bird or animal; and it was also pretty generally believed to have been stolen by one animal from some other, for man's special use (indeed, in the traditional lore of the aborigines, animals

* "Bel" is an aboriginal negative.

and birds play a very conspicuous and important part). The blacks of the Loddon district appear to have formed somewhat of an exception to the general rule; for with them there seems to have been a total absence of traditions relating to the Prometheus idea, nor had they any notion of how they became possessed of fire.

After having obtained fire, and finding it was good, man's constant care was to retain his possession of it; but how early, or how the aboriginal gained the knowledge necessary to produce fire for himself, I am unable to say. Probably, however, the discovery was of an accidental nature: thus, the chipping of flint would give rise to sparks, and some of these falling in grass which had been previously heated by the summer sun was likely enough to ignite that grass and end in a fire; but I cannot conceive such to have been the origin of the Australian method of producing fire, which was far more artless and laborious than the striking of fire from flint—friction, by rubbing the sharp end of one stick on the surface of another, being the principal method. It was seldom, however, such means had to be resorted to, for one of woman's chief occupations was to tend to the fire, and, on the removal of the camp, to carry a firebrand in her hand. They have even been known to walk a considerable distance to some neighbouring tribe, or white settler's camp, to procure a burning stick.—*Melbourne Review*.

THE FIRST RELIGIOUS SERVICE IN AUSTRALIA.

The Maoris of New Zealand, in their pagan state, never ventured to launch their fishing-boats in the morning, until they had knelt upon the sandy beach before their gods, and asked a blessing on their labour. Heathen nations of antiquity and heathen people of modern times were never known to undertake anything of national importance without at least the semblance of religious service.

Let us see how the Christian emigrants from Britain acted in the foundation of their first southern colony.

It was in the first month of 1788 that Governor Phillip took formal possession of the new territory of New South Wales, without a thought of any claim to the land by the aborigines, or the expression of a wish to repay them for this invasion of their real or pretended rights by the bestowal of the advantages of civilisation upon them.

A jubilee was proclaimed. It was not a heathen one, much less a Christian. It was a demonstration of strength and power, for the military took a leading part in it. The flag of England was displayed, and volleys of musketry were fired in honour of it. The principal feature of the opening day was, as might be supposed, the reading of the royal proclamation, by which the colony was established. The next and most conspicuous act of the celebration was the festival. The governor sat at a sumptuous board, and, surrounded by his officers, drank the king's health, and success to the settlement. We then find this formality followed by most immoral excesses.

No one thought it necessary to bring the chaplain forward to take any part in the proceedings. A God was not to be acknowledged then. We know not

what efforts the clergyman made to declare their impiety, and to uphold the honour of his faith. We can believe his gentle nature was grieved at this denial of Providence, and would fain hope that he was no party at the godless banquet.

Judge Burton may well ask, "Was there then no act of contrition, no act of gratitude, which it had been becoming on such an occasion for Englishmen to offer to the God of their fathers, upon the erection of the national flag of England upon this distant land?" He furthermore says, "How different might have been the effect upon the minds of the poor convicts, if the day of their first landing in a new world had been solemnly marked as the beginning of a new life under God by an act of confession and prayer!"

We have seen how the officers inaugurated the new colony; let us now observe the way in which the convicts behaved on their landing. The governor, after an address to them, hoping they would behave themselves, gave them some grog to drink the health of George III. and their own destruction. More liquor was surreptitiously obtained from the sailors, and the grossest of intemperance reeled over the settlement. It was a drunken celebration throughout.

As to morals in general, a quotation from a work published in 1789, the year after the colonisation, will speak intelligibly enough. Captain Tench is speaking of the prisoners when he writes, "While they were on board ship, the two sexes were kept most rigorously apart; but when landed, their separation became impracticable, and would have been, perhaps, wrong. Licentiousness was the unavoidable consequence, and their old habits of depravity were beginning to recur. What was to be attempted? To prevent their intercourse was impossible; and to palliate its evils only remained. Marriage was recommended." This very wild state of the grossest debauchery may illustrate the opening service of the colony.

Before Sunday, however, the officials got a little more sober, and the entreaties of the chaplain were heard. It was resolved *then* to pay some outward respect to religion. All hands were summoned to attendance. We quote the account given by an eye-witness.

"On the Sunday after our landing," writes Captain Tench, "divine service was performed under a great tree, by the Rev. Mr Johnson, chaplain of the settlement, in the presence of the troops and convicts, whose behaviour on the occasion was equally regular and attentive." This was the first public prayer in Australia.—*Bouwick's Curious Facts*.

THE WESLEYAN PIONEER OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

Samuel Leigh had the honour of being the first Methodist minister of Australia. He had been previously educated in the Independent connection.

The good man arrived on 15th August 1815. Although the English Government would not allow him to go out as a preacher, he resolved to act as one, and regularly conducted service on the passage out in the "Hebe." He read the Church prayers, and then exhorted. After landing he had to appear before the governor, who had received some instructions concerning this Methodist intruder. "I regret," said his Excellency, "you have come here as

a missionary, and feel sorry that I cannot give you any encouragement in that capacity." This was a polite intimation that he must keep his lips closed in public. "But," added General Macquarie, a kind-hearted ruler, "if you will take office under Government, I will find you a situation in which you may become rich, and one in which you will be more comfortable than in going about preaching in such a colony as this."

It was a tempting offer to a needy man. He might have quieted his conscience with the hopelessness of his attempting to preach against the will of the authorities, and the expectancy of being useful in an official situation, where he might make plenty of money to do good with hereafter. But no such reasoning came to this simple-minded man. He retired from the governor's presence with a sigh of disappointment, but with a determination to carry out his mission.

He proceeded, however, with great discretion. He paid court to the worthy chaplain, who, with all his good qualities, had a weakness in his love of patronising others, or being unpleasantly obstructive to those who crossed his will.

Mr Leigh professed his anxiety to act in obedience to his suggestions, and on no account to show the least symptoms of antagonism to the Church of England. On this understanding Mr Marsden undertook to be friendly; and, certainly, in many ways, showed no little kindness and active assistance to the early Methodists. Under his protection Mr Leigh ventured to break faith with the Government, and commence preaching.

His next object was to hunt up the members of society. He found that if he had delayed his coming much longer, he could have had none of his communion left. As it was, he could but muster a class of six persons. He might well write home: "I found that Satan had entered in among them, and had scattered the feeble few." By the 16th of March 1816, however, he had collected forty-four members in six classes, and had held service at fifteen different places.

Mr Leigh soon added to their number. In all his operations he had an able helper in that early Methodist and sincere Christian, Sergeant Scott.

His first sermon was preached in a private house in Sydney. He then got permission to speak in a schoolroom. His first convert was a convict, who afterwards rose to a respectable position, and was the first man in Australia to start a stage-coach. In Windsor, a thriving settlement on the Hawkesbury, Mr Leigh preached in a skillion. He undertook to visit every house in Sydney, to find what state of religion existed, and discovered an average of one copy of the Scriptures to every ten families. A few Scotch farmers had raised the first voluntary church in Australia, with the hope of getting a Presbyterian minister, but who never came. In that little wooden church Mr Leigh preached in 1815. Some of his audience came a distance of thirty miles. A magistrate of the city, annoyed, like many more, at the zeal of this Methodist evangelist, suggested the propriety of putting him, as a meddlesome fellow, into a chain gang, and sending him to the extra penal station of Newcastle, to work in the coal mines there.

The Sydney society wrote home, in 1816, for a little help. "Our temporal circumstances," said they, "are not opulent, and our expenses at the present

fall upon a few individuals." They represented their position, straitened for room. A rented house for worship cost them £15 a year. They wished to build two small chapels. "The expense," urged the friends, "exclusive of subscriptions, will be about £200. And what adds to our difficulties, and which, we trust, will recommend us to your notice, is the total impossibility of borrowing money in this colony on any interest or security whatever." This desperate state of things in the trying day of the settlement pressed hard upon the faith of the few.

"Help us," was the cry from Port Jackson: "help us—help the outcasts of New South Wales. We have claims on your notice by the ties of consanguinity. We are bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh." Help was given, and another missionary promised.

Help came from other quarters. The governor approved of Mr Leigh's labours, and offered him a grant of land. Mr Leigh in his simplicity declined the offer, as he was only a missionary. The governor stared, and said, "Why, you will be always poor at this rate." A site was needed for a chapel at Windsor. The chaplain had considerable property in that quarter, and generously gave the Methodists an allotment in the township. In acknowledgment of their letter of thanks, Mr Marsden uses the following generous language: "To give you the right hand of fellowship is no more than my indispensable duty; and were I throw the smallest difficulty in your way, I shall be highly criminal and unworthy the Christian name."

As the colony progressed, so rose the Wesleyan interest. The six of 1815, extended to forty-four, grew to fifty-eight in May 1816, and eighty-three in June 1820. In 1817 Mr Leigh had a part in the formation of the Bible Society, got up through the zeal of the Rev. S. Marsden, and receiving the active support of the governor. Of the meeting held on March 7th, it was written, "Never was there so numerous and respectable a public meeting in New South Wales."

One of the chaplains explained to Mr Marsden that Mr Leigh in one place had the bell rung for his service. Mr Leigh proved that the magistrate had ordered the bell to be rung. He felt hurt that the chaplain sought to injure one who had been the means of converting his wife, and who had otherwise helped his district. The other presented the simple apology that the bishop in England, when ordaining him, had directed him to "have nothing to do with Dissenters." And yet, strange to say, he had been an Independent minister previously. Mr Marsden rebuked him for his want of Christian kindness.

To a friend in London, who had urged his return, Mr Leigh wrote in this strain: "Return to England, do you say? You tell me I should have thousands to preach to; but I should not have my twelves and twenties all in tears, waiting to receive the Word. Yes, I have witnessed the tears of many; and after I have travelled twenty miles and preached to twenty persons, I have returned to rest with twenty thousand blessings." He was a true bush missionary.

His health failing, Mr Marsden kindly offered him a trip to New Zealand, to look after the Church agents who had recently been established there. But he rallied once more for his work. Others came to his help. Mr Lawry

arrived in 1818, but left four years after for the mission to Tongataboo. Before he left the colony, he was two years in charge, as continued illness obliged the pioneer to retire from the work and take a voyage to England.

After a while, Mr Leigh returned to the southern hemisphere, and took up his residence at the Wesleyan mission in New Zealand. Here he was the fellow-labourer of the Rev. Nathaniel Turner, one of the most beloved ministers in Australia, and the father of a most interesting family. His son George is a popular minister in the colonial world. Messrs Turner and Hobbs arrived in Sydney, on their way to New Zealand, about the year 1823.

Mr Leigh returned to New South Wales, and again fell a victim to the heat of the climate, and the extent of his labour. He retired, in 1831, on the London Supernumerary list. Two years after, he was sufficiently recovered to resume full circuit employment. He died in England in 1851, at the age of sixty-six.

Although a man, perhaps, not much endowed with intellectual vigour and literary ability, he faithfully did his duty to the utmost of his power. He may have lacked independence of will, but was never rebuked for negligence. He was warmly attached to his Australian mission, and he cannot fail to be affectionately remembered by Methodists as a pioneer of their cause in New South Wales.

The Methodist interest rapidly advanced. In 1822 there were four Sunday-schools in the Sydney circuit. One at old Botany Bay had twenty children. The quarterly collection of that early date for the mission was but £32. The anniversary sermon of that year was preached by the Rev. John Williams, of South Sea enterprise. Mr Carvosso came to Sydney in 1820, bringing with him much simplicity and earnestness. Mr Scott erected a chapel in his garden at his own expense of £500, in 1819. The governor the same year gave land in Macquarie Street, Sydney, for a site, on which a stone building arose fifty feet by thirty. York Street Chapel subsequently was erected at a cost of £6000.

The Rev. Mr Horton arrived in 1832, Mr Orton in 1834, Mr Schofield in 1835, and Messrs M'Kenny, Draper, and Lewis in April 1836. Mr Turner returned in 1839. The Rev. Joseph Waterhouse came out as general superintendent of the Wesleyan missions in the South Seas in 1838. He died in Hobart Town in 1842. Two of his sons were successful missionaries in Fiji, and two are now engaged in the colonial ministry. Mr Lawry succeeded Mr Waterhouse as superintendent.—*Bowwick's Curious Facts.*

THE FIRST INDEPENDENT MINISTER OF HOBART TOWN.

The story of the moral history of Van Diemen's Land is so dark that it seems in vain to look for any goodness in the country. And yet, in spite of the surges of crime and violence beating against the band of Christians there, the honest faithful ones stood firmly as if planting their foot upon a rock. Each representative body of the Church proper had many excellent characters, that appeared to shine the more brilliantly by the contrast of the evil surrounding them.

Among the first free settlers to the colony were those who became the prominent leaders of their respective denominations. Several of these were

Independents. They anxiously sought a minister of their own views, having heretofore worshipped either with the Presbyterians or the Wesleyans. The foremost among them was Mr Henry Hopkins, one of the most princely of benefactors to all objects for the elevation of humanity.

In 1830 the Rev. Frederick Miller had his attention directed to the distant land of penal servitude. The place was then associated with the worst of crimes. It was the Sodom of the southern hemisphere. It was the abode of bushrangers. It was the scene of bloodshed between naked savages and clothed ones. It was, apparently, the last retreat a man of refined feeling and sensitive nature, like Mr Miller, would think of seeking. But the man was heroic, and consulted neither ease nor interest. The very recital of horrors but enkindled his enthusiasm. It was the more necessary that he, and such as he, should go there, and should aid the struggling few to stem the on-sweeping torrent. Favoured by the well-known Thomas Wilson, Esq., he came to the Fern Valleys of Tasmania. A chapel was raised. The land cost £200, the building £1400. Mr Miller opened it in April 1832. The few, a mere dozen or two, who formed his people, contributed nobly. But when bad times came, in 1834, and a debt of £600 remained, with heavy necessities for the erection of schools and parsonage, the trustees became anxious. Other dissenting bodies had been afforded help, why should not these accept a Treasury loan? At that time the particular views now entertained by Nonconformists in the colonies were not rigorously, or at least not universally, held, especially in respect to grants of land.

In 1835 a grant of £500 was made toward the liquidation of the debt on the Brisbane Street Chapel. The respect in which the minister was personally held induced the governor to place his name on the estimates for a salary of £200. The grant was accepted, for the pressure was great on the trustees; but the salary was respectfully declined on the ground of conscience. It was not long before the worthy pastor saw the mistake into which by their necessities they had been driven. He recommended that the money be repaid as soon as possible; and he took pains to represent to his Excellency that, with all becoming gratitude, the Church could not but consider themselves indebted to the State for the amount.

But years passed on without an opportunity to meet the claim. It was sufficient for the little body to pay its way, without troubling to do more. The goldfields gave the means. A subscription was raised, and the money respectfully tendered to the Tasmanian Government and accepted. It is right to add that the Colonial Missionary Society reported in 1849: "In Van Diemen's Land the churches have never been dependent on the Colonial Society. They are still sustaining their own pastors, and carrying on with energy and liberality various benevolent and evangelical labours."

Perhaps no association, for its means, accomplished so much for the general good of their fellows as that under the pastorate of the Rev. F. Miller. He was pre-eminently a good man. His preaching was of a high order. His life was consistent with his words. Ill-health on several occasions took him from his pulpit. A total rest in a long sea-voyage being recommended, he visited England.

He returned to his beloved Tasmania in 1862—to die. A verse of his own may be applied to himself:

“If disease thy soul should darken,
Struggling in death's agonies;
Soon thy God will bid thee hearken
To the music of the skies.”

The second minister of the Congregationalists was the Rev. C. Price, who established himself at Launceston. If not possessed of great pulpit power, he has endeared himself to many by his public spirit, his self-denying effort, his practical benevolence. His earnest advocacy of temperance principles was attended with success. Some years after, in 1839, the Rev. John West, now one of the leading literary men of Australia, and author of the “History of Tasmania,” settled also in Launceston. The Rev. Mr Nesbitt was stationed in Hobart Town.—*Bowwick's Curious Facts.*

THE LUTHERANS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

South Australia has been called the refuge of the oppressed, and the home of the free. It alone of all the Australian colonies was untainted with the presence of crime. No transported felons were ever permitted to land upon its shores or cross its borders. A popular government was established. Religion was free. It presented neither the exclusiveness of Rome nor that of Geneva.

When, therefore, a persecution arose in Germany, and a number of men suffered the loss of goods for conscience' sake, even in that Protestant country, because their evangelical views were confronted by an establishment that denied freedom of dissent, South Australia opened its port to receive them. By the munificence of Mr George Fife Angas, the real founder of the colony, a number of these German pietists were placed upon farms in the sunny land.

They removed under the care of their worthy pastors; and vineyards and oliveyards, cornfields and orchards, were spread through the fertile valleys of the provinces by this industrious and excellent people. The *South Australian* thus notices the event in May 1839: “Driven from their native country because they would not yield to the worst kind of tyranny, which seeks to rivet chains on men's minds, and dictate to them their faith, they came hither, erected their altar among us, and are now presenting us with a model of practical colonisation well worthy our individual imitation.”—*Bowwick.*

NO CHURCH STATE AID IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

At no period, perhaps, in the history of the world was colonisation so discussed as it was in England nearly forty years ago. Able men treated the subject philosophically; politicians reviewed it as affecting the welfare of commonwealths; philanthropists spoke of it as the panacea for misery; and practical persons contemplated it as a means of bettering their fortunes. All shades of opinion were expressed, and most sanguine expectations were indulged. For the first time it formed a question of serious debate in Parliament, and received

a strong and even enthusiastic support from statesmen of high authority and well-known benevolence.

Out of this discussion upon colonisation arose the three colonies of Western Australia, South Australia, and New Zealand. Novel principles of government were to be tried there, and advanced views of human progress were to be developed there.

Among the subjects of inquiry was that of religion. It was asked whether this national emigration was to be assisted with Church establishments or not. The old colonies of New South Wales and Tasmania were provided with a State Church; though, subsequently, other denominations were permitted to approach and receive the State loaf. It was contended by some that this laxity of Church principles would eventually lead to the decline of piety and growth of atheism in the colonies, but that the evil might be averted by the re-establishment of Episcopalian supremacy, and absolute exclusiveness of right to the charms of the public treasury. Others thought the revival of piety and the acknowledged decrease of crime in these old penal settlements, might be attributed to the development of religious freedom there, which permitted the expansion of other ecclesiastical bodies. The Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians, and the Wesleyans, believed that the State aid they received had enabled them to occupy ground they could never otherwise have done, and so reached the consciences of men that would not have been awakened. Many others, not sectarian in their prejudices, were strenuous supporters of Church aid, on the principle that religion was a good check upon social disorders, and that clergymen, of whatever name or opinion, were useful as moral policemen.

But it so happened that the majority of those interested in the great colonising movement of the day had doubts of the advantage of either system. They regarded the dominancy of one Church an injustice, and esteemed the favouring of all Churches a folly. As Protestants they objected to the endowment of Popery, and as Roman Catholics they demurred to their exclusion from the *chest*. On the whole, they thought that each party should support their own system, and not be called upon, through the Government, to aid the promulgation of views to which they were conscientiously opposed.

When the colony of South Australia was established under the auspices of an association, the principle of simple non-interference with religious opinions was adopted. Each denomination, whether Protestant Episcopal, Roman Catholic Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, or Wesleyan, was to stand alone, without favour, without State support, but without prejudice.

From 1836 to 1848 this state of things continued. It survived the terrible commercial distress of 1841 and 1842, and it remained upon the transference of the province from the proprietorship of a private company to its becoming a Crown colony.

In 1848 a successful effort was made to establish the system adopted in New South Wales, but even more liberal in character. All denominations were proclaimed equal in the eyes of the law, and all were invited to the State feast. But the specific grants were made dependent upon the attendants on Sunday

service, and the amount of cash raised by voluntary effort. In this way, the Wesleyans, because of their zeal, their energy, and their liberality, obtained far more proportionate assistance for chapel building and ministerial support than other bodies. As to Independents, Baptists, and many individual members of the other denominations, strongly opposed to change in the constitution, the State aid was declared an experiment limited to a term of three years. In 1851 the Colonial Parliament reversed the decree of 1848, and the colony is once more free of State aid.

The Church of England in South Australia sensibly felt the change. The bishop thus stated the case: "Our difficulty lies in the comparative poverty of our gentry, and the want of habit of giving and paying for the support of religion on the part of the labouring classes." Again, he wrote in his despair to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: "Our people are faithless as to paying the clergy: without help from England they would be starved out, or miserably supported."

In justice to the Adelaide Episcopalians it must be said that this reproach is now removed by their liberality toward their Church, and their real interest in its affairs. The system has worked satisfactorily, moreover, in its promotion of fraternal feeling among religionists of different faiths. They have learned charity in respect to the conscientious belief of their neighbours, the force of nationality, and the influence of educational training.—*Bowwick*.

PORT PHILLIP IN 1850.

A friendly critic of the period (Mr Leslie Foster) paints these pioneers of civilisation a little *en beau*. In a pamphlet published in London, in 1850, he affirms that there might be found among them "men retired from their professions, whether clerical, military, naval, legal, or medical; and the younger sons of good and even noble families, who preferred seeking an active independence to pursuing the lounging life of drones in the mother country." There might also be found among them, however, prudent overseers, and even shepherds and stock-riders, who had managed to buy out their masters; and adventurous farmers and artisans who had risen by prudent industry to find an opening in this fortunate pursuit. Their precise tenure of the public lands and their relations to the Executive were questions which constantly disturbed the future annals of the colony; here we have only to take note of the inevitable influence of a class so prosperous in a community so limited. Their prosperity, however, had not been without check; there had been serious fluctuations in the value of money and in the price of wool; but, though individuals suffered, the class had prospered. The stock in the colony was valued at three millions and a half, of which nearly all was theirs, and the fixed property in purchased land, houses, and improvements belonging chiefly to other classes was barely worth as much more. To estimate this community by its numbers alone, would give a very inadequate gauge of power and resources. Every fifth man you met had done some successful work. He had made a prosperous business, or reclaimed and fenced wild land, or imported valuable stock, or explored new country, or at

lowest had built a house and planted an orchard and vineyard, when orchards and vineyards were in effect nurseries for the whole community. Or he had taken a part in the successful resistance to the Colonial Office on the convict question, or co-operated in the movement for separation. At any rate he had furnished evidence of a certain vigour and decision of character by crossing two oceans to seek a new home. And the life of the squatter, who in those days lived on his station, and partook of its cares and toils and its occasional dangers, was training in a sort of rude chivalry—rude enough in truth sometimes. Whoever has seen the charming mansions and gardens, and the graceful plantations and parks which a few of the great flock-owners have created in latter years, will not be warranted in assuming that they developed by natural progression from brick or wooden villas and patches of green kitchen garden. In not a few cases they were preceded by squalid huts roofed with bark, and standing in the midst of shambles or peltries, reeking with foul air, and where fruit, vegetables, and milk, were unknown luxuries. And the feats of chivalry were often no more than unequal encounters with the blackman. But those early settlers were trained by the nature of their pursuits to frank, fearless lives, at a time when men travelled with no other guide than the firmament and the landmarks of nature, and no protector but their right hands. Highways and bridges, or punts, there were none; and houses of entertainment in the bush were far apart; but hospitality was universal, and if there was no question of their “rights,” of which they were as jealous as Alabama planters, these big-bearded, sunburnt men were pleasant hosts and good fellows; and for any adequate public need, would have furnished such soldiers as rode after Stonewall Jackson. The settlement had escaped, by a singular fortune—not to be too much rejoiced over, perhaps—the sufferings and perils which tried the early colonists of America; but if they were not disciplined in war, they had been taught the equivalent virtue of self-help, not having been too tenderly fostered, as we have seen, by the Colonial Office, or aided in any manner from the resources of the empire. Into this peaceful community, free from all gross excesses, not fevered by the desire of sudden wealth, reposing like untroubled water under the genial sky of the south, there was soon to burst a turbulent stream, and presently a rancid sewer; and many years passed before the sediment disappeared and the waters were again clear and tranquil.—*Melbourne Review*.

THE FIJI ISLANDS.

The protectorate of these important islands, or rather the annexation of them to Great Britain, was offered to Her Majesty by their king, Thakambau, and the principal native chiefs; and the formal acceptance took place early in 1875. The Hon. Sir A. H. Gordon was appointed first governor.

The following account of this new island-colony is taken from Silver's "Handbook to Australia and New Zealand :"

The first account we have of the discovery of these islands is by Tasman, who, in the year 1643, sailed past several of them, to which he gave the name of Prince William's Islands; the inhabitants themselves styling them collectively "Viti," which, by the Tongans and other nations, has been corrupted to Fiji. For two hundred years after Tasman nothing further was known respecting them, although Captain Cook sighted one of the islands; and Captain Wilson nearly lost the first missionary ship, the "Duff," on the reefs of Taviumi. It was not until the visits of D'Urville, and of Commodore Wilkes, of the United States' Exploring Expedition, that anything was known to us of the Fijis and their inhabitants; whilst the still more recent survey of the entire group by Captain Denham, in H.M.S. "Herald," has rendered us familiar with their geographical features.

Towards the commencement of the present century the Fijis were occasionally visited by vessels in search of sandal-wood and "trepang" for the Chinese market. These ships were always well armed, and no bartering was commenced with the natives until some of their chiefs had been sent on board as hostages, these people being then regarded as the most ferocious of cannibals.

In 1804 a number of escaped convicts from New South Wales managed to reach Fiji, and dwelt amongst the natives for a long period, teaching them the use of fire-arms, and aiding them in their perpetual tribal wars, by which means they acquired a considerable influence over them. Rather more than fifty years ago the Wesleyan missionaries commenced their labours in the Tonga Islands, some 250 miles to the windward of the Fijis; and, in the year 1835, they pushed onwards to the latter group, landing their first missionaries at Lakemba. It is mainly owing to the indefatigable exertions of these self-denying men that the Fijians have been gradually reclaimed from paganism and the most revolting cannibalism to Christianity. Their work has so far civilised many of the islands as to pave the way for the advent of white settlers and adventurers from the neighbouring Australian colonies, of whom there are now nearly two thousand resident in Fiji, many being engaged in sugar and cotton planting, sheep-farming, and various commercial pursuits. As far back as 1859, the present reigning monarch, Thakambau (who five years previously had embraced Christianity), with the consent of the leading chiefs, made his first offer of the sovereignty of these islands to the Crown of England, which offer the Government of that day declined to accept. For several years past a form of government, initiated by the white settlers principally for their own protection, has been carried on in Fiji. It consisted of the king as the head, with a salary of £1500 a year, and £200 for private expenses; an Executive Council, composed entirely of white men; a Legislative Privy Council, and a House of Representatives; the former being made up of the native governors of the provinces into which the Constitution Act directs that the kingdom shall be sub-divided; and the latter formed of European delegates from the electoral districts proclaimed throughout the islands, the members being elected by white

men, from whom the Government must be chosen. The judicature was vested in a Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief-Justice and two associate judges, one of whom was a native.

The archipelago of Fiji is situated in the South-Western Pacific, between the parallels of 15° and 19° S. latitude, and the meridians of 177° E. and 178° W. longitude. It comprises nearly two hundred islands, besides islets, rocks, and reefs. The two largest of these, called Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, are of considerable size, having each a circumference of from 200 to 250 miles; the names of the other more important islands are Ovalau, Kandavu, Taviuni, Koro, Ngau, and Lakemba. Sixty-five of them are described as being inhabited. There are several good harbours in the group, the principal of which is that of Levuka, on the eastern side of the island of Ovalau, where the capital or chief European town of the same name is situated. The native capital is Bau, the former residence of the kings. It occupies a small island close to the mainland of Viti Levu, and is only a few hours' sail from Levuka. The largest river, the Rewa, is in Viti Levu; it is a broad and rapid stream, from four hundred to five hundred yards wide, and navigable for small vessels for a considerable distance. Most of the islands rise abruptly from the sea, and present in their bold and irregular outline the peculiar character of the volcanic formation to which they belong. In Viti Levu there are thousands of acres of splendid flat lands; and, although most of the country is undulating, and in some places mountainous, the soil everywhere is remarkably fertile and productive; indeed, it is said that there is hardly an acre of land throughout this group that might not be either converted into a pasture or a plantation. The lofty peaks of Voma and Buke Levu are four thousand feet high.

Like most islands situated within the influence of the easterly trade winds, the aspect of the weather side of all of them is essentially different from that to leeward. Owing to the constant moisture brought with the trade winds from the ocean, the former teems with a dense mass of vegetation, huge trees, and innumerable palms, ferns, creepers, and *epiphytes*—hardly a break occurring in the luxuriant green mantle spread over hill and dale. The leeside, on the contrary, displays a fine grassy country, scattered with the *pandanus*, or screw-pine, casuarinas, and acacias. The high ridge of mountains that form the backbone of the two large islands, attracting the moisture from the clouds, and intercepting the numerous showers, send down streams of never-failing water to fertilise the valleys below. The coast-line is, for the most part, fringed with a dense belt of cocoa-nut palms, intermixed with bananas, plantains, and other tropical trees. White beaches extend for miles round the various bays. At a greater or less distance from the shore are the encircling coral reefs, against which the surf of the outside ocean dashes in majestic grandeur; whilst the sheltered lagoons within are glassy and smooth, teeming with gorgeously coloured fish and beautiful marine productions of all kinds, which are clearly seen at the bottom through the transparent water.

The Fijian Islands owe their origin to volcanic upheavings and the busy operations of corals. At present there are no active volcanoes; but several of

the highest mountains must, in former times, have been formidable craters. Hot springs occur in different parts, especially at Savu-savu, where the temperature of the water stands at from 200° to 210°. Earthquakes are occasionally experienced; and some few years ago an entire island was lifted above the level of the sea between Tonga and Fiji. The soil consists in many places of a dark red or yellowish clay, or of decomposed volcanic rocks, which prove very fertile when plentifully supplied with moisture. Near Namosi, in Viti Levu, is a mountain abounding with malachite and antimony ore.

The only terrestrial mammals are a species of rat, and five kinds of bat, one of them being a large fruit-eating bat. The white settlers have introduced cattle, horses, goats, sheep, rabbits, dogs, and cats, all of which seem to thrive well. Of birds Dr Seemann has given us a list of forty-six species, consisting of hawks, owls, ducks, pigeons, etc., and several kinds of parrots; the scarlet feathers of one, the *kula*, being greatly esteemed by the natives for ornamental purposes. Over 120 species of marine fishes have already been enumerated, most of which are good eating, and form a considerable portion of the food of those Fijians dwelling on the sea-coasts. There are no less than nine kinds of salt-water sharks, besides several fresh-water ones. Amongst the endless variety of beautiful little fishes that adorn the coral beds inside the reefs is one as large as a goldfish, entirely of the finest ultramarine blue colour. Reptiles are not numerous. There are ten sorts of snakes, none of them more than six feet long, and mostly arborescent and harmless. A large frog is common in the swamps. The green turtle is called *ronu-dina*, and that which yields the tortoise-shell, *ronu-taku*. Lizards are represented by a chameleon and four other species, the largest of which is a beautiful green lizard with a body two feet long. Land and fresh-water shells appear to be numerous, and some of the species are of considerable size. The reefs abound with handsome marine shells. On the south-west coast of Viti Levu, at a place called Nandronga, that rare and valuable shell, the orange-cowry, or "morning dawn," is occasionally met with. The possession of a specimen formerly gave a man a certain rank among his tribe. Crustaceous animals are well represented in the Fijis. There is a very large kind of land-crab, which climbs the most lofty cocoa-nut trees and breaks the nuts, upon which it feeds. Insects are very numerous, and some of the butterflies and beetles are extremely handsome. At dusk the woods swarm with myriads of fireflies.

Very few regions are so prolific in vegetable productions as is this favoured group of islands. Whilst the indigenous trees and plants are endless in their variety and usefulness, all those that have been hitherto introduced appear to flourish remarkably well. The seeds of the dilo tree produce a valuable oil, which enjoys a wide reputation as a liniment in cases of rheumatism; and its timber, of which boats and canoes are built, is valued on account of its beautiful grain and hardness; whilst a resin which exudes from its stem is used as a perfume. The candle-nut, the croton-oil plant, and the castor-oil plant are abundant. The Fijians manufacture fine arrowroot from the *Tacca pinnatifida*. Groves of the sago-palm extend for miles in the swamps of Viti Levu; and turmeric grows plenti-

fully in all the lower districts, as does a species of ginger, and the 'male' nutmeg. The staple food of the natives is the yam, which in Fiji attains an enormous size and the perfection of mealiness. Next to the yam, as an article of food, come the taro (which is grown on irrigated ground), the cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, the banana, and the plantain, of which two last there are about eighteen varieties. The wi is a tree sixty feet high, covered with large oval yellow fruit of a fine apple-like and most agreeable flavour, highly suitable for pies. Boiled or roasted taro, with the fruit of wi as a dessert, is a common dinner with a Fijian family. The papaw, the guava, citrons, oranges, lemons, loquets, and custard-apples have all been introduced at various times, and flourish luxuriantly. Shaddocks are extremely common, and the trees line the banks of the rivers. Water-melons and bottle-gourds grow everywhere, and sweet melons, pumpkins, and cucumbers have found their way to these islands. The pine-apple thrives well, especially near the sea. The national beverage is the *kava*, prepared from the root of the *Macropiper methysticum* by chewing, and the plant is cultivated in small patches around the dwellings of the natives. Nearly all the lowest class of whites in Fiji are kava-drinkers. A tree dreaded by the inhabitants for its noxious qualities is the itch-wood. A drop of the juice falling on the skin produces a pain similar to that caused by contact with red-hot iron. Another poisonous tree is the sinu-gaga, the thick black smoke from the burning wood of which is the native cure for leprosy. Two kinds of nettles, one sixty feet high, sting most unmercifully. In former times the sandal-wood was plentiful in Fiji; but, owing to the great demand for this perfumed wood in the China market, it has now become exceedingly scarce, only a few trees here and there remaining. The paper-mulberry tree supplies the Fijians with the material for their *tappa* or native cloth, which they wear as a toga. Distinguished persons envelop their bodies in pieces of *tappa* many yards long, and allow extensive trains to drag after them on the ground. Timber of excellent quality abounds on the larger islands, and a trade in it has sprung up with the Australian colonies. The Fiji Kowrie pine rivals that of New Zealand. A species of casuarina produces an exceedingly hard and heavy wood, formerly used for making war-clubs. Six species of palms ornament the forests, as well as many ferns of extraordinary beauty. Some of the native flowers are gaily coloured, and others emit a delightful fragrance, with which the natives profusely decorate their persons. Sugar, coffee, tamarinds, and tobacco, as well as cotton, thrive wonderfully well, the former growing wild in many localities.

The climate of the Fijis, though tropical, is, as a rule, remarkably pleasant during the greater portion of the year. The heat is moderated by the trade wind, so that its mean temperature does not exceed 80° Fahr. The lowest reading of the thermometer is 65°, and when it falls so low as this the days are by comparison cold and damp, and the native population do not care to stir out of doors; whilst the Europeans find the benefit of an overcoat. Such weather, however, only occurs during periods of strong gales and rain. Fevers occurring as epidemics are unknown, the only disease that Europeans have to fear being dysentery. Elephantiasis and occasional leprosy, together with glandular swell-

ings, are frequent amongst the native population. From October to April, the hottest season, a considerable quantity of rain falls; whilst there are occasional showers during the dry season, which lasts from May to September. Hurricanes, or revolving storms, occasionally visit the islands during the first three months of the year, but successive years frequently pass by without their occurrence.

The native population at the present time is variously estimated at between 120,000 and 200,000. The Fijians are a tall, well-made, muscular race of men. Neither so black nor so woolly-haired as the true Papuans, they are, nevertheless, nearer akin to them than to the lighter-coloured Polynesians of Tonga and Samoa. Formerly they were considered to be the most inveterate cannibals of any existing race; and although the introduction of Christianity amongst them has abolished this terrible custom wherever the missionaries have established themselves, it is affirmed that it still exists to a certain extent amongst the heathen tribes who inhabit the mountainous and as yet almost unknown interior of Viti Levu. The former method of dressing their crisp and somewhat woolly hair, spread out like a mop to a distance of ten or twelve inches from the head, is still adhered to by the less civilised tribes. They are very careful not to crush these grand wigs; and when they lie down they rest their necks on wooden pillows, elevated with legs some eight inches from the floor, so that the elaborately-dressed hair may sustain no pressure. They build large canoes, in which they perform somewhat distant voyages from one island to another. In the manufacture of their houses and weapons, as well as in their handsomely-chequered *tappa* cloths, their wicker-work baskets, and their earthenware vessels, they exhibit both taste and skill. In the Windward Islands there is a considerable mixture of the lighter Tonguese blood, owing to the colonisation of that portion of the group by the powerful Tongans, who were attracted thither by the plentiful supply of large timber for canoe-building.

During the American war, when cotton was everywhere in demand, and realised such high prices, there was a general rush from the Australian colonies to Fiji, and the cultivation of cotton was extensively carried on with considerable success; but owing to the subsequent reaction in prices, the planters in Fiji have latterly been less fortunate. Sugar will, eventually, form one of the most valuable products of these islands, but the present state of depression, and the want of capital to procure the necessary plant for the mills, have retarded the progress of its cultivation. Tobacco offers a promising field to those who understand its management; the leaf in Fiji, grown from the best Cuban seed, being said to equal in every respect the finest productions of the Antilles. Sheep and cattle have been introduced by energetic adventurers from Australia; and some of the well-grassed smaller and uninhabited islands have been purchased from the chiefs and turned into sheep-runs, the wool being of a good quality, and realising a fair price in the market.

The value of the exports in 1872 was over £90,000. They consisted chiefly of Sea Island and other cotton (400,000 dollars); cocoa-nut oil, wool, tortoise-shell, *bêche-de-mer*, candle-nuts, and other products of the islands. The imports amounted to £82,584.

Many of the earlier white settlers possess large tracts of land, which they have obtained from the natives. Desirable holdings may be bought from them at prices varying from six to twenty-five dollars per acre. In purchasing direct from the native chiefs, much care is necessary to see that the lawful owner is the party dealt with. About 350,000 acres of land have already passed into the possession of Europeans, and 10,000 acres are under cultivation.

Levuka, on the island of Ovalau, may be considered the commercial capital of Fiji. It is picturesquely situated on the seashore, backed by wooded mountains. It contains (besides the consular and Government establishments, and those of the Wesleyan and Roman Catholic missionaries) several churches and schools, fourteen wooden hotels, stores of all kinds, a printing-office, and the usual contingent of carpenters, boat-builders, butchers, bakers, shoemakers, tailors, etc.; including four milliners and two photographic establishments. The aggregate tonnage of the shipping annually visiting the Fijis may be roughly stated at 40,000 tons.

It only requires a good, sound, and safe government under the British flag, and the introduction of capital into the Fijian Islands, to render them one of the most (if not the most) valuable possessions throughout Polynesia.

NEW GUINEA, OR PAPUA.

As the island of New Guinea is rapidly coming into note, and will probably ere long be annexed to the British possessions in the south, we extract the following account of it from Westgarth's "Australia:—"

New Guinea, or Papua, is, after Australia, not only the first in point of magnitude, but claims a priority in discovery over that and every other island in the Australian Sea. In the year 1526, when the Portuguese and the Spaniards were disputing their respective claims to the Spice Islands, Don Jorge de Menenes, of the former nation, had, in his passage from Malacca to the Moluccas, by extraordinary and accidental circumstances, discovered the north coast of Papua, so called, according to some, because the word signifies *black*, which was the colour of the natives, or *curled hair*, according to others. Menenes remained at a port called Versija till the change of the monsoon, and then returned to the Moluccas. The next navigator who touched at Papua was Alvarez de Saavedra, on his homeward voyage from the Moluccas in 1528, for New Spain; and, from an idea that the country abounded in gold, he gave it the name of *Isla del Ora*. He stayed a month, and obtained provisions; but some Portuguese deserted with the only boat the ship had, and were left behind. They found their way, however, to Gilolo, and reported that Saavedra had been wrecked; but on his subsequent arrival they were tried, condemned, and executed. He

is supposed to have added about fifty leagues of discovery to that of Menenes. In 1529 Saavedra sailed a second time from New Spain, and, according to Galvaom (or Galvano), followed the coast of Papua eastwards above five hundred leagues.

In 1537 Gonzalvo and Alvarado were despatched on discovery by the Viceroy of Peru; but the former being killed in a mutiny, the crew chose another commander, and the first land they made was Papua. The ship was in so crazy a state that she was abandoned; the crew, only seven in number (the rest having died of hunger and fatigue), were made captives, and carried to an island called *Crespos* (curly-haired men), whence they were sent to the Moluccas and ransomed.

In 1545 Ynigo Ortiz de Retz, in his voyage from Tidore to New Spain, came to an archipelago of islands near the land of Papua, sailed 230 leagues along the north coast, and not knowing it had been before visited by Europeans, he called it *Nueva Guinea*, from the resemblance of the natives to those of the coast of Guinea.

In 1606 Torres made the east coast of New Guinea in his way to the Moluccas, sailed westward three hundred leagues, doubled the south-east point, sailed along the southern coast, saw the northern coast of New Holland, and passed the strait which now bears his name. He describes the coast of New Guinea as inhabited by a dark people, naked except a covering round the middle, of painted cloth made of the bark of a tree. They had arms of clubs and darts ornamented with feathers. He fell in with many large islands, ports, and rivers. Towards the northern extremity he met with Mohammedans, who had swords and fire-arms.

In 1616 Schouten came in sight of a burning mountain on the coast of New Guinea, which he named Vulcan, and immediately after of the coast itself. The island was well inhabited, and abounded with cocoa-nuts; but no anchoring ground could be found. The natives were black, with short hair; but others appeared more of a tawny colour, with canoes of a different shape. Among the islands in sight to the northward, four small ones continually smoked. On approaching the mainland, the natives, whom he calls real Papoos, came off, "a wild, strange, and ridiculous people, active as monkeys, having black curled hair, rings in their ears and noses, and necklaces of hogs' tusks." They had all some personal defect; one was blind, another had a great leg, a third a swelled arm; from which Schouten concluded that this part of the country was unhealthy, an inference which was confirmed by observing their houses built upon stakes eight or nine feet from the ground. At the two little islands of Moa and Insou, on the north-east coast, the friendly natives supplied them with abundance of cocoa-nuts. At twenty-eight leagues from Moa, Schouten fell in with a group of fourteen small islands covered with wood, and apparently uninhabited; but sailing to the northward, they were followed by six large canoes, the people in which were armed with javelins. Those in some canoes from another island were of tawny complexion, had long curly hair, and appeared by their persons and language to be a different race from the natives of Papua: they had rings of coloured glass, yellow

beads, and vessels of porcelain, which were regarded as "evidences of their having communication with the East Indies." Schouten's Island is the largest of this group. Tasman visited all these islands and the coast of New Guinea in 1643, but made no discoveries in this part of his voyage.

Our countryman Dampier saw the coast in 1699, but did not land: the natives came off to his ship, and he speaks in admiration of their large and picturesque *proues*. He discovered, however, a strait unknown before, which divides New Guinea from New Britain, and is now called after his name. Bougainville was less fortunate, when, in 1768, he touched on the coast of what he considered a separate island, and to which he gave the name of Louisiade. D'Entrecasteaux, in 1792, passed along the northern coast of Louisiade, and through Dampier's Strait; but left the point of its identity with, or separation from, New Guinea undecided.

Sonnerat published "A Voyage to New Guinea," though he evidently never was there, but describes the natives and productions from what he saw and from what he could collect at the island of Gibby, to the eastward of Gilolo.

Forrest, in 1775, anchored in the Bay of Dory, on the northern extremity of New Guinea, and collected some information respecting the inhabitants from a Mohammedan hadji, who accompanied him. Captain Cook also, in his first voyage in 1770, made the coast in about 6° 30' S. latitude, a little to the northward of Cape Valschar, but did not bring his ship to anchor, on account of the hostility of the natives. A party landed near a grove of cocoa-nut trees, and not far from it found plantain and bread-fruit trees. The breeze from the trees and shrubs is said to have been charged with a fragrance not unlike that of gum *benjamin*.

The south-east coast of New Guinea was visited in June 1793 by Bampton, master of the "Hormuzeer," and Alt, master of the "Chesterfield," two British merchant vessels, who, in their endeavours to find a passage to the north-west while beating up the Great Bight of this island, added some valuable information to what was previously known of that part of the coast. Captain Bristow, also the discoverer of the Auckland Islands, visited in 1806 the northern shores of the smaller islands, which were described by D'Entrecasteaux in 1793. But the southern shores of the Louisiade remained unexplored from the period of Bougainville's voyage in 1768 until the year 1840, when a French navigator, Captain D'Urville, attempted a flying survey of them in the "Astrolabe" during his voyage round the world. He was not sure, however, whether the land he observed belonged to New Guinea or the Louisiade, although he passed a multitude of islands with navigable channels between them.

In 1845 Captain Blackwood, in H.M.S. "Fly," surveyed 140 miles of the south-east coast of New Guinea within the Great Bight. Here he found a low muddy shore extending many miles inland of the same character, intersected by channels, which evidently were the estuaries of streams. One of these he ascended for a distance of twenty miles in the ship's boats, and saw numerous native villages built at intervals along the banks; but being confronted by the

inhabitants, who appeared to be of warlike disposition, he considered it dangerous to attempt a landing. This partial survey was followed up in 1846 by Lieutenant Yule in H.M. schooner "Bramble," who laid down the coast-line from where Blackwood's survey had terminated east of Aird's River, along the south-east shore of the bight. As he proceeded southerly, where the coast trends to the eastward, he found the country inland gradually improve in aspect from low mud banks to densely-wooded hills, with a lofty range of mountains in the distance. At this point, where he sighted a high peak of this mountain-chain—which now bears his name—he returned to Australia to await further orders.

On the 10th of June 1848, Captain Owen Stanley in H.M.S. "Rattlesnake," accompanied by the "Bramble," Lieutenant Yule, as tender, commenced a further survey of the doubtful south-east peninsula of New Guinea, and Bougainville's Louisiade. During their combined indefatigable exertions for four months, they not only determined the fact that the latter island is separated from the mainland, but that it forms one of several groups of smaller islands, more or less surrounded by dangerous coral reefs, which extend for upwards of two hundred miles east by south of the great Papuan island, between 151° and $154^{\circ} 30' \text{ E.}$ longitude, and the parallels of 11° and 12° S. latitude: the entire assemblage of islands and reefs, including the Calvados Group, being now denominated the Louisiade Archipelago.

Much valuable information has been added to the natural history and ethnography of those coral-bound isles which Captain Stanley has now determined upon the charts of Australasia, by John Macgillivray, the naturalist who accompanied the expedition; and who has furnished us with the journal of the voyage, which the death of the captain prevented himself from publishing. In his graphic descriptions of these new and interesting islands, he thus describes their appearance: "From the anchorage we enjoyed an extensive view of the south-eastern portion of the Louisiade Archipelago. On the extreme right is the large south-east island, with its sharp, undulating outline, and Mount Rattlesnake clearly visible, although distant forty-five miles. Next, after a gap partially filled up by Pig Island, Joannet Island succeeds, ten and a half miles in length, not so high as South-East Island, but resembling it in dimness of outline: its highest point, Mount Asp, is 1104 feet in height. Next come the Calvados, of various aspect and size, some with the undulating outline of the larger islands, others rising more or less abruptly to the height of from four to upwards of nine hundred feet. They constitute a numerous group—upwards of forty—some of which, however, are mere rocks: they are delineated upon the "Rattlesnake's" chart, and there are others to the northward. Behind them, in two of the intervals, the large and distant island of St Aignan (so named after one of D'Entrecasteux's lieutenants) fills up the background, falling low at its eastern extreme, but the western half is high and mountainous, with an elevation of 3279 feet. Farther to the westward, the last of the Calvados in this view was seen to form a remarkable peak, 518 feet in height, to which the name of Eddystone was applied; and still farther to the left, Ile Real of D'Urville's chart shoots up to

the height of 554 feet, as a solitary rocky island with a rugged outline and an abruptly peaked summit.”*

Leaving these islands, Captain Stanley proceeded on his general survey along the south-east coast of New Guinea, until he reached that point of land where Lieutenant Yule in the “Bramble” had left off. On making the south-east cape of the island, the land appeared of a mountainous character inland, and this continued increasing in elevation for 250 miles, until he came to Yule’s Peak. It is evident that this great mountain-chain divided the watershed on each side of the peninsula. On determining the altitude of this range of mountains, it was found to average double that of the Australian Alps—the highest section of the great Cordillera of that island. Mount Owen Stanley is 13,205 feet in height, being more than double that of Mount Kosciusko (6510 feet)—the highest mountain in Australia. Of fifteen other peaks in the range, whose altitudes are laid down on the “Rattlesnake’s” chart, eight are above 7000 feet. Doubtless there are rich fields for discovery to future naturalists on these tropical-alpine ranges. At present, however, the hostile disposition of its savage occupants renders it inaccessible to European explorers.

If we except the Louisiade Archipelago, New Guinea extends in a south-east by east direction from the Cape of Good Hope, nearly under the equator, to South-east Cape, in 10° 35’ S., being in length about 1200, and medial breadth about 150 geographical miles. The accounts of all the navigators who have touched on the different parts of its coast, describe it as a rich and magnificent country, containing, in all human probability, from its situation and appearance, the most valuable vegetable products of the Moluccas and the several Asiatic islands. Forrest found the nutmeg tree on Manaswary Island, in the Bay of Dory; and he learned that a people in the interior, called *Haraforas*, cultivate the ground, and bring the produce down to the sea-coast; that they are very poor, and some of them have long hair; and that they live in trees, which they ascend by cutting notches in them. The people of New Guinea, in many parts of the coast, live in huts or cabins, placed on stages which are erected on posts, commonly in the water, and probably as a protection against snakes and other venomous creatures, though Forrest seems to think against the *Haraforas*. On these stages they haul up their proas or canoes. These people are invariably described as being hideously ugly. Their large eyes, flat noses, thick lips, woolly hair, and black shining skin, impressed the early navigators with the idea that they were of African origin; but closer investigation, of late years, has shown them to be a very mixed race indeed. Mr Macgillivray resolves them into several indistinct types with intermediate gradations. Thus, occasionally he met with strongly-marked negro characteristics, but still more frequently with the Jewish cast of features; while every now and then a face presented itself which struck him as Malayan. Although the hair of these aborigines was invariably frizzled out into a mop, and woolly, instances were met with in both sexes where it was black, soft, and curly, while in others it was red and frizzly, and the males mostly beardless. The colour of the skin varies from a light to a dark copper shade;

* “Voyage of H.M.S. ‘Rattlesnake,’ Captain Owen Stanley,” by J. Macgillivray, vol. i., p. 241.

and their stature does not average more than five feet four inches. Instead, therefore, of considering them a pure race, these late investigations would lead us to suppose that the races from all the neighbouring Polynesian and Malayan islands had their representatives on this beautiful and fertile group of islands, who have amalgamated and formed the most warlike race in the Australasian seas. Their habits, however, are much the same as their neighbours'; and they show equal skill in the management of their canoes and weapons, and in the building of huts. The Papuans also increase their natural deformity by passing bones or pieces of stick through the cartilage of the nose, and, as already mentioned, frizzing out their curly locks like a mop, sometimes to the enormous circumference of three feet. They appear, however, to be one degree farther removed from savage life than the Australian aborigines, having permanent houses, and both men and women wearing wrappers round the waist, which are among the articles brought to them by the Chinese and Malays.

The only quadrupeds known to exist on this island are dogs, rats, and wild hogs; but the feathered race are of great beauty and infinite variety. New Guinea is the native country of the bird of paradise. They are said to migrate in large flocks, in the dry monsoon, to the islands of Arroo, and other islands to the west and north-west of New Guinea. The great crown pigeon, parrots, lorries, and minas, are natives of Papua.

The whole of this great country is indented with deep bays on every side, some of which nearly intersect the island; and the coast is surrounded on every side by a multitude of small islands, all peopled with the same description of blacks, excepting those already mentioned on the north-west, near the equator, most of which are under the government of Mohammedan Malays, with whom both the Dutch and Chinese have long kept up intercourse.

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